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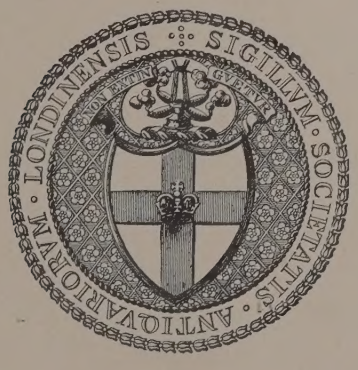

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Read December 5, 1889, and March 20, 1890.

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PART I.—THE CEMETERY AND ITS CONTENTS.

I. (*a*) The Grave-Pits and Family-Circles.

In November, 1886, being at Aylesford in company with my father Dr. John Evans and with Dr. Sebastian Evans, we paid a visit to the sand and gravel pit belonging to Messrs. Silas Wagon and Son, our immediate object being to search for palæolithic implements which had been discovered at this spot. Our attention was then called to another and highly interesting discovery that had just been made whilst removing the surface earth, which here to a depth of about three feet covers the old river deposits. This consisted of a bronze pail or *situla* (fig. 11), and a small fragment of another, an *œnochoê* (fig. 14), a long-handled pan or *patella* (fig. 16), and two *fibulæ* (figs. 17, 18), also of bronze, together with calcined bones and fragments of earthenware vases. On examination the *situla* proved to be a characteristic example of that peculiar style of art which had taken root in Britain during the century or so that preceded the Roman Conquest, and to which Mr. Franks has given the name of "Late-Celtic." The *œnochoê*, or bronze vase, the pan and *fibulæ* were also of great interest as representing imported specimens of late Greek or Italian fabrics. The earthenware vases themselves exhibited an elegance of form and a style of manufacture such as had not yet been associated with British remains in this country, and which, as I hope to show, point not less distinctly to Gaulish and in a somewhat remoter degree to North Italian connexions.

These objects were discovered in what had been a round burial pit (fig. 1) about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, the sides and bottom of which had been coated with a kind of chalky compound. The bronze *situla* contained burnt bones and the *fibulæ*, the bronze vase and pan lying outside it, while around were the remains of several earthenware urns, some of which had been used as cineraries.

It further appeared that the British Museum, for which the pail and associated objects referred to above were at once acquired by my father's agency, was already in possession of the contents of another grave from the same site that had been recently purchased from a Mr. Hales. The principal of these was a bronze-plated wooden vessel (fig. 9) of a remarkable class, fitted with two perpendicular handles of bronze, once ornamented with studs of some other material. This object, which may best be described as a tankard, was found, according to the account given, within a circle of five or six earthenware vases,

about 200 yards north-west of Aylesford church, at a depth of eighteen inches beneath the surface. Among the associated vases were remains of a fine

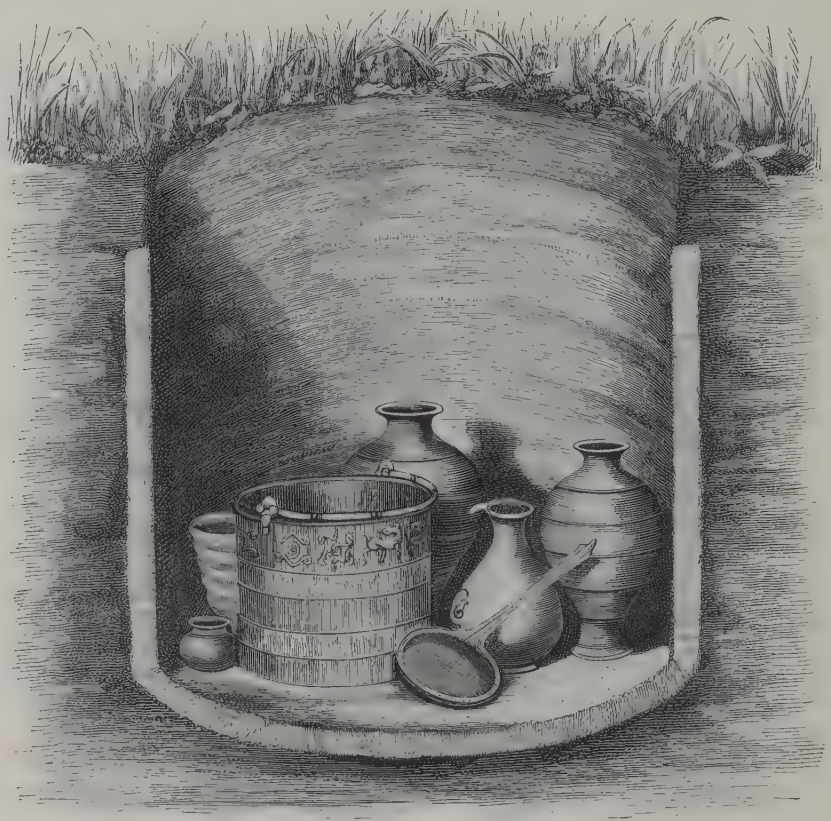


Fig. 1. Grave-pit, showing position of *situla*, &c.[a] (Diagrammatic sketch, from account given.)

pedestalled urn (fig. 7), originally, no doubt, containing ashes, which must be reckoned as the finest ceramic relic discovered on this site.

Nor were these discoveries by any means isolated. On inquiry, I learnt that for a considerable series of years, *pari passu* with the gradual excavation of the pit and the consequent removal of the surface soil, continued discoveries of ancient graves had been made containing for the most part earthenware vessels filled with calcined bones. Although, unfortunately, no detailed account of these discoveries had been kept, I learnt that Mr. H. Lewis of Camberwell, who had

[a] For more exact representations of the bronzes, see separate plates and figures.

frequent occasion to visit Messrs. Wagon's pit in search for geological specimens and flint implements, had at different times procured a considerable series of pots from the ancient British cemetery above. Many of these had been broken into countless fragments, but their restoration became for their possessor a labour of love, and, thanks to Mr. Lewis's patient industry, very valuable materials relating to the Aylesford urn-field have been preserved to us in an intelligible form. Mr. Lewis's collection consisting, besides fragments, of some twenty-two more or less perfect vases of which he supplied me with the drawings, has also passed into the possession of the Nation.

Amongst the objects discovered in the graves, and sometimes in the cineraries themselves, were a great number of flint flakes and scrapers, which can in this case therefore be assigned to the Late-Celtic epoch. There was also discovered a compact mass of eight bracelets of Kimmeridge shale in the form of rings $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in exterior diameter, and presenting a round section $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. These are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Amongst the most important relics acquired by Mr. Lewis were the iron rings and parts of the iron hoop of a large wooden bucket which must have rivalled in size the great Marlborough bucket now in the Museum at Devizes, although in this case the iron hoop and rings do not seem to have been associated with bronze plating.

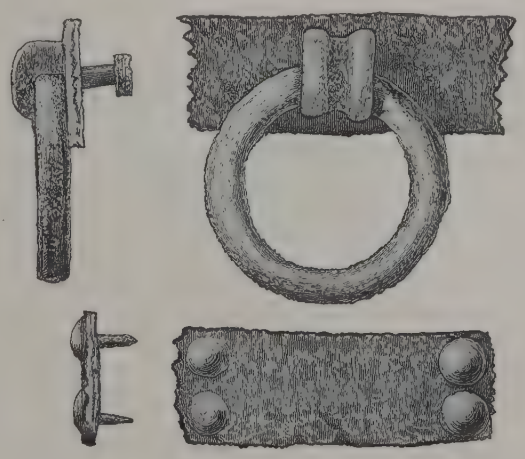


Fig. 2. ($\frac{1}{3}$ linear.)
Ring and part of iron band of a bucket found at Aylesford, Kent.

From the depth, five feet, at which according to Mr. Lewis's account the iron attachments of this bucket were found, the burial-pit in which it occurred must have been of abnormal proportions. The remaining fragments of the iron band or hoop show that the bucket itself was about forty inches in diameter, and, from the fact that several urns with burnt bones were found within the circuit originally formed by it, it is evident that it originally served as a receptacle of cinerary vessels. Amongst the urns that it had enclosed was a large pot with its top broken off, a small vase (Pl. IX. fig. 7) filled with calcined bones, and by the side of these another urn much crushed by flint stones, which seem to have been thrown into

the bucket. This grave of the iron-ringed bucket formed one of a group of smaller pits containing cinerary urns, and all lying within about ten feet of it. Some of the most elegant urns discovered on the Aylesford site, including Pl. VII. figs. 6 and 7, belonged to this group of interments.

Besides the relics collected by Mr. Lewis, isolated objects from this cemetery had passed into the hands of other private owners. A fine urn containing burnt bones (Pl. VIII. fig. 1) from this site was in the possession of Dr. I. B. Muirshead of Aylesford, by whose liberality it has been presented to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. This had been found in the same grave with the remains of a larger urn also containing calcined bones. Another beautiful vase of a pale brick colour, with delicate striations across its zones (Pl. IX. fig. 1), has been presented, together with a fine "cordoned" urn, to the same museum by Mr. Silas Wagon.

About the middle of the quarry had been discovered a large circular pit some 8 feet in diameter and from 12 to 15 feet deep, entirely filled with animals' bones mostly much decayed. These bones were thrown over a neighbouring field, and so thickly strewn were they that, according to my informant, nothing would grow for years on the area covered by them. Several small pits, about 2 feet in diameter at top, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ at their base, were also met with, the bottom of which contained charcoal and broken pottery such as that used for the urns, but no trace of calcined bones, from which circumstance Mr. Lewis, who has observed several, concluded that they had been used for baking the pottery in question. We have here therefore valuable evidence of local manufacture.

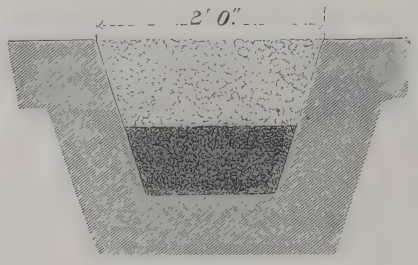


Fig. 3. Diagrammatic section of baking hole. Aylesford, Kent.

With regard to the general arrangement of the interments that had been already excavated at the time of my first visit, I was able, partly from the workmen and owners of the pit, partly from some notes supplied by Mr. Lewis, to elicit the following facts.

The graves were described as consisting of round pits from 2 to 3 feet deep and large enough to contain two or three urns, each of varying dimensions, some no bigger than a man's fist, but for the most part containing burnt bones. There were generally together two larger urns with a kind of foot and one smaller. The pits lay in groups forming more or less irregular circles such as that which lay about the grave containing the iron-ringed bucket, and so invariable was this arrangement that the workmen when they came across one grave were sure to

hit on several more in its vicinity. There was no mound or external indication of the interments, which thus belonged to the class to which continental archaeologists have given the name of "flat-graves" (*flachgräber*) as opposed to those under barrows.

The high archaeological interest attaching alike to the relics found and to the character of the interments, as well as the desire to test by personal observation the accuracy of the accounts I had received as to the arrangement of the sepulchral deposits, led me to undertake the excavation of a strip of hitherto undisturbed land lying along the north-west margin of the pit, and in immediate juxtaposition to the area where the graves containing the bronze vessels have been discovered.

The results of this excavation went fully to corroborate the accounts I had already received as to the disposition and grouping of the interments. Six workmen were employed in digging out the soil to the level of the gravelly pan below, and during the first days of the work with no results in the way of sepultures. At last, however, an urn (A) revealed itself, its base about 2 feet beneath the surface. Within were calcined bones, including the fragment of a skull, and a small ferruginous mass, while beside the pot was a flint scraper. The workmen were now confident that more would follow, and their assurance was borne out by the event. At the distance of about ten feet from the first interment another grave (B) was discovered containing a cinerary urn (No. 25, Pl. VII. fig. 4) and a small bowl (No. 37, Pl. IX. fig. 2), which also contained some burnt bones, probably of a child, and beside them an empty patera, or flat earthenware dish (No. 41). All three vessels were in close juxtaposition at the bottom of what had been when they were deposited a round hole somewhat over 2 feet deep.

At an interval again of about a yard was another grave-pit (C) of about the same depth, containing a single cinerary (No. 13) of a pale brick-red colour, showing delicate striations between its zones. About two yards beyond this was a pit of the same kind (D) containing a larger cinerary, with a fine pedestalled base $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, but otherwise in a fragmentary state, a smaller urn (No. 27) with a "cordon" round its shoulders, containing burnt bones, and a small empty bowl (No. 39).

Returning from this point there was brought to light, at about the same interval, another grave-pit (E) about 20 inches deep, containing a large bowl-shaped cinerary with chevron decorations (No. 17, Pl. IX. fig. 8), and another, smaller, of elegant form (No. 14, Pl. VII. fig. 1). At a yard and a half distance from this pit in the direction of the first excavated (A) was another similar grave

(F) containing two cineraries. The larger of these (No. 10) was of an elegant form with a pedestal and raised cordons round its body; its original height was

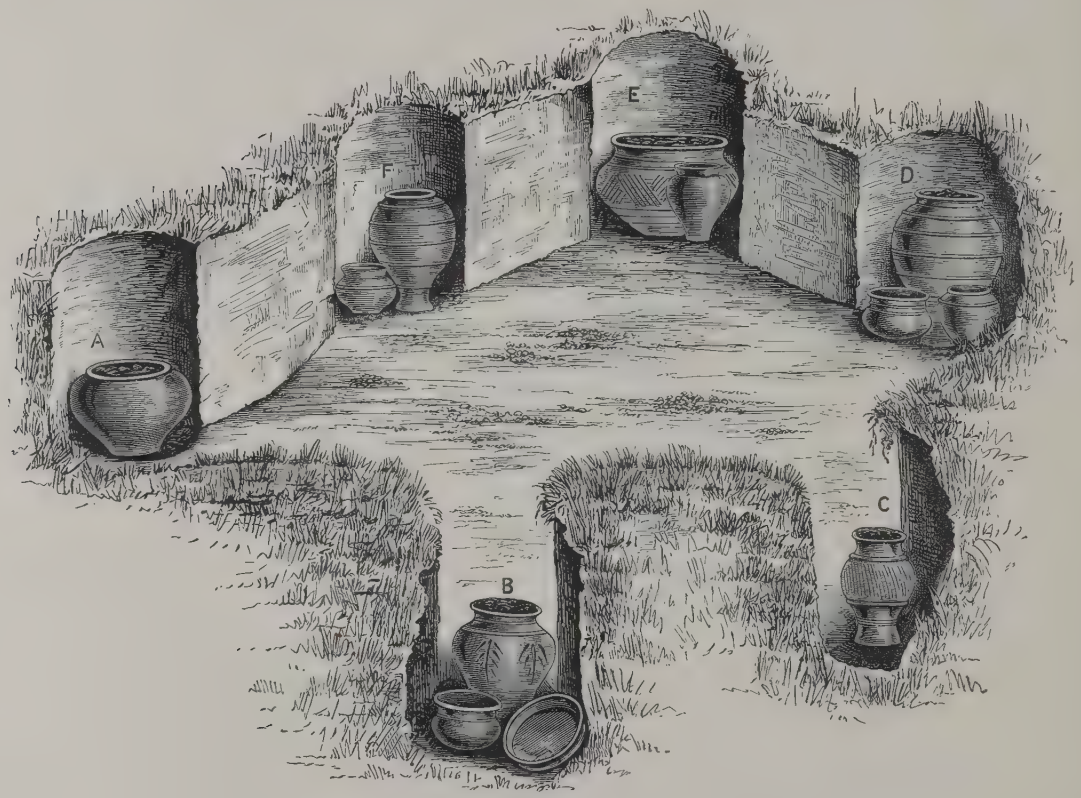


Fig. 4. Sketch-plan of grave-pits forming "family-circle." The urns as restored.

about 11 inches, but, as it lay only 17 inches below the surface, its top had been ploughed away. The other urn (No. 26, Pl. VIII. fig. 3) was small and no doubt contained the ashes of a child. Beside these was a flint flake.

The grave-pits, as can be seen from the annexed sketch plan, formed an irregular ellipse representing no doubt a group of interments belonging to the same family.

The excavation of a further zone beyond this point did not result in the discovery of any other interments, and this "family-circle" must therefore be regarded as lying on the extremity of the cemetery on this side.

I. (*b*) The Aylesford Cemetery in its Relation to the Urn-Field System of the Continent.

Without at this stage going more nearly into the transmarine relationships of the most typical objects discovered in this cemetery, enough will have been said to show that the Late-Celtic cemetery of Aylesford fits on to a widespread group of "urn-fields" containing cremation interments, the first appearance and dissemination of which in central and northern Europe goes *pari passu* with the diffusion of the Early Iron Age culture, and the final triumph of iron over bronze. The ramifications of this class of interments has been worked out in many directions by Undset, though its Eastern extension still requires elucidation. Its characteristic feature, the deposition of cinerary urns, in company with smaller associated vessels in shallow pits in the flat surface of the ground, is reproduced in the Aylesford cemetery, though in this case there is a greater tendency to place several cinerary urns in the same grave, and the "accessory" vessels (*Nebengefässe*) are not quite so plentiful. Some, even of the smaller vases in the Aylesford graves seem to have contained incinerated remains, though typical examples of "accessory vessels" are not wanting, witness the small dish or patera found by me in the grave B, in company with two larger urns containing burnt bones, and the small bowls and vases in other graves.

The typical features of the vases here discovered differ, however, in many respects from the characteristic "urn-field" types of central and northern Europe, and though, as will be shown, pointing like the others to a strong Southern or South-Eastern influence, represent rather a later stream of culture, the intermediate course of which is to be found in the Gaulish tract between the Channel and the Alps.[a] The "urn-field" types such as are known in North Germany only invaded Britain at a later date, in the days, namely, of the English Conquest. In the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries with "flat-graves" containing cinerary urns, the characteristic protuberances of which remind us of the far earlier "boss urns" of Lusatia, we see the lineal representatives of that great group of urn-fields which at the beginning of the Iron Age in East-Central Europe, diffused itself from the plateaux of Moravia and Bohemia to the lower courses of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula. In the Late British cemetery of Aylesford on

[a] It is hardly necessary to say that this later stream of culture also greatly influenced and modified the pre-existing urn-field system of the North of Europe, to which it arrived by more than one channel.

b[c]/

the other hand we have for the first time a native example of an "urn-field" belonging to the period that preceded the Roman invasion of Britain, the immediate antecedents of which are to be sought in the Belgic parts of Gaul, but which may be ultimately traced to an extensive Illyro-Italic province, and to a Southern branch of the urn-field group referred to above as characterising the Early Iron Age of East-Central Europe. It is in fact the later offspring of the same parent-stock as that which at an earlier date had permeated the North on one side and a large Italian tract on the other.

The dominant Gaulish races, longer it would seem than the Germanic tribes, had held out against this new sepulchral ritual, and in the burial deposits extending from the plains of Champagne and the Saar and Mosel valleys to Moravia in the East, which present us with the first authentic monuments of Late-Celtic art, the usage of inhumation of the body, generally under a mound, is universal. It is the same in North Italy. So too in Britain, the earliest class of Late-Celtic graves, (whether in all cases earlier in time or not), such as those of Arras in Yorkshire, consists of barrows containing skeletons. The usage of cremation had indeed been general among the British bronze-using people, but this usage seems here, as in the Continental region dominated by the first producers of Late-Celtic art, to have undergone a period of interruption. In the Aylesford cemetery we find it revived in a new form derived from a different quarter. This new form of cremation burial does not seem to have been hitherto distinguished by our antiquaries, but the Aylesford type of urn-field in reality marks a distinct epoch in the history of British sepulture. As a matter of fact examples of the present class of cremation graves containing Late-Celtic relics have, as will be shown when we come to deal with the Aylesford types of pottery, been found in several parts of south-eastern Britain, and it is probable that careful researches will eventually bring to light a whole series of urn-fields of the same character as our Kentish cemetery.

I. (*c*) The Aylesford Cemetery in its relation to Earlier British Sepulchral Usage.

The foregoing description will have given a sufficient idea of the general character of the Aylesford cemetery. The greater part of its original area seems to have been occupied with "family-circles" of small, shallow, cylindrical grave-pits, containing groups of cinerary urns and accessory vessels of a certain well-marked type, wheel-made, and essentially different from the rude traditional pottery that characterizes the Bronze and Neolithic Age in Britain. But on the outskirts of

the area occupied by graves of this class there occurred some relics and interments of an earlier character, and tending to show that, side by side with the later Celtic invaders from beyond the Channel, this site was still partially inhabited by representatives of the race that inhabited Britain before the arrival of the Gaulish intruders who introduced the new sepulchral forms. On the eastern side of the quarry were found fragmentary remains of rude British pottery of the usual kind, ornamented with finger-marks and nail-scratches, and of coarse, hand-made, or imperfectly-baked materials. Sufficient portions of one pot exist to show its form, which is that of an ordinary British drinking-vessel, such as are from time to time discovered in our round barrows. It was decorated in the "pie-crust" style round the collar. The remains of another larger pot, now in the Maidstone Museum, reveal the usual form of the British cinerary urns of the Bronze Period. Little was left to show the character of the interments with which these ruder vessels were associated. There was no trace of any surface barrow, and it is possible that they may represent the utensils of surviving members of the indigenous stock who had adopted the "flat-grave" system of the dominant race, but who still clung to their traditional style of pottery. The excavations of General Pitt-Rivers in the Romano-British villages on Cranborne Chase show that some very old traditions of the indigenous potters' handiwork went on even into Roman times.[a] From the occasional juxtaposition of pottery belonging to both classes, as well as from the occurrence of some transitional forms, it seems likely that in the present case native handiwork went on, for a while at least, side by side with the more elegant fabrics of the Gaulish new-comers. It is quite possible that the new settlers appropriated and extended a pre-existing British cemetery.

I. (*d*) The Cist-Graves.

The view that the cemetery was in part used by representatives of the earlier indigenous race is corroborated by another and, in some respects, a still more interesting phenomenon, which was observed on the opposite or western fringe of the cemetery, and which seems to indicate a parallel survival of an archaic form of interment. On this border, in close juxtaposition to some of the late Celtic urn-circles, were discovered three cists, each containing a skeleton in a contracted attitude. These cists formed a kind of alignment running from south east to north-west, the second cist being about ten yards from the first, and the third about the same distance from the second.

[a] Notably the suspension handles. Cf. Gen. Pitt Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase, near Rushmore* (vol. i. pl. xxxii. figs. 8-10, pl. xxxix. figs. 1, 2, 3; vol. ii. pl. cvii. 6, pl. cx. 8, pl. cxi. 1-2).

These cists were of very similar character, and were in each case formed of slabs of a crumbly kind of travertine, in two instances a slab of sandstone being also introduced. The roof slab of No. 1 was interesting from the fact that it contained a hole large enough for the insertion of a man's hand. This was probably itself of natural origin, but, from its present even surface, it is possible that it was used for the same purposes as the holed slabs of a well-known class of dolmens, food being introduced through the aperture, as it still is through similar holes in the mortuary wooden cists of some Red Indian tribes.[a] It may also have been intended to serve, as other sepulchral holes, for the free passage of the ghost. The slabs of this cist are now in the Maidstone museum.

Of the bones contained in these cists, which were in a very fragmentary condition, I was only able to obtain those from No. 2. Mr. Arthur Thomson, of the Anatomical Department of the Museum at Oxford, who kindly inspected them, informs me that in his opinion they are those of a woman from seventeen to twenty years of age, and 5 feet 1 inch in stature. The skull is markedly dolichocephalic, the index being 65, or perhaps less, denoting great length as compared with width. The skull seems to attain its greatest width a little above and behind the ear. The forehead is relatively high and narrow, the orbits somewhat square in form. From an examination of the bones of the leg,[b] Mr. Thomson drew the conclusion that the individual had led an active life, and either made use of the feet in climbing or habitually rested in a squatting position. He observed a slight flattening of the *tibia*, indicative of excessive development of some of the muscles of the calf.

The third cist was discovered in the spring of 1889. It was 3 feet beneath the surface, and lay slightly to the north-west of the others. Its mean height was about 2 feet, its breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot, and its length 2 feet 4 inches. It consisted of five larger slabs and one smaller piece, all of the same rough travertine that was employed in the other cists, with the exception of one of the two end slabs, which

[a] As for instance the Natchez Indians and those of the North-West Coast. See Jones, *Antiquities of Southern Indians*, 1873, p. 105; and H. C. Yarrow, *A further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians.* (First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1881.)

[b] Facets are visible on the inferior margin of the *tibiæ* and corresponding portions of the *astragali.* (See "The influence of posture on the form of articular surfaces of the tibia and astragalus of the different races of man and the higher apes." By Arthur Thomson, M.A., M.B., Lecturer on Human Anatomy in the University of Oxford. *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, vol. xxiii., p. 616 *seqq.*, and vol. xxiv. p. 210 *seqq.*)

was of sandstone. The roof was formed of two pieces, and within was a skeleton much decayed, but which seems to have been in the same contracted posture, its head facing south-east. This cist has been carefully set up, under Mr. Wagon's superintendence, near his office at the entrance of the pit.

I. (*e*) Ancient British Coins found in the Cemetery.

On the west side of the cemetery near the first cist discovered a workman found two gold coins. The coins were surreptitiously sold in Gravesend. I succeeded, however, in tracing them, and found them to be early British coins of the uninscribed class. The first (fig. 5) is a gold stater of a kind of which isolated examples have been found throughout the whole of south-eastern England, but which occurs more plentifully in Kent than elsewhere.[a] The second (fig. 6) is a gold quarter stater[b] of a type the recorded discoveries of which in Britain have hitherto been confined to Sussex and Surrey. What, however, is specially interesting in the present connexion is the fact that both of these coins seem to occur indiscriminately on either side of the Channel,[c] and must therefore be in all probability referred to some Belgic prince, who, as Commios the Atrebatian seems to have done, at a somewhat later date, held sway over a part of south-eastern Britain as well as in Belgic Gaul.[d] The discovery of these two Belgic pieces in the Aylesford cemetery is the more significant that during the whole of the excavations no Roman or other later coins have come to light.

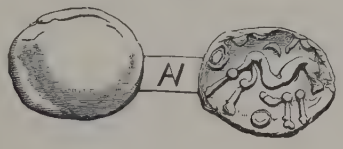


Fig. 5.

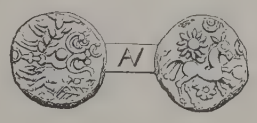


Fig. 6.

[a] It is a variety of Evans (*Coins of the Ancient Britons*), pl. B. 8, see p. 63, *seqq.* The obverse is blank, the original laureate head of the Philippic prototype having been modified away through successive copying of coins worn on their convex side.

[b] Cf. Evans, *op. cit.* pl. E. 2, pp. 89, 90.

[c] Lelewel, pl. iii. 36, classes No. 1 as Atrebatian or Nervian, and states "on retrouve ces monnaies unifaces sur le territoire belge; on les a retirées des marais de Flins." A variety of No. 2 is given both by Lambert, pl. xi. fig. 12, and Lelewel, pl. iv. ii.

[d] Cæsar simply says of Commios "cuius auctoritas in iis regionibus (sc. Britannia) magni habebatur." But the mention of sons of Commios on coins of the South-Eastern district suggests a high probability that it was the Commios of Cæsar who founded a dynasty in Britain. Cf. Evans, *op. cit.* p. 153. It further appears from a recently-discovered type that his son Verica also struck coins on both sides of the Channel. (Evans, *op. cit. Supplement* (1890), p. 508.)

PART II.—THE LATE-CELTIC POTTERY OF THE AYLESFORD URN-FIELD; ITS GAULISH EXTENSION AND OLD VENETIAN (ILLYRO-ITALIC), ETC. SOURCES.

II. (*a*) Characteristics of Aylesford Ceramic Types.

The pottery of the Aylesford deposits is of the greatest interest, and establishes for the first time the existence of a wholly new style of Ancient British ceramic art. The handiwork of the British potters of pre-Roman times has been hitherto almost exclusively associated with the coarse-grained hand-made vessels that represent the direct tradition of the cups and urns of our Neolithic barrows. It is now generally recognised that the origin of this ruder class of vessels is to be sought in early basket-work, the forms and ornaments of which are reproduced with certain modifications and additions. It is to this older class that, as already observed, some of the pottery in the outlying graves of the Aylesford cemetery is to be referred; but, as can be seen by merely glancing at Plates VII. VIII. and IX., the great bulk of the vases discovered on this site belong to quite another category. In their form, fabric, and colour alike, they betray an altogether different pedigree, and the influence of more classical prototypes.

The clay of which these vessels are composed is of finer quality than that of the typical Ancient British pottery. They are mostly free from the grit and cretaceous particles that form so conspicuous a feature in the older class of earthenware from the same site; minute grains of quartz and apparently mica are, however, occasionally visible in the walls of the pots. They are better baked and occasionally present an uniform pale brick colour, resembling that of some Roman vases. This appearance is however rare, and the internal substance of the pottery is usually of a light brown colour. The difference in the surface is even more marked. This appears in almost all cases to have been originally coated with a black lustrous pigment, formed probably, like that on some contemporary Gaulish vases, of finely pounded charcoal, and when this has worn away the exterior surface is still of a dark brown colour.

There can be no doubt that the great majority of these vessels are wheel-turned. In some instances concentric circles appear on the bottom of the pot, and in one case the centre of the base shows a hemispherical concavity like the kick of a bottle.

The light and shapely construction of these Aylesford vases presents a singular contrast to the cumbrous hand-made ware that they have superseded. Their contours are often of real elegance, and the finer among them are provided with well-turned pedestals. Amongst their most characteristic features, to the significance of which we shall have occasion to return, may be specified the raised cordons or ribs, generally defined by two lateral grooves, by which they are accompanied, and which divide the body into zones. Sometimes these zones are themselves decorated with finely incised sloping lines, and at times other linear ornaments, such as zigzags and sprays, have been drawn with a blunt point. At times again the whole side of the vessel is covered with comb-markings that give it the appearance of basket-work or of the grain of wood, a form of ornament due perhaps to the influence of the earlier class of earthenware already referred to.

The following list comprises most of the best preserved specimens of the Late-Celtic class of pottery found in the Aylesford cemetery:

II. (*b*) Summary Description of the Aylesford Pots.

1. *Pedestalled Vases.*

1. Cinerary Vase. 14 inches high; diameter of upper rim $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, of base $5\frac{3}{10}$ inches. It is of fine clay covered with brown coloured "varnish." It has three cordons round its body, and one round its pedestal. The upper and lower parts are surrounded with finely incised horizontal lines. The two central zones are ornamented with sloping strokes made by a broader pointed instrument. The surface of these lines is somewhat polished. (Pl. VII. fig. 7. Lewis Coll. No. 2. B. M.)

2. Cinerary Vase. $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches high; diameter of upper rim 6 inches, of base $4\frac{3}{5}$ inches. It is of the same colour and paste as the preceding. It has four cordons round its shoulder, two pairs of two each round its body, and two round its pedestal. These cordons correspond to very slight depressions in its inner walls. Found with three others. (Pl. VII. fig. 5. Lewis Coll. No. 5. B. M.)

3. Cinerary Vase. $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; diameter of upper rim $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of base 5 inches. As preceding, but of somewhat blacker colour in places. It is surrounded by two cordons round its neck, and two round the centre of its body; in both cases in juxtaposition. (Pl. VIII. fig. 5. Lewis Coll. No. 5. B. M.)

4. Cinerary Vase. $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches high; diameter of upper rim 6 inches, of base $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It shows a good deal of its original black lustrous pigment. It has one cordon round the neck, three round the body, and one round the pedestal. (Lewis Coll. No. 13. B. M.)

5. The lower part of a very fine situla which must originally have stood about 15½ inches high. Its base is 5 inches in diameter. It is coloured with a lustrous black "varnish," and is surrounded at intervals, varying from ⅞ of an inch in the centre to ½ inch about the foot, by very sharply formed cordons with a nearly angular ridge. It has at present eight, and may originally have had as many as eleven, cordons. The clay shows traces of micaceous particles. This cinerary was found in the same grave-pit as the two-handled tankard. (Fig. 7, restored. Hales. B. M.)

6. Cinerary Vase. Height 15 inches; diameter of upper rim 9 1/10 inches, of base 5½ inches. It is very elegantly shaped, of an uniform dark brown, and has a single cordon round its pedestal. (Pl. VII. fig. 6. Lewis Coll. No. 1. B. M.)

7. Cinerary Vase. Height 6⅖ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅘ inches, of base 4⅛ inches. As preceding in paste and colour. It has a single cordon round the neck. (Lewis Coll. B. M.)

8. Cinerary Vase. Height 11 3/11 inches; diameter of upper rim 2½ inches, of base 4 3/10 inches. This vase is of a remarkably elegant form, and a proportionately narrower mouth than any of the others. It presents a pale brick-red surface, and has a single cordon round the neck. (Pl. IX. fig. 4. Lewis Coll. No. 4. B. M.)

9. Cinerary Vase. Height 8 9/10 inches; diameter of upper rim 5⅗ inches, of pedestal 4⅖ inches. Of a colour varying from light to blackish brown. It has one cordon round its neck, and four round its body, each between double impressed lines. (Lewis Coll. B. M.)

10. Cinerary Vase. Lower half only preserved. The base is 4½ inches in diameter, and the original height of the pot may have been about 11 inches. It is of a brown colour with traces of darker varnish. One cordon surrounds the centre of the body, and two its lower part; there were probably five originally. (Ashmolean Museum. Found in the "family-circle," grave F. with No. 26.)

11. Cinerary Vase. Height 9 inches; diameter of upper rim 5¼ inches, of base 3¾ inches. Of a brown colour, with a black patch on one side. It has no cordon. (Pl. VIII. fig. 1. Presented to the Ashmolean Museum by Dr. I. B. Muirshead.)

2. *Vases, perhaps derivatives of the "Situla" type, with elegantly formed bases.*

12. Cinerary Vase. Height 6¼ inches; diameter of upper rim 3¾ inches, of base 2 5/16 inches. It is of a pale brick-red colour, and of exceptionally fine paste. It has a low cordon round its shoulders, a narrow impressed band round the centre of its body, and another 1¼ inch lower down. The whole of the middle zones of the pot are occupied by fine incised diagonal lines very evenly drawn. (Pl. IX. fig. 1. Ashmolean Museum. Presented by Mr. Silas Wagon).

13. Cinerary Vase. Height 7½ inches; diameter of upper rim 4¾ inches, of base 3 inches. Of the same type as the last, and of a brick-red colour. It has a cordon between two impressed grooves round its shoulders, another round the central part of its body, and a third below. Its zones have been ornamented by fine diagonal combings. (Ashmolean Museum, from grave C. of "family-circle.")

14. Cinerary Vase. Height 5½ inches; diameter of upper rim 3⅛ inches, of base 2⅛ inches. Of a greyish brown colour. It has no cordons. (Ashmolean Museum. From the "family-circle," grave E., found with No. 17.) Pl. VII. fig. 1.
15. Cinerary Vase. Height 7½ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅝ inches, of base 3 inches. Finely made of a dark paste with a blackish "varnish." It has three cordons. (Presented by Mr. Silas Wagon to the Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VIII. fig. 4.

3. *Vases without pedestal and with somewhat globular bodies.*

16. Cinerary Pot. Height 7½ inches; diameter of upper rim 4⅜ inches, of base 3½ inches. It is of a dark brown colour. It has two cordons round its shoulders, below which is a zigzag impressed ornament made with a blunt-pointed instrument. (Lewis Coll. B. M.) Pl. IX. fig. 7. This urn was found within the iron band of a bucket.
17. Cinerary Pot. Height 7 inches; diameter of upper rim 8½ inches, of base 4½ inches. It is of a light brown paste coated with a darker "varnish." It has a slight moulding round its neck, and its sides are decorated with horizontal rings enclosing a zone with lines forming a succession of zigzags. These rings and lines are formed by drawing a blunt point over the soft clay. (From the "family-circle," grave E. Found together with No. 14. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. X. fig. 8.
18. Cinerary Pot. Height 5 inches; diameter of upper rim 3$\frac{7}{10}$ inches, of base 3$\frac{3}{10}$ inches. It is of a light brown, partly covered with black "varnish," and the paste is of somewhat coarse quality. Round the shoulder is a cordon, and round the body an impressed band. The sides are ornamented with interlacing comb-markings resembling basket work. (Lewis Coll. No. 15. B. M.)
19. Cinerary Pot. Height 5 inches; diameter of upper rim 4½ inches, of base 3½ inches. As last, but of somewhat darker brown. It has a cordon round its shoulder, a flat band round the middle of its body, and is decorated with interlacing comb-markings resembling basket work, as the last but more finely drawn. (Lewis Coll. No. 16. B. M.) Pl. IX. fig. 6.
20. Cinerary Pot. Height 8$\frac{3}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim 6 inches, of base 5⅜ inches. Of a dark brown paste covered with black "varnish." It has two faint cordons round its neck and shoulders, an impressed line round the middle of its body, and is decorated with the same interlacing comb-markings as the two last. (Lewis Coll. No. 10. B. M.)
21. Cinerary Pot. Height 7½ inches; diameter of upper rim 4$\frac{7}{10}$ inches, of base 3$\frac{9}{10}$ inches. Form, colour, and ornament as last (Lewis Coll. No. 19. B. M.)
22. Cinerary Pot. Fragmentary, but same type as last. (Lewis Coll. B. M.)
23. Cinerary Pot. Height 7¾ inches; diameter of upper rim 4$\frac{3}{10}$ inches, of base 3$\frac{7}{10}$ inches. Of dark brown colour with two low cordons and impressed line round neck and shoulders. The body is ornamented with comb-markings, which give the surface somewhat the appearance of wood graining. (Lewis Coll. No. 17. B. M.) Pl. VIII. fig. 6.

24. Cinerary Pot. Height 10 inches; diameter of upper rim 7 inches, of base $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Of a pale red colour with a zigzag between two incised lines round rim. (Lewis Coll. No. 8. B.M.) Pl. IX. fig. 5.

25. Cinerary Pot. Height 6 inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches, of base $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Of a brown paste with black "varnish" unevenly applied. Round its neck and shoulders are two faint cordons, and the sides are ornamented with a rude spray ornament drawn on the soft clay with a blunt-pointed instrument. (It was found in pit B. of the "family-circle," with Nos. 36 and 40. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VII. fig. 4.

26. Small Cinerary Pot. Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches, of base $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Of a brown paste coated with a lustrous black "varnish." It has a cordon between two impressed grooves round its neck, and another round its shoulders. (Found in the "family-circle," grave F., with No. 10. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VIII. fig. 3.

27. Small Cinerary Pot. Height $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, of base $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. It is of a brown colour covered in parts with darker "varnish." Round its shoulders is a well-defined cordon. (From grave D. of "family-circle," with No. 37. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. VII. fig. 3.

28. Cinerary Pot. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{3}{5}$ inches, of base $3\frac{7}{10}$ inches. Of a brown surface with traces of blacker "varnish." It has two low cordons round its neck and shoulders. (Hales. B. M.)

29. Cinerary Pot. Height $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $5\frac{1}{10}$ inches, of base $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Of a brown surface, blacker in parts. Of the same general form as the last, but with three cordons round its shoulders. (B. M.) Pl. VII. fig. 2.

30. Small Cinerary Pot. $3\frac{9}{10}$ inches high; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{2}{5}$ inches, of base 2 inches. It is of a somewhat rich brown colour, with a very sharp cordon round its shoulders. (Lewis Coll. No. 12. B. M.)

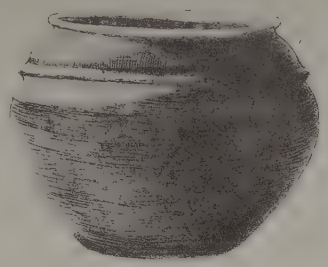
31. Small Pot. Height $4\frac{1}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{4}{5}$ inches, of base $2\frac{2}{5}$ inches. Of dark brown paste with black "varnish." It has a slight cordon round its shoulders. (Lewis Coll. No. 21. B. M.) It contained no bones.

32. Cinerary Pot. Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $7\frac{1}{5}$ inches, of base $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Of dark brown colour. The body of this vase forms a succession of eight ribs, which in the inner walls are represented by so many depressions. (Lewis Coll. No. 11. B. M.) Pl. VIII. fig. 7.

33. Cinerary Pot. Height $9\frac{3}{10}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $3\frac{7}{10}$ inches. Dark brown colour. The neck and shoulders are surrounded by seven ribs or cordons, which, however, are not traceable in the interior walls. (Lewis Coll. No. 9. B. M.) Pl. VIII. fig. 2.

34. Small pot (smallest discovered). Height $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches, of base $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch. Of a brown paste, with a cordon between two broader ribs round its neck. (Lewis Coll. No. 23. B. M.) Pl. IX. fig. 3.

1 (LIST NO. 14)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE E.



2 (LIST NO. 29)

3 (LIST NO. 27)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE D.

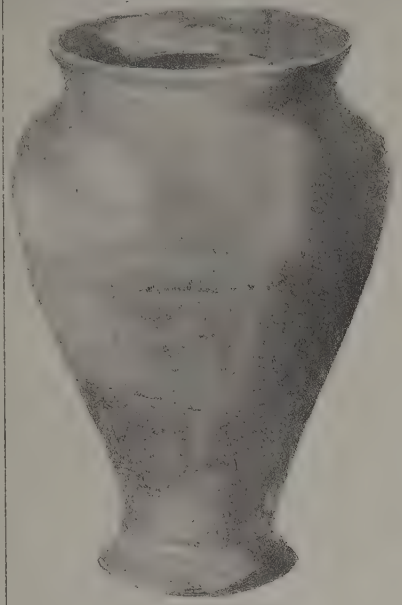
4 (LIST NO. 25)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE B.

5 (LIST NO. 2)

6 (LIST NO. 8)

7 (LIST NO. 1)

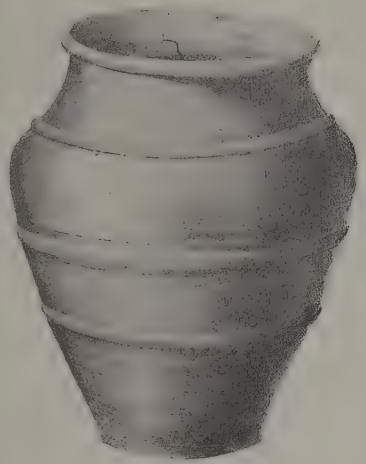
LATE CELTIC CINERARY URNS, AYLESFORD, KENT.
(*¼ linear*).



1 (LIST NO. 12)

2 (LIST NO. 33)
(*¼ linear*).

3 (LIST NO. 32.)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE F.



4 (LIST NO. 15)

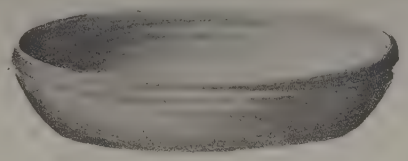
5 (LIST NO. 3)

6 (LIST NO. 23)

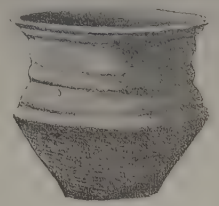
7 (LIST NO. 32)

LATE CELTIC CINERARY URNS, AYLESFORD, KENT.
(⅓ *linear*).

1 (LIST NO. 18)

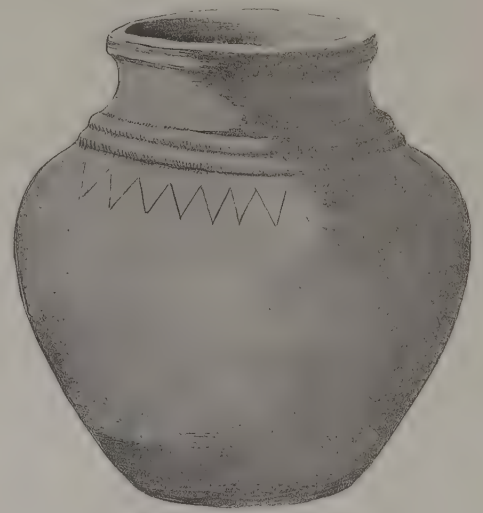


2 (LIST NO. 41)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE B.

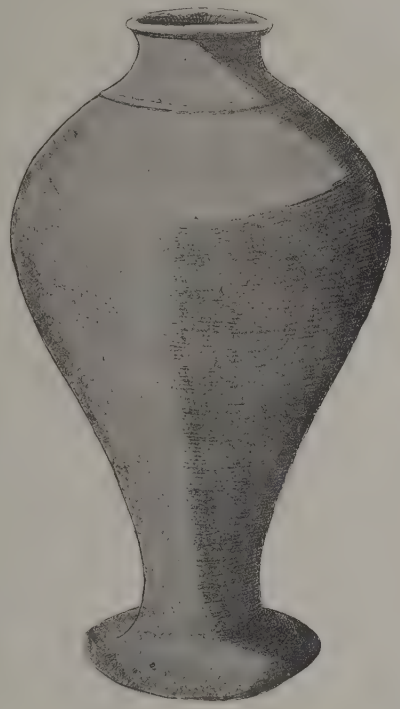


3 (LIST NO. 24)

5 (LIST NO. 24)



7 (LIST NO. 16.) IN IRON-BANDED BUCKET.



4 (LIST NO. 8)

6 (LIST NO. 19)

8 (LIST NO. 17)
FROM "FAMILY CIRCLE," GRAVE E.

LATE CELTIC CINERARY URNS AND PATERA, AYLESFORD.
($\frac{1}{8}$ *linear*).

Bowls.

35. Cinerary Bowl. The diameter of the upper rim was $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and from the remains of the other part it seems to have stood about $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. It is of a brown paste, with a darker coating. (From the "family-circle," grave A. Ashmolean Museum.)

36. Small Cinerary Bowl. Height $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, of base $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Of a brown paste with traces of black "varnish." It has a slight cordon round its shoulders. (From the "family-circle," grave B. Ashmolean Museum.)

37. Small Bowl. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; diameter of upper rim $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches, of base $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches. It is of a light brown paste approaching pale brick colour in the interior. Its surface, however, is of a deeper brown, and is coated in places with a black "varnish." It has two faint cordons round its high collar and one round its shoulders. (Found in "family-circle," grave D., with No. 27. Ashmolean Museum). It contained no bones.

38 Bowl. Diameter 7 inches.

Paterœ.

39. Patera. Diameter 6 inches; height $1\frac{2}{11}$ inches. Of a dark brown colour. It has a single cordon round its outer edge. (Lewis Coll. B.M.)

40. Patera. Diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches; height $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Of light brown paste with darker surface showing black "varnish" in places. It has a cordon or moulding round the rim. (From "family-circle," grave B. Found with Nos. 25 and 36. Ashmolean Museum.) Pl. IX. fig. 2.

II. (*c*) The Cordoned *Situla*-like Vases and their Bronze and Earthenware Originals of the Adriatic Province.

Of all the types exhibited to us by the present series the most striking and characteristic is that of the cinerary vases somewhat abruptly rounded, at times slightly angular, at their shoulders, and tapering off in an inverted conical outline to a pedestal below. Fig. 7, representing the urn No. 5 of my list with its upper part completed, will give an idea of the characteristic form referred to in its most perfect development. In most cases these vases, which for elegance of form may almost vie with the ceramic products of Italy or Greece, are divided into zones by the small raised ridges or cordons described above, the zones themselves being in turn decorated at times with finely incised linear striations. This type of vase, beautiful as it is in itself, is still more interesting from the comparisons to which it inevitably leads us. No one familiar with the ceramic forms of an important

group of North-Italian cemeteries belonging for the most part to the fourth or fifth centuries before our era, and of which the series of objects so admirably excavated and arranged by Professor Prosdocimi at Este[a] forms the most splendid illustration, can fail to be struck with the manifold points of resemblance presented by the urns before us with the most characteristic of the vase-types there represented (cf. Pl. X.). The contour of the type referred to, with its shoulders sometimes angular, sometimes abruptly rounded off, its inverted conical body divided into vertical zones by raised cordons, and tapering off to a pedestal below, can only be described as identical with that of some of the finest of the Aylesford specimens. The only perceptible difference is that whereas the British urns are almost uniformly covered with a black or brown coating, the colouring matter of which may have been supplied by pounded charcoal, zones of the Euganean cineraries are coloured alternately with bands of graphite and red ochre. Some of the earlier of the Este vases are, however, of a plain dark brown *bucchero*, and others again of later date are an uniform red or grey.

Fig. 7. Cinerary Vase No. 5, from cemetery at Aylesford, Kent. (The upper part completed). ½ linear.

These North-Italian parallels have a still further value, inasmuch as they throw the clearest possible light on the actual genesis of this ceramic type. The

[a] *Notizie degli Scavi*, &c. 1882, p. 5-37.

cordoned vases of Este are, in fact, nothing more than copies in clay of certain forms of bronze *situlæ*, the originals of which are from time to time discovered on the same site. The commonest form of these, which is distributed through the whole of the geographical area where the vases are discovered, is zoned in the same way as the pots, the zones answering to an universal method of early metal industry, in accordance with which vessels were built up of bands of thin metal riveted together at the edges, each zone being often in turn defined by cordons or beads of metal. These cordons themselves in their more prominent form represent the wooden rings that surrounded and kept together the framework of wooden staves to which in early times the metal plates themselves were riveted.

To this class of bronze *situlæ* belong several famous examples, such as that discovered at Este itself in the Villa Benvenuti,[a] and the kindred specimens from the Certosa of Bologna,[b] and the Carniolan cemetery at Waatsch[c] (Pl. X. fig. 1), the zones of which were adorned with *repoussé* friezes representing, amongst other subjects, scenes of banqueting and sacrifice, pugilistic encounters, processions of warriors, and of women with pitchers on their heads, animals, fantastic and otherwise, executed by native artificers after Greek and Phœnician models.

These bronzes, both in general contour and in the zones that surround them, present a marked resemblance to the pots in question. They differ, indeed, from the vases, in not being provided with pedestals, but this element is supplied by another allied class of bronze *situlæ*[d] (Pl. X. fig. 2) characteristic of the same area, which indeed unites all the elements of the earthenware copies. The ornamental zones in this case are of a more decorative character and consist, for the most part, of rows of birds and animals in a highly conventional style, sometimes also with mæanders and other geometrical designs. The zones in this case seem to be confined to the upper part of the *situla*, and a plainer variety (Pl. X. fig. 3) exists, in which they are altogether absent on the body of the vase. A single bead or cordon, however, surrounds the lower part, just above the pedestal. The type, it will be observed, finds some very close parallels among the Aylesford vases (Pl. VII. fig. 6).

On the whole it may be said that the zoned vases of the Este group combine

[a] Prosdocimi, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1882, p. 26, Tav. vi. 1; Zannoni, *Gli scavi della Certosa di Bologna*, p. 157; Chierici, *Bullettino di Paletnologia*, Anno vi. p. 103.

[b] Zannoni, *op. cit.* p. 101, *seqq.*; Tav. xxv. 7.

[c] Deschmann und Hochstetter, *Prähistorische Ansiedlungen und Begräbnissstätten in Krain* (Abhandl. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien. 1879).

[d] Cf. Prosdocimi, *op. cit.* Tav. vi. p. 13, 15; Tav. vii. p. 7, 16.

some features of both of the above classes of associated bronze *situlæ*, the regular succession of the zones and cordons answering best to the first class described, the pedestals to the second. Nor do these translations of bronze forms into clay by the Euganean and old Venetian potters by any means stand alone. In the Nazzaro collection at Este may be seen an earthenware version of the familiar cordoned bucket (*cista a cordoni*) placed on a kind of stand. A curious high pedestalled drinking-cup, with a beaded stem, which is characteristic of the same sepulchral group as the zoned *situlæ*, is also explained by the presence of bronze originals, made of two pieces, and with a bead at the joint in the middle of the pedestal, which, like the cordons of the *situlæ*, is faithfully reproduced in the clay copies. Another striking phenomenon of the same kind is to be seen in the ceramic reproduction of a Greek bronze *œnochoë* of a well-known type, with high-beaked spout.

In the case of the zoned and cordoned vases, we find again, both at Este and on other ancient sites round the head of the Adriatic, some curious transitional forms, in which the record of the bronze originals is still preserved by the decoration of the zones of the vase with small bronze studs. The well-known class of studded[a] pottery, the *vasi borchiati* of Italian archæologists, to which the above variety of *situla*-shaped vases belongs, is of great importance as illustrating the influence of metal-work originals on earthenware forms. Although of occasional occurrence elsewhere, in the earliest Iron Age deposits of Italy and its borderlands, this method must from the fifth century B.C. onwards be regarded as a speciality of the Illyro-Italic province.[b] Occasionally the studs are decorated with concentric circles (Pl. X. fig. 5), reproducing a form of embossed ornament, frequent on some of the *situlæ*. In other instances they are arranged in geometric patterns, horizontal zones, meanders and recurring spirals (Pl. IX. fig. 5), copied

[a] Sometimes the studs are of lead or tin. I have seen this Oriental method of decorating pottery by the attachment of small pieces of tin still practised in the Bulgarian town of Rustchuk on the lower Danube. The pots in this case have a lustrous black surface.

[b] "*Vasi borchiati*" have been found not only in the cemeteries of Este and at Bologna (Zannoni, *op. cit.* p. 395, Tav. cxxxv.), where they appear to be due to Venetian and Euganean influence; but in cemeteries of the Este type near Belluno (*Not. d. Scavi*, 1883, p. 40); in the Valley of Cadore (*op. cit.* p. 71), and Treviso (*op. cit.* p. 119); at Santa Lucia, near Gorizia (Much, *Die prähistorischen Funde von Santa Lucia, &c.* Mitth. d. k. k. Centr. Comm. &c. 1884); at Vermo, near Pisino, in Istria (*Bull. di Paletnologia*, 1883, 204, 1885, *seqq.*); at Waatsch, in Carniola, &c. This form of ornament is already found, though more sparsely, in the earliest Iron Age interments of Italy; *e. g.* in the well-tombs of Corneto-Tarquinia and Vetulonia, and an elegant black bowl from Hallstatt (Von Sacken, Taf. xxvi. 3) was studded in the same way. At Falerii, *Cività Castellana*, it is well represented.

from precisely similar designs on bronze prototypes.[a] This fact will also be found to have an important bearing on the source of some Late-Celtic pottery.

The zoned and cordoned vases of the Este type are peculiar to the same geographical area as the bronze *situlæ* after which they were modelled. This includes, besides the old Venetian and Euganean regions of Northern Italy, a considerable Alpine tract to the north-east, and has a hitherto undefined range east of the Adriatic. In the Certosa tombs of Felsina they occur but rarely; they stand apart from the usual inventory of this North Etruscan cemetery, and must evidently there be regarded as intrusive products of a rival culture. North of the Po, however, the type seems everywhere at home. It is found in the cemeteries contemporary with those of Este in the districts of Verona, Treviso,[b] and Belluno.[c] On the opposite Istrian coast it reappears in the necropolis of the Pizzughi,[d] and at Vermo, near Pisino,[e] in the heart of the same peninsula. From the cemetery of Sta. Lucia, near Gorizia,[f] it extends inland through the Alpine passes to that of Pillichsdorf in Lower Austria.[g] It will be seen that the distribution of this remarkable class of zoned vases corresponds to a well-marked archæological province characterised by the parallel appearance of other special forms, by the prevalence of the same sepulchral customs, and in particular the recurrence of an alphabet,[h] to which, from its geographical extension, the name "Adriatic" has been not inaptly given. Ethnographically, this group may be defined as North Illyrian, or Illyro-Italic,[i] and may ultimately prove to have a

[a] See especially Dr. S. Gherardini, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, p. 119, and cf. Prosdocimi, *op. cit.* 1882, *Tav.* iv. fig. 1, *Tav.* v. fig. 13.

[b] In the cemetery of Asolo, near Treviso, see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, p. 119, 120.

[c] At Caverzano, *op. cit.* p. 40.

[d] Paolo Orsi, *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, 1885, p. 47, *seqq.*

[e] *Op. cit.* 1883, p. 204, 1885, p. 1, *seqq.*

[f] Much, *Die prähistorischen Funde von Santa Lucia, &c.* (Mitth. d. Central Comm. 1884, cxl.)

[g] F. Heger, *Der Tumulus bei Pillichsdorf in Niederösterreich.* (Mitth. d. anthropologischen Ges. Wien, 1879, Taf. II. f. 1 and 4.)

[h] C. Pauli, *Die Inschriften Nord Etruskischen Alphabets*, 1885, and Dr. A. Meyer, *Gurina*, p. 37, *seqq.*

[i] See especially Paolo Orsi, *Bull. di Paletnologia Italiana*, 1885, p. 114, *seqq.* Fligier, *Mitth. d. Anthropologischen Gesellsch. in Wien*, 1877, 211. It seems to me that distinct Thraco-Illyrian features may be traced in some of the figures and subjects of the bronze *situlæ* belonging to this group. To take a single example, the *kausia* worn by some of the men curiously recalls the head of the Illyrian king Genthios as he appears on coins. Cf., too, the much earlier Thracian coinages &c. A connexion with Northern Greece and its borderlands seems best to explain the strong Hellenic elements in this Illyro-Italic art, which have been well characterized by Dr. Julius Naue in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* (1886, p. 1, *seqq.* Heft. lxxxii.)

wider extension than has been hitherto imagined in the north-west corner of the Balkan peninsula. The Veneti, as is well known, were themselves described by ancient writers as an Illyrian race.[a]

The existence of this extensive Illyro-Italic province, embracing, in addition to the eastern tract of the North Italian plain, a large Alpine zone, and commanding the main avenues of commerce between the Adriatic ports and the Central European regions, must be regarded as a fact of primary importance when we consider the extraneous sources of the Later Celtic art. The Gallic invasions in Italy, from the end of the fifth century B.C. onwards, brought the new occupants of the old Ligurian and North Etruscan districts into close relations with their Venetian neighbours, sometimes as rivals, sometimes as allies.[b] Bononia and Verona could not be indifferent to Patavium and Ateste. In some districts, no doubt, the older Illyro-Italic elements were submerged by these Celtic inundations, and evidences of a mixed culture, resulting from the fusion of the former occupants with the new settlers, are not wanting in the Po valley. In the great cemetery of Caverzano, for example, near Belluno, Gallic forms of weapons and fibulæ were found associated with zoned and cordoned vases, bronze *situlæ*, and other objects answering to those of the Third Period of Este. At Lozzo, again, in the valley of Cadore, at Asolo near Treviso, and elsewhere, we find the same juxtaposition of Late-Celtic and Venetian and Euganean forms. At Este itself, during the Fourth Period of Professor Prosdocimi, the interments take a very Gaulish character, the Celtic influence giving a predominant stamp to the local culture of this part of Italy in the two centuries that preceded the Roman conquest. An interesting commentary is thus supplied to the direct statement of Polybios,[c] that the Veneti, though speaking another language, differed but little from the Celts in customs and ornaments. Side by side, however, with Gallic forms of weapons and ornaments, and with a class of ash-coloured pottery, which

[a] Herodotus (l. 196,) calls the Veneti Illyrians. Strabo, (*Geogr.* xiii. 1. 54) records the legend according to which they came from Thrace under Antênor's guidance. The Iapodes are reckoned by Appian (*De Rebus Illyricis*, c. 10, &c.) as an Illyrian tribe, and their Southern borders extended to the neighbourhood of Trieste (Tergestê). By Strabo's time (*Geogr.* vii. 5, 2, and iv. c. 10) they had become blended with Gallic elements (*op. cit.* c. 8), and to the same stock belonged the Breones and Genauni of the *Brenner* and the *Valle di Non.* (Strabo, iv. 6, 8). The Istrians are reckoned an Illyrian race by Appian.

[b] Strabo (*Geogr.* v. 1, 9) says that already before the Hannibalic war, the Veneti and their neighbours the Gallic Cenomani were allied together on the Roman side against other Cisalpine Gaulish tribes.

[c] Hist. Lib. ii. c. 17, 5. "Οὐένετοι τοῖς μὲν ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ βραχὺ διαφέροντες Κελτῶν, γλώττῃ δ' ἀλλοίᾳ χρώμενοι."

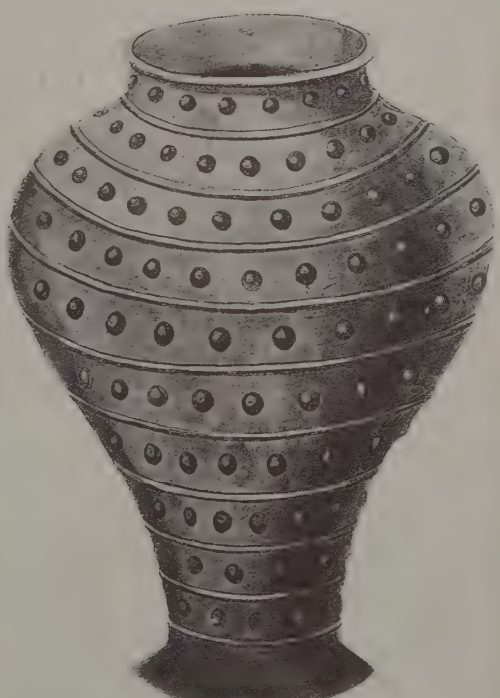
1. BRONZE SITULA.
WAATSCH, CARNIOLA.

2. BRONZE SITULA.
ESTE.

3. CLAY SITULA WITH RED AND BLACK ZONES AND BRONZE STUDS. ESTE.

4. CLAY SITULA WITH BRONZE STUDS.
ESTE.

5. CLAY IMITATION OF BRONZE SITULA.
ESTE.



6. CLAY SITULA WITH BRONZE STUDS.
CERTOSA, BOLOGNA (VENETO-ITALIC TYPE).

DIAGRAMMATIC PLATE FOR COMPARISON SHOWING ILLYRO-ITALIC SITULAS AND TRANSITIONAL IMITATIONS IN CLAY WITH BRONZE STUDS.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

DIAGRAMMATIC PLATE FOR COMPARISON SHOWING ILLYRO-ITALIC CORDONED VESSELS FROM ESTE.

the Gaulish invaders seem to have brought with them, we find the otherwise Gallicized population still adhering to the old tradition of zoned and cordoned vases. Thus, in one of the most important of the tombs belonging to this period,[a] and in other respects the most thoroughly Gallic, there was found, together with a sword and *fibulæ* of the La Tène type, a cinerary vase, the paste and fabric of which was of the characteristic cis-Alpine Gaulish kind, but which in its zones, its red ochreous colouring, and its cordons, reproduced the familiar features of the situla-shaped urns of the earlier Atestine tombs.[b]

In the Eastern Alps, and what are now the Austrian Crownlands of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, the pre-existing populations of the same Illyric stock were for the most part subjugated by other Celtic tribes. In some cases these invasions gave birth on this side to mixed races, such as the Scordisci of the Save and Drave valleys,[c] and the Iapodes of the Adriatic coastlands, who represented a blend of Illyrian and Celtic stocks. In their case we are told that they used arms of Gallic form, but continued to tattoo themselves after the old Thracian and Illyrian manner.[d] It is obvious that under such conditions the borrowing could not have been always on one side. Much of the earlier culture of this European tract was taken over by the new comers, and the mixture of Italo-Illyric relics with others of characteristically Late-Celtic stamp on ancient sites like that of Gurina in the Gailthal, shows that here, too, as on the Italian side, this old Adriatic civilization left its impress on the Celtic tribes.

II. (*d*) Analogies to Aylesford types in Belgic Gaul.

In view of the striking parallels presented by the late British ceramic forms of Aylesford to those of which, beyond the Alps, the cemeteries of Este

[a] The third tomb of the Villa Benvenuti. Cf. Gherardini, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1883, p. 396, *seqq.* Prosdocimi, *Not. d. Scavi*, 1882, Tav. viii. fig. 3, &c.

[b] Gherardini, *loc. cit.* remarks of this urn, "Mentre il suo tipo è estraneo alle ceramiche arcaiche, come anche la qualità dell' argilla, si è voluto imitare la ornamentazione degli ossuari del III. periodo col circondarlo di due cordoni e di una linea incisa, onde è diviso in zone. Tra i due cordoni è visibilissima, oltre a ciò, l'ocre rossa." Its outline represents a modification of the earlier *situla* type.

[c] Strabo, *Geogr.* vii. 5, 2, after classing the Scordisci as Gauls, adds: "*καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς Ἰλλυρικοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ τοῖς Θρᾳκίοις ἀναμίξ ᾤκησαν.*"

[d] Strabo, *Geogr.* vii. 5, 4.

afford us the most typical example, the question naturally arises, may not this intimate Celtic contact or intermixture with the representatives of the great Adriatic province have had a still more far-reaching influence on the arts of the Celtic peoples? And this question suggests the further inquiry: Is it possible to trace the same cordoned vases with which we have to deal across Belgic Gaul to the Alpine regions, which were in direct relations with the countries occupied by the Adriatic Veneti and their kinsmen?

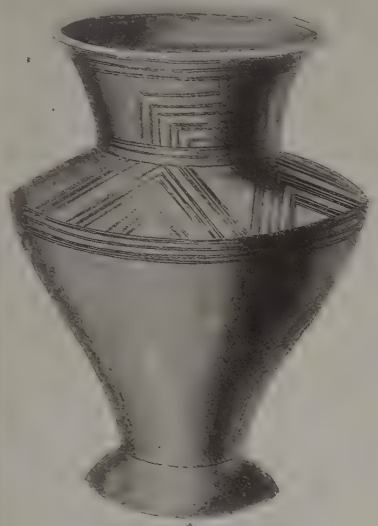
Although, so far as I am aware, no group of vases presenting such elegant contours as those from our Kentish cemetery have as yet been forthcoming from the opposite coasts of Gaul, yet an examination of the sepulchral statistics collected by French antiquaries is conclusive as showing that vases with the same typical features have occurred in a whole group of Belgic cemeteries of the same general class as that of Aylesford. In the cemetery of Moulineaux,[a] near Rouen, containing cinerary urns, sometimes deposited in company with smaller accessory vessels in shallow pits, there occurred, amongst ruder urns, a very characteristic specimen of a cordoned vase (Pl. XII. fig. 6) coloured, like the British specimens, of a blackish brown and greatly resembling the Aylesford urn (Pl. VIII. fig. 4). In another cinerary (Pl. VI. fig. 5) from the same site, with four cordons set close together round the upper part of the body, the *situla*-shaped contour was further accentuated by its elegantly-formed base, showing an approach to a pedestal. This vase was also of finer clay and presented a polished black surface, due apparently to a kind of *vernis* of pounded charcoal. In the cemetery of Port-le-Grand,[b] near St. Valéry-sur-Somme, were found some vases of somewhat similar form, with indented ornamentation on their sides. At Belozanne[c] again, on the Lower Seine, in an interment, apparently of the same class as the above, was found, in company with an accessory bowl, a cinerary vase with two cordons, a striated band round the upper part of its body and a well-developed pedestal below (Pl. XII. fig. 7). The pear-shaped outline of this vase, with its small mouth, shows an approach to the Aylesford specimen (Pl. IX. fig. 4), while the slanting striations, though here in pairs with intervals between, recur on the lower zones of several of the Kentish urns.

The cemeteries to which these Belgic vases belong date from the last period

[a] Cochet, *Sépultures Gauloises, &c.* p. 10. For a black vase with nine cordons see Charvet, *Poterie Gauloise*, p. 98, fig. 68.

[b] *Op. cit.* p. 42, and cf. Hecquet d'Orval in *Mémoires de la Société d'Émulation d'Abbeville*, 1838-40, p. 285-95.

[c] Cochet, *Revue Archéologique*, xxviii. (1874), p. 55.



1. FROM NEAR CHÂLONS-SUR-MARNE.

2. ST. ÉTIENNE-AU-TEMPLE, MARNE.

3. ST. ETIENNE-AU-TEMPLE, MARNE.

4. [illegible] NEAR MAINZ.

5. MOULINEAUX, NEAR ROUEN.

6. MOULINEAUX, NEAR ROUEN.

7. BELOZANNE, LOWER SEINE

DIAGRAMMATIC PLATE FOR COMPARISON SHOWING LATE CELTIC TYPES OF URNS FROM FRANCE AND RHINELANDS.

of Gaulish independence that preceded the Roman conquest. The character of the interment is, in its essential features, the same as that of our Kentish cemetery. We have here, as at Aylesford, cremation deposits, consisting each of a cinerary vase, often associated with one or more accessory vessels, placed in small pits in the flat surface of the ground, and lying at a depth of about 60 centimetres below the surface. In one case, of which we have an authentic record, the deposits are described as lying about 2 metres apart,[a] and it is possible, though the fact has not been noticed by French archaeologists, that the arrangement of the pits in "family-circles" may also prove to have been rife on the Gaulish side of the Channel. The enclosure of the cinerary urns in buckets, as in the case of the Aylesford grave represented in fig 1, and of which the great Marlborough bucket in all probability supplied another British example, also finds its parallel in a Gaulish cemetery, presenting ceramic forms of the same general class. Thus, in the cemetery of Hallais, between Neufchâtel and Aumale, a tureen-shaped cinerary vase, with four cordons round its upper circumference, was found, surrounded by the bronze bands of a large bucket in which it was originally enclosed. Near it, in this case, was an object described by the workmen as a "compass," no doubt the familiar iron shears of Late-Celtic interments, and an iron sword, in its iron sheath, with the obtuse point and the cross-bars to its sheath, characteristic of the latest La Tène period. In accordance with a then prevalent sepulchral custom the sword was bent and crumpled up.

II. (*e*) Analogies to Aylesford Types of Pedestalled Vases in Eastern Gaul, and in the Rhenish and Alpine Districts.

If we now turn to the more easterly parts of Gaul which present us with the earlier evidences of direct intercourse between the Gallic tribes and the Mediterranean world in the shape of the imported beaked oenochoês and other characteristic bronzes of Greek and Etruscan fabric we find ourselves confronted with certain ceramic forms which supply a most important link between the Aylesford type of vases and their North-Italian analogues. On the Middle and Upper Rhine not only do we find types of cordoned and *situla*-shaped vases which run parallel to the Belgic and British group with which we have been hitherto dealing,

[a] In the cemetery of Hallais, between Neufchâtel and Aumale. See Cochet, *Sépultures Gauloises, &c.* p. 397, *seqq.*

but there occur at times in the ornament certain suggestive details which reproduce a characteristic feature of the Illyro-Italic class. Fig. 4 of Pl. XII. represents a vase in the Museum of Mainz in which the *situla*-like form of the Aylesford type, including the pedestal, is well defined. It is of the same smooth black coloured ware as the Kentish cinerarics, and displays two double cordons round its body enclosing a broad zone ornamented with alternating crosslines and small circles arranged in zigzags. This geometrical form of ornamentation as well as the recurring disklets recalls at once the decorative stud-work of the peculiar class of vases, the *vasi borchiati*, already described as characteristic of the Illyro-Italic group. There the clay *situla* still retains a lively reminiscence of its bronze original in the shape of little round studs of bronze arranged upon its sides in geometrical designs, such as the meander, reproduced from those that decorate the zones of the bronze prototypes belonging to the same Adriatic province.

A valuable commentary on the above form and decoration is supplied by a parallel group of Late-Celtic vases from the cemeteries of Champagne. In a cemetery near Châlons-sur-Marne [a] was found a *situla*-shaped clay cinerary of the same dark brown material (Pl. XII. fig. 1) divided by incised lines, which here represent the raised cordon of the more familiar class, into two zones, the uppermost of which is adorned in the same linear fashion with what may best be described as fragments of meanders, while below are chevron ornaments in the same style, which also in all probability represent detached pieces of the same motive. In another vase from the cemetery of St. Étienne du Temple [b] in the same Marne district (Pl. XII. fig. 2), the metallic character of the form is even more strongly accentuated, and in this case the two upper zones are ornamented with small disklets alternating with concentric circles which reproduce a most characteristic ornament not only of the bronze *situlæ* of the Illyro-Italic province already referred to, but of their clay imitations as found at Este and elsewhere in which this decorative motive is preserved by the attachment to their upper zones of bronze studs embossed with the same concentric circles.[c]

[a] *Revue Archéologique*, 1868 (T. xvii.) p. 92, *seqq. Note de la Redaction, &c.* and pl. iii. For other vessels of the same form from the Aisne see Moreau, *Collection Caranda*, pl. xxxviii. xl. xli. while in pl. F. an arrangement of these vessels may be seen beside the skeleton of a Gaulish warrior and the remains of his chariot in a grave excavated at Sablonière in the same district.

[b] *Loc. cit.* pl. iii. f. 3. For other remarkable pedestalled vases of the same class from Champagne see Charvet, *Poterie Gauloise*, p. 94, fig 63, p. 95, fig. 64.

[c] The angular shoulders of this group of vessels from the Marne,—the "carinated vases" of French antiquaries,—seems to show that they were derived immediately from bronze originals.

Another highly suggestive parallel remains to be recorded. Together with some perfect examples of Gaulish vases like the above there were discovered in the Aisne district[a] some fragments of larger vessels which were further divided in the Este fashion into zones of greyish brown and bright ochreous red.

It will thus be seen that the correspondences between the *situla*-like vases of the more Eastern parts of ancient Gaul, and those of the Alpine and Italic region about the head of the Adriatic extend not only to the general contour but to the very minutiæ of the ornament, and at times even of the colouring. The parallels are of such a kind as to fully warrant us in supposing that these Celtic ceramic forms are in fact the outgrowth of a group of bronze vessels, some of the most typical of which have been shown to be the characteristic product, during the immediately preceding period, of this extensive Illyro-Italic province. It is an interesting commentary on this connexion that among the earliest types of the Late-Celtic sword which occur as imported articles in the Hallstatt graves is one the sheath of which is decorated with figures in the Illyro-Italic style of Waatsch and Este.

II. (*f*) General conclusions as to the origin of the Pedestalled Urns of the Aylesford Cemetery, with some remarks on the importation and imitation of Painted Vases in the Celtic regions.

That the cordoned pedestalled vases as a class are ultimately to be referred to the endeavour to imitate in clay certain types of bronze *situlæ* in vogue beyond the Alps may perhaps be regarded as sufficiently established by the comparisons already instituted. But the question remains, did the imitative ceramic forms thus called into being amongst the Gaulish tribes take their origin directly from imported bronze vessels of the type referred to? Or are they rather to be regarded as copies of the class of clay vessels for which these bronze forms had already served as prototypes among the Veneti and their kin, on the Adriatic coastlands?

That a certain number of Late-Celtic urns and notably the "carinated" vases of the Marne cemeteries (such as Plate XII. figs. 1 and 2), were directly fashioned after imported bronzes is highly probable. But so far as is at present known the range of the cordoned bronze vessels with which our most typical Aylesford forms have most in common does not seem to extend westwards. Yet the resemblance between

[a] F. Moreau, *Collection Caranda*, pl. xxxviii. figs. 6 and 7.

these fine Kentish vases, such as that shown in fig. 7, is even closer to the Italian prototypes than most of those hitherto brought to light in the intervening Gaulish districts, and seems to warrant the suspicion that the Belgic potters, if they had not imported bronzes of the type, must at least have had before them imported pots from the Cisalpine region. In this connexion the isolated discovery in the Aisne district referred to above of fragments of coloured pottery of a kind otherwise unknown in Late-Celtic deposits, but reproducing the familiar alternating zones of the Este group, is of the greatest significance. Even if they are to be regarded as imitations executed on Gaulish soil, they betray such an intimate acquaintance with the Illyro-Italic fabrics as could only have been obtained from the presence of imported vases of the Este type. That as a matter of fact painted vases were imported from beyond the Alps by the Gaulish tribes appears from a variety of finds. Greek painted *kylikes* and other vessels have been discovered in Celtic graves from the Upper Rhine to the Marne and Meuse in association with imported metalwork.[a] That some of these found their way across the Alps from the Adriatic side is shown not only by the discovery of Apulian or Tarentine pottery from the Roseninsel on the Wurmsee in Bavaria,[b] and in the neighbourhood of Zurich,[c] but by a remarkable *kantharos* surrounded with a peculiar chequer-work frieze found in the barrow of Rodenbach, in the Rhenish Palatinate[d] in association with specimens of goldwork belonging to the earliest Rhenish class of Late-Celtic jewellery.

With regard to the origin of this latter vase great difficulties have arisen. That it was of Italo-Greek fabric was evident, on the other hand it does not answer to any known Apulian, still less to Campanian types. Whilst examining however the alien forms of pottery found in the Este cemeteries I was astonished

[a] To these must be added the curious painted *kylikes* of half-barbaric fabric, such as those found in Posen and Silesia, at Frelsdorf in Hanover, &c.

[b] Sigmund von Schab, *Pfahlbauten im Wurmsee* (Beiträge zur Anthr. u. Urgeschichte Bayerns, I. seqq. & T. II.) Amongst the fragments discovered were part of a characteristic Tarentine or Apulian vase with an androgynous winged figure, &c., parts of a *kylix*, and another vessel of the same Magna-Græcian fabric. There was a part of a *kylix* (?) of Corinthian make, which also points to an Adriatic source. Intermediate traces of this line of commerce are to be seen in the series of finds of Magna-Græcian pottery at Risano, Lissa, Lesina, and again at Pizzughi in Istria.

[c] A small "Apulian" Lekythos, in the Museum of Zurich. A *kelebê* with red figures in a relaxed style was also found on the Uetliberg near this place (Keller, *Anzeiger für Schweitzerische Alterthumskunde*, Juli, 1871, No. 3). Another "Apulian" Lekythos, from near Constance, is to be seen in the same museum.

[d] Lindenschmit *op. cit.* B. III. H. 4, &c.

to find the remains of a whole series of *kanthari* answering in every respect to the Rodenbach example. A great probability therefore arises that this type of pottery belongs to some Greek or semi-Greek colony of the Adriatic coast, and the Rodenbach vase must have arrived north of the Alps from the same north-eastern region of Italy, from which were ex-hypothesi derived the prototypes of the Late-Celtic pedestalled vases.

Side by side with these imported forms there have been also discovered in some Late-Celtic graves of the Marne and Rhine districts some remarkable painted vases, which seem actually to have been made on Gaulish soil. Some of these vessels show a white ground ornamented with a kind of ochreous chequer and frame-work. A good example of a vase of this type from a Gaulish grave exists in the Museum of Châlons-sur-Marne, and another which might be its fellow in that of Mainz. At other times, as in the case of a fine vase of this class recently discovered in the Late-Celtic cemetery of Wies Oppenheim, near Worms,[a] the upper part of the body of the vessel is coated with a broad band of ochreous brown, while below and above the colour of the vase is of a light maroon.[b] Fragments of similar painted vases have been discovered on the site of the Boian station of Hradisht, near Prag.[c] Both the tones of the colouring and the general outline of the forms in these instances are strongly suggestive of the fact that the Celtic potters must have had before their eyes certain late forms of Apulian *lekythi* from which to copy, and we have here another intimation that imported painted wares were during this period reaching the Gaulish tribes from the Adriatic side.

In view of these facts it must be regarded as quite within the bounds of possibility that some of the fine painted vessels of the Este type found their way into Belgic Gaul by an old commercial line across the Alps. Further discoveries, either in the intermediate Gaulish tract or in Britain itself, may eventually throw more light on the channel by which these Illyro-Italic models reached the Belgic tribe whose ceramic skill has been revealed to us in the Aylesford cemetery. Nor, on the other hand, considering the mobility and continual distant shifting of the Gaulish tribes, must actual migration from Cisalpine Gaul be excluded from the

[a] In the Worms Museum.

[b] A striking example of the imitation of the form of a Greek painted vase north of the Alps is to be seen in a fine jar of a dark terracotta colour from the important late Hallstatt find at Hundersingen, on the Upper Danube. It is unquestionably copied from a Greek fourth-century amphora, the handles only being omitted. It is in the Stuttgart Museum.

[c] These are now in the Natural History Museum at Vienna. The pottery has been erroneously described as "Roman."

possible causes of the spread of such Italic forms to our western isle. Dangerous as it is to venture into such ethnographical speculations, the temptation is great to connect the western diffusion of these Adriatic types with the attachment of the Venetian name to the most advanced commercial and seafaring community of the Armoric coast. And if it be thought too hazardous to suggest a connection between the Celtic or at least Celticized Veneti of the Lower Loire and their Illyrian homonyms of the Po valley, we may yet recall the fact that the Gaulish neighbours of the Cisalpine Veneti, the Cenomani, had their more abiding seat in the West Gaulish land that has preserved the historic name of Maine, and that the Senones were at home at Sens as well as Sinigaglia. The wheels of tribal and national migration move as a rule along the ruts of pre-existing lines of commercial intercourse.

II. (*g*) Comparisons of Aylesford *Situla* Vases with North European Ceramic Forms.

It is interesting to observe that in the cremation graves of Northern Germany and Scandinavia, in which the influence of the Late Celtic culture first makes itself apparent, there have been brought to light certain forms of pottery which point, like those of the West, to the influence of prototypes in bronze-work. The cordoned vases, indeed, such as we have traced them from the Alps to the Channel, do not seem to occur in this more northerly zone; but there do, nevertheless, occur certain elegantly shaped vessels, of the same paste and smooth black or dark brown surface, which are evidently modelled on metal-work originals. Such, for instance, are some of the pots associated with fibulæ of Tène type in the early "Brandpletter," "Brandgrubengräber," or cremation pits in the Isle of Bornholm,[a] while in Seeland[b] there was discovered in the same association an earthenware vessel in which the attachments of the handle of the bronze original had been imitated in clay. Amongst these occurs also a simpler form of *situla* vase without rudimentary remains of handles, which can be traced southwards both to the Celtic stations of Bohemia[c] and the Rhine. This

[a] Vedel, *Bornholms Oldtidsminder og Oldsager* (Kjœbenhavn, 1886). p. 105, figs. 224, 226, &c.

[b] Undset, *Auftreten des Eisens*, p. 429, fig. 134. For another apparently metallic form see Von Sehested, *Fortidsminder og Oldsager fra Egnen om Broholm*, pl. xxxvi. f. 56, b. For other somewhat later illustrations see Engelhardt, *Influence Classique*, *&c.* (Mém. de la Soc. des Ant. du Nord, 1872-7, p. 252.)

[c] W. Osborne, *Hradisht bei Stradonic* (*Mitth. d. anthr. Gesellsch. von Wien*, 1881, T. II. 1).

type is certainly derived from a somewhat pear-shaped form of bronze pail common in Italian deposits of the third and second centuries before our era, and of which a good specimen will be seen in the Etruscan Museum at Florence. I have recently obtained from an interesting barrow interment at Urmitz on the Rhine a specimen of this simple class found associated with two other cineraries, one decorated with indented ornaments of an earlier Celtic type. With these urns were deposited three *fibulæ* of a form which may be considered as a variety of the "Nauheim" type, a large annular bead of blue glass, bronze horse ornaments, a stag's-horn charm, such as also occur in Rhenish deposits associated with Roman remains, and a flat iron lancehead exhibiting on both sides an inscription in punctuated letters.[a] It is probable that this interment belonged to the transitional period when Roman influence was beginning among the Rhenish populations. The well-known "mæander urns," the range of which extends from Poland and Silesia to Hanover in the West, in all probability represent a later offshoot of the same ceramic family as these pear-shaped vases.

II. (*h*) Comparisons of other forms of the Aylesford Pottery with Gaulish and Italic Ceramic Types.

The cordoned *situla*-shaped cineraries which must be regarded as the most characteristic of the ceramic types supplied by our Aylesford cemetery have been shown to belong to a large kindred group, representatives of which occur in the cemeteries of the Continental Belgæ, and the sources of which, as is shown by parallel types from the more eastern parts of the old Gallic area, are to be found in the bronze *situlæ*, and their cordoned clay imitations of a large Alpine and Adriatic province.

It is not, however, by any means intended to confine the influence of foreign bronze work to one particular class of vessel. As already shown in the preceding section, other forms of bronze *situla*, not possessed of either cordons or pedestals, were certainly imitated as well, and the prototypes of some of these vessels, more-

[a] These objects are now in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford. I propose to give a fuller account of this find elsewhere.

over, are of a much wider diffusion than the special forms described as peculiar to the Illyro-Italic province. It must also be borne in mind that bronze *situlæ* of a simple early type, without cordons, have themselves been found as far afield as Brittany, England, and Ireland in the West.[a] Greek and Etruscan models played their part as well as "Old Venetian." It is probable, moreover, that the curious pear-shaped type of pedestalled vase, figured on Pl. IX. fig. 4, which also finds its analogies in Gaul, owes its typical contour to an attempt to imitate the body of a curious form of bronze vase provided with a spout and lid, specimens of which (apparently representing Gaulish imitations of an Etruscan prototype) have been found in Late-Celtic deposits of the Marne, the Saar, and the Rhine.[b]

The remaining forms of vessel found in the Aylesford graves, from their paste, colour, and general style of fabric, obviously belong to the same ceramic class as the pedestalled vases. Such are the pots (cf. Pl. VIII. fig. 2; IX. fig. 3) with bowl-shaped bellies, the neck or collar of which is in most cases surrounded by one or more of the same cordons that occur on the *situla*-shaped vases, here, perhaps, as in other cases, added simply as an ornamental feature by analogy from the pedestalled types. This form again has a wide Continental distribution, as is shown by its recurrence amongst the Late-Celtic remains of Switzerland and on the Rhine.[c] Among the accessory vases there appears a form of *patera* which is also common to a large Gaulish and Rhenish tract. Some good examples may be seen in the Boulogne Museum, where there is also a specimen of a more elaborate type with a distinct cordon, traces of which also appear on the Aylesford examples round the middle of the sides and another below. Similar *paterœ* have also been found in the Gaulish tombs of the Marne district,[d] and an example from Reims[e] is provided with a well-turned handle. In the Late-Celtic cremation cemeteries of the Worms district they are also well represented together with several other

[a] J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements, &c.* p. 412, 413.

[b] *e.g.* From St. Jean-sur-Tourbe (Marne), *Rev. Arch.* 1883, p. 201, seqq. Pl. XXI. see p. 28, Note c.; from Waldalgesheim (*E. Aus'm Weerth Festprogramm zu Winkelmann's Geburtstag*, Bonn, 1870); and another in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg from a Rhenish site.

[c] See for example the urn from Schärloch, figured in De Bonstetten, *Supplément au récueil des Antiquités Suisses*, pl. vii. 1.

[d] In the Museum of Châlons-sur-Marne I have recently obtained for the Ashmolean Museum a specimen of a similar type from a Gaulish grave of the second century, B.C. found near Châlons.

[e] Also in the Châlons Museum.

varieties of the Aylesford vases. These parallels extend, moreover, beyond the Alps. The usage of depositing a *patera* in the grave is, itself, no doubt, of Italian derivation, and, apart from this, a comparison with Plate IX. figs. 1-4, and 6, will show how much even the minor ceramic forms from the Kentish cemetery have in common with the smaller vessels from the Este tombs.

Besides the cordons we find on some of the Aylesford vessels another form of decoration executed in *graffito*, often consisting of a series of fine lines drawn diagonally across the zones, a type of ornament which occurs on Gaulish pottery belonging to the same group. The elegant vase, Plate IX. fig. 1, supplies an excellent example. In other cases we find a continuous zigzag (Plate IX. fig. 5), a reminiscence, perhaps, of the Gaulish type already described (Pl. XII. fig. 1). At times again the ornament covers the whole lower surface of the pot, presenting somewhat of the appearance of the grain of woodwork, and much recalling the engraved designs upon the stones of Gavr' Innis (Pl. VIII. fig. 6). In the remarkable little pot, Plate IX. fig. 6, we have an example of a class of ornament which resembles the traditional decorative motive of British Bronze-Age pottery, in so far as it is obviously derived from basket-work; in the present instance, however, it has a character of its own very different from that of the older indigenous class.[a]

That the earlier native style of pottery should itself occasionally have reacted on the imported wares is only what might be expected; and it would be a manifest exaggeration to trace all the members of the Aylesford class to trans-Alpine sources. There existed in the eastern parts of Gaul itself another very well-marked ceramic school, characteristic of a large "Hallstatt" group, and amongst which the painted vases from the barrow-graves of Baden, Würtemberg, and Bavaria stand out as the most brilliant representatives, and it is probable that the ceramic class must have made its influence widely felt. The ornaments, for instance, on some of the Gaulish vessels of the Champagne cemeteries seem to point in this direction; and a widely-spread tureen-shaped cinerary that characterizes many of the Gaulish deposits of Late-Celtic type, and which find analogues in Britain, may perhaps be regarded as an offshoot of the same "Hallstatt" family.

[a] A pot with very similar ornamentation has now been recently found in a grave belonging to the Gaulish cemetery of Lutetia (Paris). (See Eug. Toulouze. *Rev. Arch.* 1890, p. 374.)

II. (*i*) Diffusion of the Aylesford Class of Pottery over South-Eastern Britain.

It will be seen from the foregoing pages that the Aylesford cemetery supplies us with the means of recognising a whole class of Late-British pottery, as different from the ruder forms that had preceded it as are the associated bronzes with their highly elaborated decorative style from the simpler shapes of our insular bronze age. Of the Continental range of these forms, enough has perhaps been said for the purposes of the present paper. It remains to consider what extension this well-marked though strangely neglected ceramic class had in Britain itself, where it seems to have hitherto either escaped the notice of our antiquaries or to have been classed in museums under the general head of "Roman."

So far as my present researches go, this class of Late-Celtic pottery extends ever the whole of south-eastern England. In Kent it seems to be specially abundant, and several specimens of vessels belonging to this group, the source of some of which has not been recorded, may be detected in the Maidstone Museum. From the hill above Aylesford itself, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the great dolmen known as Kits' Coty House, were obtained cinerary urns presenting the same characteristics as those from the cemetery in the valley below.[a] In the same museum is to be seen a cordoned vase representing a modified form of the *situla*-shaped type, which, with some other cineraries of the same ceramic class, and a very fine plate or *patera* 14 inches in diameter, were found in what was no doubt an ancient British cemetery at Allington, a village which lies a mile above Aylesford on the opposite side of the Medway.[b] Amongst other Kentish vessels, the antecedents of which are unfortunately not recorded, may be mentioned a ribbed cup and a small finely modelled bowl of blackish "*bucchero*" with somewhat straight sides, but presenting the peculiarity that its bottom is slightly convex, recalling thus a characteristic feature of a well-known class of

[a] From the hill above Kits' Coty House were also obtained three British bronze coins, one uninscribed (Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, pl. G. 13, p. 122), one of Eppillus (*op. cit.* pl. iv. 3, p. 197), and one probably of Amminus (*op. cit.* pl. xiii. 12, p. 354).

[b] It is probably to the same cemetery that the curious British cist described in the *Arch. Ass. Journal* (iv. p. 65) must be referred. It presented the peculiarity of having its walls and the domical cover above of clay baked *in situ*. Within was a skeleton in a somewhat contracted posture.

medieval bowls. At Northfleet (in Bevan's pit) cinerary urns of the Aylesford type have also come to light.[a]

A very important find exhibiting the same class of pottery, and revealing the existence of the same form of cremation interment as that of the Kentish cemetery has recently been made in the Eastern Counties. In the spring of 1888 I had occasion to inspect a small deposit brought to light a short time before near Elveden, in Essex, the principal object of which was a two-handled bronze-plated wooden vessel adorned with *repoussé* medallions,[b] and presenting the closest parallel to the bronze tankard discovered in one of the Aylesford graves. With this were found three earthenware vessels of excellent make, and belonging unquestionably to the Aylesford class. One of those was of a reddish colour, and though more globular in form resembled the most delicately finished of the Aylesford vases in the double row of undulating *striæ* that ornamented its body. Mr. Henry Prigg, into whose possession these interesting relics had passed, was at first, owing to their excellence of fabric, inclined to regard them as of Roman[c] manufacture. The Late-Celtic character of the pottery is, however, made probable in this case, not only by its close agreement with the Kentish pots already described, but from its actual association with a fine specimen of Late-British metal-work: I have little doubt indeed, that these associated vessels formed part of a somewhat late interment of the Aylesford kind, and the discovery of calcined bones amongst the earth removed with the relics corroborates this view.[d]

[a] I am indebted to Mr. H. Lewis, of Camberwell, for this information. At the same spot was a funnel-shaped hole 6 feet deep excavated in the chalk and with burnt clay at the bottom, which Mr. Lewis believed to have been used as a kiln for baking the urns in question.

[b] See p. 359, fig. 10.

[c] Romanizing influences need not here be excluded in the case of the pottery. See p. 383.

[d] Mr. Prigg writes, "From the fragments before me it is clear that your idea that these relics accompanied an interment is correct. The fragments in question consist of about a dozen pieces of roughly calcined human bones, among which are the portion of the base of a skull of a young individual, the head of a femur, and, I think, a portion of a scapula." Mr. Prigg considered that "the bones had the appearance of having been buried loose in the earth and not in an urn," but the absence of any green stain from the bronze vessel and the Aylesford analogies tell the other way. These bones were sent to Mr. Prigg, with the tankard and urns, by a Mr. Fenton. Two years later, some of the workmen who had dug up the remains, when examined by Mr. Prigg, denied having found bones, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the original account was the true one, and that the whole formed part of an interment of the same class as that of Aylesford, Hitchin, etc. Fragmentary calcined bones do not impress themselves on the observation or memory of untrained excavators. The objects were exhibited by Mr. Prigg, in February 1889, to the British Archæological Association, and a brief notice published in their Journal, vol. xlv. p. 81.

We have here then another typical Late-British urn-burial of the Aylesford class, the cinerary being accompanied by one or more accessory vessels, the purpose of which was in all probability to contain food or drink offerings for the departed.

In the Archæological Museum at Cambridge there are two vases belonging to the Aylesford class. One represents what is probably a late degeneration of the *situla* type with a short pedestal and a cordon round its neck. It is wheel-turned and of a dark grey paste coated with a thin brown slip of the usual character. The other vase, exhibiting a remarkably elongated and elegant version of the same *situla* type, with no less than ten very fine cordons round its body, and a more prominent moulding encircling its pedestal, belongs, so far as material is concerned, to a different category, although no doubt the product of the same race of Late-Celtic artificers who produced the Aylesford pots. It is formed of Kimmeridge shale, and has been turned on the lathe with great skill in two separate sections, which have afterwards been rabbeted together. This vase, which is 14 inches high, was found with another similar vessel in a sepulchral deposit at Old Warden, in Bedfordshire.[a]

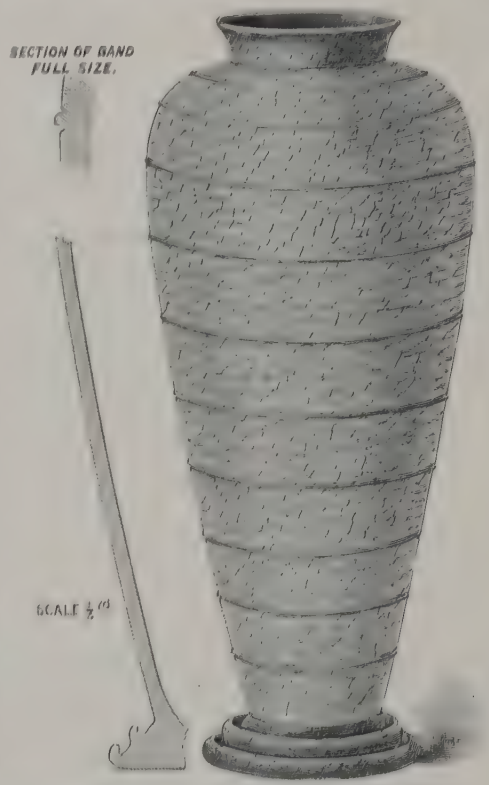


Fig. 8. Vase of Kimmeridge shale, from Old Warden, Bedfordshire. (¼ linear.)

Nor are these the only examples of a class of vessels of the same Late-British type turned in Kimmeridge shale. In 1845 there was found in a withy-bed near

[a] It is engraved by Prof. J. S. Henslow (*Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 1846). Prof. Henslow was of opinion that the vases were Romano-British sepulchral vessels. He refers to No. 10 of the publications of the Society, where they were originally described as of oak. He describes the shale vase as made in four sections. Prof. Middleton, however, to whose kindness is due the sketch engraved in fig. 8, assures me that it is only divided into two parts.

Corfe Castle[a] a deposit of Kimmeridge "coal money," in which was a vessel of the same material, described as being "like the bowl of a large glass or rummer, and with the bottom or stand broken off." In 1856 again two vessels resembling truncated *ciste a cordoni* or cordoned buckets, with three ribs round their sides, were found at Great Chesterford, in Essex.[b] With these were found fragments of two elegant vases of dark pottery of the same elongated situla type as the shale urns from Old Warden, and undoubtedly belonging to the Aylesford class.[c] A patera of Kimmeridge shale, perhaps belonging to the same period, was found at Colchester,[d] and a round box and other objects of the same style and material, perhaps exported from Britain, are to be seen in the Museum of Boulogne.[e] There can be no doubt that the fabric of these Kimmeridge "coal" vessels and ornaments, although it continued to flourish after the Roman Conquest, must in its origin be regarded as a British art of great antiquity. That the British artificers, to whom the Aylesford situlas and the other vessels of the ceramic class with which we are dealing, had attained great proficiency in turners' work in Kimmeridge shale is shown in the case of our Kentish cemetery by the deftly wrought bracelets of that material found in one of the earlier graves.[f] In a Bronze-Age barrow at Broad Down, in Devonshire, was found a beautifully turned cup of Kimmeridge shale,[g] in shape much resembling the gold cup found with a bronze celt in a grave at Rillaton, in Cornwall, and the amber example[h] found in a barrow at Hove, near Brighton, associated with relics also belonging to the Later Bronze Period.[i]

Another interesting discovery of similar pottery and indicative of the existence

[a] *Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xxv. (1868), p. 301.

[b] The Hon. R. C. Neville (*Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xiv. (1857), pp. 85-87).

[c] Two silver *fibulæ*, the forms of which are not given, attached to each other by a wire chain (a characteristic "Tène" fashion), were also found near (*op. cit.* p. 85). Other vases of the same character raised on a foot or "stand" are described as having been found east of Chesterford. In the *Arch. Inst. Journal* (1860, p. 127) another vase of the Aylesford type is figured and described as coming from this site. It was "of dark coloured ware," with a slight cordon round its neck and body, and a more pronounced one round its pedestal. It is there classed as "Roman."

[d] Henslow, *loc. cit.*

[e] Neville, *op. cit.* p. 87.

[f] See p. 5.

[g] Rev. R. Kirwan, "Sepulchral Barrows at Broad Down, near Honiton, &c. (*Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xxv. [1868], p. 296, *seqq.*). It is certainly of bituminous shale, and probably, as Mr. Franks has suggested, from the Kimmeridge deposits.

[h] *Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xiii. (1856), p. 183.

[i] *Arch. Inst. Journal*, vol. xxiv. (1867), p. 189.

of a Late-British cemetery of the same class as that of Aylesford has now been made at Hitchin, in Hertfordshire.[a] One of the vases exhibits an elegant *situla*-like contour, and is provided with a pedestal; the others, both in their shapes, cordons, and, in one case the hatched *graffito* decoration of the zones, also recall the Kentish examples. One of the cineraries presents the peculiarity of having a tazza-shaped cover, which had been evidently made to fit into a groove running around the shoulders of the urn. When discovered, however, the cover lay not upon but beside the urn, some burnt bones being upon it, and it is probable that the urn had therefore been opened in search for metal objects at some previous period. The graves were of the Aylesford type, shallow pits in the chalk, and those discovered formed part of a group answering apparently to a "family-circle" such as those described in the case of the Kentish urn-field.

Mr. Franks has kindly called my attention to three vases belonging to the same class found in an ancient kiln at Albury, in Surrey, and now in the British Museum, one of which is imperfectly baked. They are to be regarded as derivatives of the *situla* type, and like them taper off to a pedestal below. They are decorated with vertical bands laid on in slips of the same paste as the pots. I have further been able to ascertain the discovery of Late-Celtic pottery of the same general type from Aston Clinton, in Buckinghamshire,[b] from Abingdon, Berks,[c] and from Whitechurch, in Dorset,[d] as well as from Weymouth,[e] and the Isle of Portland.[f]

An example of the same kind of pottery was found on the Castle site at Northampton; and among the pots found recently in the British camp at Hunsbury, near the latter town, there occurred, side by side with ruder hand-made fabrics and others belonging to a later class, to which reference will be hereafter made, some specimens which must be regarded as the extreme offshoots of the same ceramic genus. The most remarkable of these is a bowl-shaped vessel divided into zones, decorated with triangles and lozenges, hatched with incised

[a] Exhibited by Mr. W. Ransom, F.S.A. at the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 5th, 1889. Iron shears, so typical of the contemporary "Tène" deposits of the Continent, were discovered in one of the graves.

[b] In the Aylesbury Museum.

[c] In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[d] In the Dorchester Museum. I am indebted for a sketch of this urn to Mr. H. J. Moule, the Curator of the Dorset Museum. It is somewhat globular, of the usual dark brown colour, and with several cordons round its neck. Another cordoned cup in the same museum from Ridgeway, Dorset, seems to belong to the same class. It is however described as of a stone colour, unburnt.

[e] In the British Museum.

[f] In the British Museum.

lines, and covered with the characteristic blackish-brown slip.[a] The incised double lines which in this case divide the zones seem to be a modification of earlier cordons. It is probable that the bulk of the objects found in this Ancient British *oppidum* belong to the latest pre-Roman period, and are slightly posterior in date to those of the Aylesford cemetery. While on the one hand no single object of unquestionably Roman fabric was brought to light, examples occurred of a new class of red ware, in form and material approaching the Romano-British, but exhibiting incised and impressed ornaments of a purely Celtic character, consisting of returning spirals, enclosing punched dots, arranged in circles and triangles.[b] The returning spiral itself, as a motive of ceramic ornament, has a very wide Late-Celtic range, occurring as far afield as the Rhenish Palatinate, Franconia, and the station of Hradisht in Bohemia. As an ornament of Late-British pottery, representing a pre-Roman tradition, I had already recognised it in the case of an urn found with Late-Celtic horse-trappings, two coins of Claudius, and other relics at Kingsholm, near Gloucester.[c] Fragments of pottery with incised and punched ornaments, identical with those of Hunsbury, found in the excavations of the British camp of Mount Caburn, in Sussex, have already been described by General Pitt-Rivers, and were justly claimed as Late-Celtic by Mr. Franks.[d] In this case the pottery showed a black, smooth surface, and answered, apparently, in its general composition to the Aylesford type. The date of the Mount Caburn specimens may be regarded as approximately fixed by the Late-British tin coins found at the same locality, which represent degenerations of very late Gaulish bronze coins, copied from those of

[a] In the Northampton Museum. This style of pottery finds its analogies in some excavated in the late British camp of Mount Caburn, in Sussex, by General Pitt Rivers, on some fragments of which similar incised lozenges occurred (cf. *Archaeologia*, xlvi. pl. xxv. p. 39).

[b] Sir Henry Dryden, *Hunsbury or Danes' Camp and the discoveries there*, p. 4 (reprint from Proceedings of the Northampton Architectural Society,), speaks of some of the pottery as Roman, probably referring to this class of ware. From this view, however, I have ventured to differ. A specimen is figured on pl. v. 12, of the above paper.

[c] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 133, pl. xxvi. The relics found included besides three early Romano-British *fibulæ* and the iron blade of a sword. They are now in the Ashmolean Museum, with the exception of the pot and sword-blade. In this important find, approximately dated by the two coins of Claudius as belonging to the middle of the first century after Christ, objects belonging to the intrusive Roman culture are blended indiscriminately with others that represent the survival of indigenous British arts in this still unconquered Western district. The decorative motive on the vase, which consists of returning spirals without any other adjunct, is as purely Celtic in character as that on some of the bronze ornaments.

[d] *Archaeologia*, xlvi. pp. 440 and 446, pl. xxv. 32, 35, 36.

Massalia, and dating from the last half of the last century before our era. Their British tin-copies cannot, therefore, be well earlier than the beginning of the first century after Christ.

The comparatively late date of this class of pottery is further shown by the interesting fact, that during the succeeding period of Roman domination, the same characteristic motive of decoration, the returning spirals and dotted circles, continued to be employed by the Romano-British potters. It is seen on a whole series of Romano-British vessels belonging to the so-called "Castor ware," though in these later examples the spirals and dotted circles and triangles are, as a rule, layed on in white slip instead of being merely incised or stamped.

Attention may also be called in this place to a peculiar type of Late-Celtic vessel, which, in so far as it imitates metal-work, supplies a somewhat later parallel to the *situla* vases of the Aylesford class. The type referred to is a kind of bowl with a globular body and an upright collar on either side of which are suspended moveable ring-handles, made of clay, like the rest of the vessel. This type of bowl is simply a translation into clay of one of the most characteristic products of Late-Celtic metal-work, the bowls or cauldrons, namely, of bronze or iron with the same upright collars and moveable ring-handles, which are found in the "Tène" deposits from Scotland and Scandinavia to Switzerland and the Rhinelands. A clay vessel of this form was found at Chesterford,[a] in which the rivets that stud the lower margin of the collar of the bronze prototype are carefully reproduced, and a part of a similar clay vessel may be seen in the Museum of Utrecht. These vessels, judging from their light colour, texture, and finish, come well within the period of direct Roman contact, but their form represents a purely Celtic tradition.

The influence of the Aylesford type of vessels is also distinctly perceptible in the Romano-British ceramic products, the cordons surviving merely as lines and bands. Very interesting parallels to this survival during the Early Roman Period may be seen in the Rhenish Museums, and notably that of Nijmegen, the old Celtic Noviomagus. It is probable however, that, as in the case of so many other branches of Late-Celtic industry, the true descendants of our Belgic vases will be found to be best represented on Irish soil. It may be sufficient here to cite a highly-ornamented cinerary vase of the most characteristic situla shape, and divided into zones by low cordons, which was found in company with another plainer vase of the same kind in a cairn in the townland of Killucken, Tyrone.[b]

[a] It is figured in the *British Arch. Association Journal*, iv. p. 375.

[b] *British Arch. Association Journal*, i. pp. 243, 244.

PART III.—THE BRONZES.

III. (*a*) The two-handled Tankard and some related forms of Late-Celtic Vessels.

In considering the bronze objects found in the Aylesford cemetery, it will be convenient to begin with the two-handled tankard found in the grave with the fine, pedestalled cinerary (fig. 7). Its construction can be gathered from the following detailed description, and the restoration given in fig. 9.

Its framework consists of staves of wood, parts of which are preserved. These staves were about 1 $\frac{1}{10}$ inch in breadth, and half an inch thick, as is shown by the length of the rivets of the handles, they were thinned off however round the rim. The vessel seems to have been about 8 inches in diameter at the top, and was coated by two or more thin bronze plates.[a] The uppermost of these, which slightly overlapped that below it, was 1 $\frac{7}{20}$ inch broad. It turned over the rim and ran inside, covering the same width as outside. This upper band was fastened by a row of rivets fixed in the wood about $\frac{1}{8}$ inch below the rim. Beneath this upper band was another broader plate of metal the original breadth of which was over 5 inches. This plate was in two pieces, soldered together at the point of junction, the end of one plate overlapping the other about $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch.

At the point of junction on either side was attached a vertical handle, and these handles being riveted on at the point where the plates overlapped gave the fabric greater solidity. Each of these handles possessed four terminal stud-sockets, and one in the centre, the former having rivet holes in their centre, the latter being partly ornamental. It is evident that their central disks, which are now empty, originally held ornamental bosses, the material of which may have been of gold or enamel, or possibly of amber. There were no remains of any other metal plates or bands.

This bronze-plated tankard belongs to a well-marked class of Celtic vessels

[a] The plates themselves were in a fragmentary condition, but on three of the remaining pieces the points of attachments of the handles were clearly visible.

and it seems more probable that its origin is to be sought in native woodwork than in any models from the classical regions. A wooden vessel which belongs essen-

Fig. 9. The Aylesford Tankard (half-linear).

tially to the same type, though in this case it is provided with four short feet, was in fact found in a bog in the North of Ireland.[a] It is carved out of solid oak, and has two vertical handles of one piece with the rest. It approaches a square shape having four larger faces, but has the angles taken off, thus giving it four smaller sides, so that it is actually octagonal. It seems originally to have been provided with a metal collar.

A still nearer parallel to the Aylesford tankard has been supplied by a remarkable example recently discovered at Elveden in Essex, in the cremation deposit already described as belonging to the same period as our Kentish urn-field,

[a] From the Antrim collection in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

and containing cinerary vases of a similar type.[a] This tankard is in the possession of Mr. Henry Prigg, thanks to whose courtesy I am enabled to give a representation of it in fig. 10. It shows the same method of construction as that from Aylesford, a framework of wooden staves covered by thin metal plates, and the handles are attached in the same vertical fashion on either side. The plates are in this case adorned with *repoussé* medallions containing exquisite triquetral designs in the most characteristic Late-Celtic style.

To Mr. Charles H. Read, F.S.A., of the British Museum, I am indebted for the information that a Late-Celtic tankard of the same character as the above, but with a single upright handle, exists in the collection of Mr. T. Layton, F.S.A., of Kew Bridge. It is in a singularly perfect condition, all the staves are preserved, and the bottom is still in its place. A remarkable feature was observed by Mr. Read in the construction of the wooden framework. The staves, namely, were clamped together by means of little diamond-shaped pieces of hard wood let into their sides. Two of the three bronze bands, each 2 inches in width, by which it was covered, seem to have no double overlap, and were fastened severally by two rivets. The middle band was sufficiently fixed by the attachment of the handle, which seems to have been soldered on, overlapping the two ends. The handle is simply two bronze loops or eyes joined by an intervening band. The height of the tankard is 6 inches, diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Fig. 10. Bronze Tankard from Elveden, Essex.

[a] For a further account of this deposit and the associated pottery see p. 37. It was from the analogy of the Aylesford tankard that Mr. Prigg was enabled so successfully to restore the Elveden example.

An example of the same class, also with only a single handle, is seen in the beautiful bronze-plated tankard found near Tomen-y-mur in Merionethshire, and now in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. The graceful curving in of the sides of this vessel and the elaborate openwork decoration of its handle represent an advance from the simpler wooden prototypes and their immediate successors, and incline us to refer this work to a distinctly later date than the Aylesford and Elveden examples. The arrangement of the four terminal coils of the handle, however, with their central studs, on the Merioneth tankard clearly represents an outgrowth of the terminal bosses on the Aylesford handles. A less ornamental handle of the same class, and evidently belonging to a similar vessel, was found with other objects in a bronze cauldron of a typical La Tène type in Carlingwark Loch, Kirkcudbrightshire.[a] Mr. Prigg informs me that a tankard with plain bronze bands and an upright handle was found in one of the smaller barrows at Bartlow, an evidence that this Celtic form lived on into early Roman times in South-Eastern Britain.

III. (*b*) The Bronze-plated Pail and its relation to Classical and Oriental Prototypes.

Amongst all the objects discovered in the Aylesford Cemetery the bronze-plated pail or *situla* (fig. 11) must claim a first place, both for the interest of its associations and the excellence of its ornamental design. It consisted, like the tankard, of a framework of wooden staves, bound round by thin metal plates, which were riveted on to the woodwork. The staves themselves were $1\frac{3}{5}$ inch in width, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick at the bottom, and were bevelled off round the rim, the uppermost of the bronze bands being turned over this bevelled edge. There seem to have been three metal bands of about $2\frac{7}{16}$ inches in width, and as interspaces of woodwork were left between these, the total height of the bucket was about 10 inches. In diameter it was $10\frac{3}{5}$ inches, and it was provided with a single, hooped, movable handle of iron plated with bronze. The points of attachment of this handle on either side were strengthened, and at the same time ornamented, by the addition of two exterior plates of bronze, each of which exhibited a human head in relief surmounted by a kind of double crest with two lateral bosses. The uppermost of the bronze plates that encircle the bucket was adorned with *repoussé* work reliefs of fantastic animals and decorative scrolls which will require a more detailed description.

The form of this pail shows that the present example is in fact a late repre-

[a] *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* vol. vii., 1870, p. 8, fig. 2.

sentative of a well-known class of archaic oriental vessels. It is the remote scion of the metal pails seen at times in the hands of the winged Assyrian Genii,[a] of the

Fig. 11. The Aylesford Pail (half-linear).

imported Phœnician *ciste* of early Prænestine tombs and of their later indigenous imitations, such as we recognise them in the *situlæ* of Este and Bologna, of Sesto

[a] Cf., for example, Layard, *Monuments*, &c., series 1. pl. 51; Perrot et Chipiez, *Chaldée et Assyrie*, p. 754, and p. 396.

Calende, of Matray and Moritzing. It is a characteristic of this whole class of vessels that their sides are covered with thin plates of metal work divided into parallel zones, exhibiting a succession of pictorial reliefs in *repoussé* work similar to the upper band of the Aylesford pail, and in which, as in the present example, animal forms alternate with plants and foliage.

In a remote degree it shows a certain affinity to the well-known class of cordoned buckets, the *ciste a cordoni* of Italian archaeologists, in their origin an old Mediterranean product, which form such a characteristic feature in the Central European deposits of the Hallstatt Province, but which also occur in some of the early interments of the Late-Celtic class of Belgium and Champagne. The character of the handle of the Aylesford pail and their ornamental attachments is, however, quite foreign to the above class of cordoned *ciste*, and points, as will be shown, to a more classical parentage, while the metal zone that surrounds the mouth of the bucket with its *repoussé* animals and scrolls recalls the ornamental appendages of a vessel which was discovered in a tomb at Palestrina, associated with several objects of unquestionably Phœnician fabric. It was a wooden cylindrical vessel covered with bands of thin silver plate ornamented with reliefs of lions hunting stags, winged oriental monsters, and lotus pattern. Unlike the later *ciste* from the same site it had no cover, but was provided with a single, hooped moveable handle, and seems to have served as a pail rather than a casket. The attachments of the handle form a kind of bust surmounted by a face, perhaps intended to portray the Goddess Hathor, with a characteristic volute curl on either side. On some of the later Prænestine *ciste* the metal zones are divided, like those of the example before us, by interspaces of woodwork, occasionally covered in turn with leather bands.

The attachments of the handle of our Aylesford *situla* have at least this much in common with the last cited example, that they are fashioned into human heads, in this case, surmounted in each case with a kind of crested helmet (fig. 12). The two side-bosses of this helmet are of considerable interest, inasmuch as they must in all probability be regarded as an ornamental out-growth and survival of a form of attachment usual in the case of a class of early two-handled *situlæ*, both Greek and Etruscan, in which on either side of a kind of central crest are seen two open rings in which the ends of the two moveable handles are locked. In the present instance the bucket has only a single handle, which is attached directly to its inner rim behind the heads. The form of the crest, however, and its two lateral bosses, shows that this two-handled attachment

served as its prototype, the bosses representing in a rudimentary form the round apertures in which the knobbed ends of the handles revolved.

As a matter of fact, classical examples of the special type of handle and attachment out of which this Celtic example grew are not unfrequent. A very near parallel will be found for example in a bronze pail dating from about the third century B.C. and inscribed with a dedication to the *Manes* in Etruscan characters which is now in the Etruscan Museum at Florence. In this instance a head appears below with flowing tresses evidently intended for Minerva, and the curving loops in which the ends of the two handles here revolve are clearly suggestive of the two side crests of her triple-crested helmet. A later example of the same motive is seen in the attachment of a handle in the Museum Disneianum showing that the same tradition was preserved by Roman artificers.[a]

Fig. 12. Handle attachment of Aylesford Pail. (Natural size.)

The heads on our British example, though as we have seen representing an early tradition of handle-ornament, and in all probability, in this instance, descended from Minerva, are also removed in type from their classical originals. Their most marked characteristic, the tapering away of the whole lower part of the face, brings them into close relation with a series of heads that make their appearances as the terminal ornaments of Gaulish dagger-hilts,[b] as well as on a Rhenish class of Late-Celtic *fibulæ*,[c] the pear-shaped outline of which is at times even more marked. The heads on the fibulæ are in turn intimately connected

[a] *Mus. Disneianum*, pt. II. pl. lxviii. A two-handled bronze cauldron, the attachment of which is adorned with a head of Hercules, was found at Mosbæk Moss, near Giver, in the Aalborg Amt. Denmark (see *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1881, p. 108).

[b] One of these is to be seen in the Museum of St. Germains.

[c] Cf. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, &c. B. ii. H. iv. Taf. 2, figs. 3, 4, 5; B. iii. H. ix. T. 1, 5. For one from near Berlin see Undset, *Auftreten des Eisens*, pl. xxii. f. 11. In some cases the upper part

with the similarly taper heads of the horned sphinxes that decorate the plates of certain belt-hooks found in Celtic interments at Weisskirchen on the Saar,[a] at Nierstein, and again on the gold rings and bracelets of the remarkable find at Rodenbach in the Rhenish Palatinate.

III. (*c*) The Foliated Ornaments on the Aylesford Pail: and their Gaulish Connexions.

If we now examine the *repoussé* decorations of the upper band of our *situla* we are struck with the same kind of phenomenon; on the one hand, the evidence of an archaic tradition of which the animal figures supply the surest demonstration, on the other hand the traces of later classical influences and the impress of a highly developed decorative style.

It will be convenient first to examine the more decorative elements of the Aylesford reliefs. Of these the quintuple scroll (Pl. XIII. fig. 9) on either side of the confronted animals is in fact a reduplication of a foliated design (Pl. XIII. fig. 11) that occurs on one of the bronze sheaths, found on the site of the Helvetian settlement at La Tène, and upon which, in harmony with the triangular space that confines it, it assumes a triquetral form. The quintuple arrangement seen on the *situla* band is simply an amplification of such a trefoil as appears on the sheath, which in its turn can I think be shown by a comparison with other La Tène sheaths to be the upper volutes of a Greek *anthêmion*,[b] as modified and absorbed into an old traditional Celtic ornamental system of interlocked spirals[c] and triquetras.

of the head is covered with a kind of skull-cap answering to the hemispherical covering which forms the lower part of the helmet in the Aylesford head.

[a] Lindenschmit, *op. cit.* B. ii. H. iv. Taf. 2, f. 1.

[b] This is seen best perhaps in the design as it appears on pl. 1. fig. 4, of M. Gross, *La Tène, un Oppidum Helvète*. On another sheath again (pl. 1, fig. 6), the central leaf of the palmetto can be distinctly recognised, together with the side festoons (such as they are seen, for example, on the Greek bronze *situla* of the Waldalgesheim find) here converted into grotesque serpentine heads.

[c] Akin to a very old Oriental type consisting of swelling S-shaped curves with taper connections,

This transforation of the Greek *anthémion* explains the existence of the remaining ornamental feature of the band of our pail, the circle, namely, of volute petals with a curving foliated scroll above and below (Pl. XIII. fig. 10), which represents in fact one of the star-like flowers, sometimes rendered as volutes, which on Greek bronze vases and other ornamental metal-work often appear encircled by the sprays of arabesque foliage, serving at times as offshoots for a palmetto. That the Celtic peoples were acquainted with Greek decorative designs of this class appears from more than one example, and notably the fine bronze *situla* of Greek work from the Late-Celtic interment of Waldalgesheim,[a] and the closely parallel vessel found at Kelby in the Isle of Möen. In a somewhat different form we may trace another development of the same motive on the bronze plates of a cauldron of the La Tène style found in the Moor of Rinkebye, Odensee, Denmark, upon which two swine are seen confronting one another on either side of a volute *repoussé* disk, which, except that it has only three triquetral petals, closely resembles the Aylesford device. Beneath the confronted animals are plants in a decorative style, one of which betrays its indebtedness to the Greek honeysuckle by the characteristic inverted conical spirals that hang from it. A near classical parallel to the foliated and floral designs both on the Odensee and the Aylesford vessels is to be seen on the ornamental band that surrounds the rim of a beautiful silver-plated pail from Herculaneum, where animals and birds alternate with arabesque sprays, the terminal scrolls of which enclose large round flowers, in some cases with volute petals, resembling the Celtic examples before us in a somewhat less conventionalized form.

an example of which occurs among the ornaments of a half disk of an Egyptian pilaster (Rosellini, *Monumenti del Culto*, xvii.). It is found at Mykenæ along with other closely-allied ornamental designs, and is a characteristic feature of the bronze shields and disks found in Etruscan and South Italian tombs of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. On the hilts of swords belonging to the latest Hungarian Bronze Age (contemporary with the Early Hallstatt Period), this ornamental motive appears in the simplified shape of the interlocked scrolls, which form such a vital element in all Late-Celtic Art. So striking, indeed, is the parallel, that it can hardly be questioned that it originally reached the Celtic peoples from a common source. They were, however, also undoubtedly familiarized with later classical examples of a kindred design, such as may be seen on the imported bronze basins found at Armsheim in Rhenish Hesse, at Rodenbach in the Rhenish Palatinate, at Zerff, near Trier, and (in this case, perhaps, a Gallic imitation) at Piemont, near Bussy-le-Château, Marne. Precisely similar basins with the same ornament were found at Dodona.

[a] *Der Grabfund von Waldalgesheim*, E. Aus'm Weerth (*Festprogramm zu Winkelmanns Geburtstag.* Bonn, 1870), Taf. iii.; and cf. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer, &c.* B. iii. H. i. T. 1.

There has been recently discovered at Geisenheim, in the Rhineland, the remains of a bronze-plated pail of Late-Celtic (or Gallicized old German) workmanship, the metal bands of which exhibit *repoussé* scrolls characterized by the same interlocked spirals, which, though less bold and somewhat degenerate in execution, belong to the same class as those of Aylesford and La Tène. In this case, however, the origin from the foliated band of a classical *situla* is even more clearly apparent. This object, now in the Mainz Museum, was found in a grave in association with a *situla*-shaped clay cinerary of a somewhat late and degenerate form, a typical La Tène fibula, and other objects belonging to the latest Pre-Roman period.

This reduction of the sprays of the Greek *anthêmion* to uniform scrolls, symmetrically arranged, points to a highly-developed stage of Late-Celtic art. In the earlier group of deposits belonging to this class, as contained in the skeleton tombs of the Upper Rhine, the Saar and Mosel districts, of the Meuse and Marne, this transformation is at best imperfectly accomplished. In the station of La Tène, on the other hand, belonging to the latest period of Helvetian independence, we find this decorative system fully evolved and asserting itself at every turn, and the relationship subsisting between the flowery scrolls on the Aylesford pail and those seen on the bronze sheaths discovered in this Swiss settlement is of so intimate a character that it is impossible not to refer both to the same general period, and even, in all probability, to the same centre of manufacture.

III. (*d*) The Animal Reliefs on the Aylesford Pail, their oriental lineage, and their parallelism with the Coin-types of the Remi.

The recurring pairs of strange fabulous animals with curving horns and bifid tails, with their bodies confronted but their heads turned back to back (Pl. XIII. fig. 1), that decorate the spaces between the decorative scrolls on the uppermost zone of our pail cannot fail to recall a familiar scheme of archaic Greek and Oriental art. In this scheme animals, fabulous or otherwise, are seen either facing each other at close quarters, or, as in the present Celtic example, with their bodies confronted, but their heads turned away from each other. To understand the genesis of this familiar arrangement, we have only to go back a step further to another archaic scheme in which both bodies are united by a single head, which faces the spectator.

Mr. Murray has felicitously explained designs of this character as being due to a primitive attempt to represent perspective, the desire being to show both sides of the animal in a single view taken from in front. This ingenious explanation of the origin of these two-bodied monstrosities may, perhaps, be thought to receive an illustration from a wholly independent quarter. On one of the carved bones of the Reindeer Period, from a cave of the Dordogne,[a] the heads in the one case, in the other the forequarters of swine, are displayed in pairs, the snouts terminating in a common end, which may be regarded as another primitive device for representing both sides of the same animal. The union of two bodies with a single head, in deference to a primitive idea of representing perspective, became itself easily rationalized into two separate but closely-confronted figures, each with a head of its own, and thus arose that numerous race of opposed dual monsters of such frequent occurrence in the early heraldic art of Western Asia, and afterwards of Greece[b] and Italy. Moreover, when once the two bodies were set free from their unnatural union, it was easy for the opposed pairs to separate in their turn into single figures in the same attitude, and in this way a whole series of isolated animal representations took their rise in archaic art. In the class of zoned metal-work with which we are dealing, both the original monocephalic scheme, and its dual or isolated offspring, are of frequent occurrence, and from the bronzes they were taken over into the designs of the contemporary ceramic fabrics, the so-called Corinthian ware of the Greeks, and the black *bucchero* of the Etruscans. The opposed animals are seen on several of the thin bronze plates of archaic Greek workmanship seen at Olympia, some of them in all probability belonging to *ciste* or *situlæ* of the same general class as those found in Italy. Monocephalic double-bodied monsters, such as those described, occur on more than one of the zoned *situlæ* found in the cemetery of Este,[c] and dating from the fifth, or even the fourth, century B.C. Single figures of animals, with their heads turned over their backs, a scheme, as we have already seen, characteristic of the class of opposed pairs from which they have become detached, are also frequent on these Euganean *situlæ* of the Alto Veneto, and are found, moreover, on

[a] Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ, pl. x. B. fig. 7.

[b] It is very conspicuous in the so-called "Island Gems" found at Mykênæ, notably those from the recently discovered tombs.

[c] Prof. Prosdocimi, *Necropoli Euganee di Este* in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1882, Tav. vii. fig. 7A. Another example occurs on a *situla* in the Nazzaro Collection at Este. These *situlæ* belong to the

vessels of the same class from the cemeteries of the great North-Etruscan centre, Felsina, the later, Celtic, Bononia.

There are, however, features about our Aylesford monsters, and notably the stiff manes and the double curved horns, which do not seem to belong to the same North Italian school. The comparisons that they call up lead us more directly to the East, and recall some of the compound Assyrian monsters of the Palace of Nineveh, on which the curved horns are, as in the present example, associated with a boar-like mane and a tail, the end of which so far presents a parallel to those of the animals before us that its end is divided. Late-Celtic art was singularly eclectic in its choice of prototypes, and without calling in question the generally filial relation in which the present *situla* stands to the earlier products of Italian workshops, we may, in the animals before us, and in the constantly-recurring horned monsters of the same class to be found on Late-Celtic coins and metal-work, be allowed to trace an influence from the Pontic side, where, as we know, from the contents of the Greco-Scythian tombs in the Crimea and South Russia, this peculiar class of horned oriental monsters was of constant repetition both on gems and metal-work down to at least the age of Alexander the Great. When we remember that in the days when Late-Celtic art took its final stamp Celtic colonies extended to the Danube mouth, to Thrace and Asia Minor, the likelihood of the operation of such an influence can hardly be denied. The important find of Greco-Scythian antiquities at Vettersfeld,[a] in the Province of Brandenburg, belonging to the sixth century before our era, shows how, already at that early date, Pontic influences were making themselves felt

end of the Third or the beginning of the Fourth Period of the Este interments as classified by Signor Prosdocimi.

[a] A. Furtwaengler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde* (*xxxivtes Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste.* Berlin, 1883). Furtwaengler regards this find as a wholly isolated phenomenon connected with the migration of some Scythian tribe at the end of the sixth century B.C. in order to escape Darius. That this Persian invasion may have powerfully contributed to bring Scythian elements into contact with the central European peoples is probable, but it does not seem safe to conclude that the Vettersfeld deposit, which seems to have been of a sepulchral kind, was an isolated phenomenon. Further finds in East-Central Europe may throw a fresh light on this question, but it is by no means clear that other "mix-Hellenic" objects found in early Celtic finds did not arrive from the same source. In this connection I may also mention a gold bracelet in the Breslau museum, the palmetto ornaments of which are nearly allied to Greek decoration of this class on jewellery; and, above all, the gold bracelet from Rodenbach in the Rhenish Palatinate, where the rams' horns are executed in a peculiar ornamental style, strikingly suggestive of the stags' horns of Kul Oba. *See* p. 55, note.

very far afield in a westerly direction. A minute analysis of the motives and ornaments occurring on some of the early Late-Celtic relics of the Upper Rhine district and elsewhere has more and more convinced me that no explanation of the sources of these Celtic designs can be complete without taking constant account of this more Eastern line of influence, as well as of the more obvious channels leading from the Alps. To go more deeply, however, into this fertile topic would on the present occasion be out of place.[a]

In Celtic metal-work a very close parallel to the Aylesford design is presented by the uppermost of three animal reliefs (Pl. XIII. 6) that adorn the summit of a bronze sheath found by Professor Desor on the site of the Helvetian *oppidum* at La Tène. The animal thus depicted with its head turned back according to the traditional type has, however, more convoluted horns than those of the example before us, and is certainly intended to represent a stag. The two lower animals with their double, foliated tails also supply a valuable parallel. They belong to the same archaic race of opposed dual monsters as the animals of our pail, and, in the scrolls which in this case hang down from their mouths, display another link of connexion with the early bronze reliefs of Greece and Italy. The same scroll, which in early examples sometimes takes the form of a branch chewed by the animal and partly hanging down from his mouth, is a constant feature in the mouth of the deer and other animals on the *situlæ* of Este. In the case of carnivora we occasionally see in these early bronzes and their ceramic copies the half-swallowed limbs of their prey protruding from their jaws.

It is of the highest interest to note that this particularity, which affords another most suggestive clue to the source of the monstrous forms of Late-Celtic bronze-work, recurs in the case of some of the maned animals on the plates of the Marlborough bucket.

This feature is not entirely without its influence on some Gaulish coins,

[a] Amongst the most obvious points of comparison between Late-Celtic forms and ornaments and those of the Pontic Art Province may be mentioned, besides the horned monsters referred to, the horned sphinxes, rare in Greek and Etruscan art, but almost universal in Græco-Scythian goldwork as well as on that found in the graves of the Rhenish and Celtic districts; the decorative character of many of the animal representations, *e. g.* in the antlers of stags and horns of rams, which show some striking coincidences; certain ornaments on the sheaths and hilts, which also suggest Assyrian and Persian parallels; the occurrence in the Pontic regions of non-Celtic *fibulæ* of the retroflected Late-Celtic form; forms of horse ornaments and trappings; forms of weapons like the scimetar knives with their Dacian and West Asiatic range; finally the prevalence in both groups of the use of enamel, so comparatively rare in Greek and Etruscan works.

notably those of Armorica, where the androcephalous monster, who here supplants the Philippic horse, is seen occasionally with a spray of the same kind falling from his mouth.[a]

The horns of the Aylesford monster with their S-shaped curves present a close resemblance to those seen on the horses of some Gaulish coins,[b] such as that from the Amiens district, figured on Pl. XIII. figs. 4 and 5, the obverse of which, moreover, presents the further parallel of showing two confronted animals. But in many respects the most curious numismatic parallel to the design before us is presented by some later bronze and silver pieces attributed to the Remi, of which enlarged copies will be seen in Pl. XIII. figs. 2 and 3.

The characteristic double curve of the beak-like mouth, the proportionally large eyes and the cross-barred mane, as well as the attitude, are practically identical in the two designs; but the representation on our pail carries us back a step further, and affords ocular demonstration that the maned animal on the coin (as indeed might have been deduced from its pose alone) was originally one of the archaic pairs already referred to. In other words, we have good warrant for concluding that the design on the coin was in this case influenced by some pre-existing design on bronze-work, in all probability belonging to a *situla* resembling that before us. It seems to me that in the case of an uninscribed British gold coin,[c] on which, in place of the usual horse, a horned animal is seen with an open beak-like mouth of a somewhat similar character looking backwards in the same archaic attitude we may trace an influence of the same kind. So, too, the volute flower of the Aylesford plate which, as we have seen, is a Celtic modification of the flower of a Greek *anthêmion* indigenous to toreutic work, is found transferred well-nigh line for line as an ornamental appendage to the field of some British gold staters, struck about 30 B.C. by the Icenian Prince Addedomaros.[d]

[a] See, for example, the coin engraved by Lelewel, pl. ii., p. 31. The spray may in some cases be derived from the protruding tongue which is also characteristic of lions and other animals on archaic bronze-work and its derivatives. The lion on the bronze bason from Castelletto Ticino shows this feature in a marked degree.

[b] Lelewel, pl. ii., p. 22.

[c] Evans, pl. B. 5. This type is principally found on the south coast, but ranges as far as Oxfordshire. The average weight of coins of this class is 95 grains.

[d] Evans, pl. xiv. 1.

1 REPOUSSÉ ANIMALS ON BRONZE PLATE OF AYLESFORD BUCKET.

4 OBV. OF COIN FOUND NEAR AMIENS
(HUCHER, FIG. 51, P. 36.)

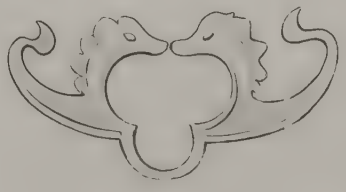
2 COIN OF REMI
(CF. HUCHER, FIG. 29, TER P. 23.)

5 REV. OF COIN FOUND NEAR AMIENS
(HUCHER, FIG. 51, P. 36.)

6 UPPER PART OF BRONZE SHEATH FROM
HELVETIAN STATION OF LA TÈNE.

3 COIN OF REMI
(CF. HUCHER, FIG. 29, BIS P. 23.)

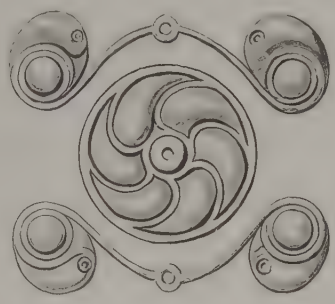
8 HIPPOCAMP AS CENOMAN COUNTERMARK
ON GOLD COINS ATTRIBUTED TO ARVERNI.



7 HIPPOCAMPS ON PLATE OF MARLBOROUGH BUCKET.

LATE CELTIC DESIGNS ON BRONZE WORI
LA TÈNE SHEATHS, WIT

9 FOLIATED SCROLLS,
BRONZE PLATE OF AYLESFORD BUCKET.

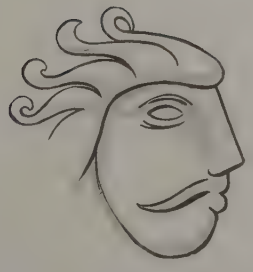


10 FOLIATED SCROLLS AND FLOWER,
BRONZE PLATE OF AYLESFORD BUCKET.

12 REPOUSSÉ HEAD
FROM BRONZE PLATE
OF MARLBOROUGH BUCKET.

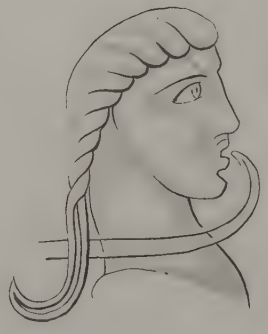
11 FOLIATED SCROLLS ON UPPER PART OF BRONZE SHEATH.
FROM HELVETIAN STATION OF LA TÈNE.

14 HEAD OF ANDROCEPHALOUS HORSE
FROM ARMORICAN COIN, SARTHE,
(HUCHER, PL. XIV. 2.)



18 REPOUSSÉ HEAD
FROM BRONZE PLATE
OF MARLBOROUGH BUCKET.

15 HEAD OF ANDROCEPHALOUS HORSE
FROM ARMORICAN COIN, BRITTANY,
(HUCHER, PL. XIV. 1.)



16 HEAD OF ANDROCEPHALOUS HORSE
FROM ARMORICAN COIN, SARTHE,
(HUCHER, PL. I, 2.)

ОМ AYLESFORD AND MARLBOROUGH BUCKETS AND
MPARISONS FROM GAULISH COINS.

III. (*e*) The Influence of Late-Celtic Metal-work on the Coinages of the Gauls and Britons.

The influence of Celtic metal-work of other kinds on the coinage of the Gauls and Britons has hitherto hardly met with the attention that it seems to deserve.

It is in fact due to the formation amongst a branch of the Celtic people of an original school of metal decoration already previous to the approximate date of 300 B.C. that the Celtic coinages, which about that date seem to have arisen independently in Gaul on the one side and in the lands of the Macedonian border on the other, present such an extraordinary parallelism in the evolution of types. Whether the Gaulish artist copied in the West the gold staters of Philip, or in the East indifferently the silver tetradrachms of the same Macedonian monarch or those of Pæonian dynasts, the modifications alike of head and horseman went on upon the same conventional lines as dictated by the pre-existing ornamental traditions of the Celtic metal-workers. We find, to take only a single example out of many, that the triquetra, that old Mykênæan design so familiar on the gold and bronze objects of the earliest group of Late-Celtic interments, where they are found in association with Greek and Etruscan vases, dating some of them from the fourth and fifth centuries B.C.,[a] makes its simultaneous appearance on the Celtic coins of Gaul and Illyricum. In the one case it is evolved from the mintmark $\mathcal{A}$, which seems to characterize the Pellan issues of Philip's gold staters, in the other it alternates with the monogram of the Pæonian king Audôleôn.

III. (*f*) The figured Representations on the Marlborough Bucket in their relation to Armoric Coin-types.

Influences of this external kind were perpetually acting on the Celtic coinages, laying down the lines on which the developments of the Greek prototypes took

[a] Cf. especially the find of Heerapfel near Saarbruck (Gerhard, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1856, *Denkmäler u. Forschungen*, Taf. lxxxv., and *Bonner Jahrbücher* xxiii. (1856) p. 130, Taf. iv. v. vi. Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, &c. B. ii. H. i. Beilage i. zu Taf. 1 u. 2) and that of Waldalgesheim (Grabfund von Waldalgesheim, E. Auss'm Weerth, *Winkelmann's Programm*, Bonn, 1870, and Lindenschmit *op. cit.* B. iii. H. i. T. i.) in both of which the triquetra occurs as an ornamental motive. These finds belong, as is well known, to a considerable group of which the Saar and Mosel valleys supply the principal nucleus, but which extend to the Upper Rhine and the Meuse.

place, and at times introducing entirely new features. And that in some cases the source of this influence is actually to be found in *situlæ* such as that under discussion seems to be strikingly illustrated by some of the designs on the great Marlborough bucket, which belongs to the same general category as that of Aylesford. The human heads found amongst the ornaments of the bronze plate of this bucket (Pl. XIII. figs. 12 and 13) are in fact absolutely identical, both in their details and their style, with the heads of the androcephalous horse that makes its appearance on the Armoric coinages (Pl. XIII. figs. 14 and 16). But the curious side-curls attached to some of the heads on the bucket as well as on the coins[a] are an abiding feature in a whole class of *repoussé* metal vessels derived by direct descent from the early Phœnician bowls and *situlæ* such as we find them in the tombs of Palestrina and elsewhere, and upon which griffins, sphinxes, and human-headed monsters are seen with similar side-locks. In this case, moreover, an intermediate link has been preserved to us in a bowl, seemingly an indigenous North-Italian product, and possibly even coming within the period of Gaulish settlement beyond the Alps, discovered at Castelletto Ticino in 1885, upon which a kind of winged female Centaur is seen with a similar arrangement of side-locks. On the zoned *situlæ* of Este again winged monsters of a similar character are seen with a kind of crested *pileus* on their heads, a feature also copied on a group of Armorican coins. These bronze-work parallels sufficiently reveal to us the character of the influence under which the original Philippic horse of the earlier Gaulish coinages was in Armorica transformed into a human-headed monster with the curled locks, the head pieces and at times moreover the wings and collar[b] of a strange androcephalous race.

In the case of the Marlborough figures the parallelism existing, not only in subject but in style, between them and the heads of the androcephalous horse and its driver on the Armoric coins is of such a kind that it is impossible not to

[a] Cf. Lelewel, pl. ii. p. 31.

[b] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1885, Tav. I. i., and p. 27. See also Baron J. de Baye, *Société des Antiquaires de France* 1886 (*Séance du 29me Déc.*). The cup served as cover for a *cista a cordoni* containing incinerated remains. The *cista* was of the later class, having ten cordons, and, judging from the character of the Greek vases and other such remains associated with *ciste* of this type at Tolentino, Bologna, Ludwigsberg in Würtemberg, and elsewhere, cannot well be earlier than the fifth century B.C., while it may well belong to the succeeding century. At Eygenbilsen, near Tongres, a cordoned bucket of this class (H. Schuermans, *Objets Étrusques trouvés en Belgique*, pl. ii.) served as a cinerary in a typical Late-Celtic deposit belonging to the early group of finds already referred to as characteristic of the Saar, Mosel, Meuse, and upper Rhine valleys.

regard them both as the work of the same Gaulish region. In this Wiltshire bucket therefore, we may, perhaps, venture to recognise an article of Armoric fabric imported into south-western Britain, and to see in it an additional witness to the trade connexion that seems to have existed between the western tract of Gaul and the opposite coasts of our own island, of which the finds of Gaulish coins of the Channel Islands or Armoric type in Devonshire and Hants have already supplied interesting evidence. It is possible that in the case of the Armorican tribes the field of comparison may be reduced to still narrower limits. The Gaulish coins that present on the whole the most striking parallels to the heads on the bucket belong to the Cenomani of Maine, but it is precisely on the coins of that region and of the bordering tribe of the Redones, whose name survives in Rennes, that a kind of hippocamp badge occurs, sometimes as a device on the helmet on the obverse (Pl. XIII. fig. 8), sometimes associated with the androcephalous monster of the reverse. A design of the same character, in this case two opposed sea-horses united in an ornamental form (Pl. XIII. fig. 7), is seen on a bronze zone of the Marlborough bucket. It is highly probable that this interesting product of Gaulish art found its way to Britain in one of the trading galleons of the Armoric Veneti. In the case of some of the Aylesford relics we have been already concerned with the influence of the other Veneti, of non-Celtic race, who inhabited the Adriatic coastlands.

With regard to the date, the parallels instituted between the Armoric coins and the heads on the bronze plates of the Marlborough bucket apply best to the better executed Armoric types of the gold and electrum coinages which seem to have been struck between the approximate dates of 150 and 50 B.C. On the other hand, the fact that on the bronze plates the heads appear as detached designs seems best to fall in with that stage of Armoric art represented by the earlier and finer of the billon coin-types which date from about the middle of the first century B.C., and upon which the heads of the androcephalous horse and his driver show a tendency to break away from their original corporeal bonds, and to fly about the field with flowing tails behind them. After this approximate date the designs become degenerate, and in the hoard of late billon coins of Armoric types found at Rosel, in Jersey, and which from its including a silver piece attributed to the British Prince Amminus may have been deposited in the years that immediately preceded the beginning of the Christian era,[a] it is impossible to find adequate parallels for the heads upon the bucket.

[a] From the fact that this hoard contained some Roman family coins, the latest of which was one of Antony and Octavius struck in B.C. 39, M. Anatole de Barthélemy was inclined to regard the

III. (*g*) Evidences as to the date of the Aylesford Pail.

If bearing in mind the parallels supplied by the Marlborough bucket we turn to our Aylesford example, which obviously dates from the same general period, we find, as already observed, some striking coincidences between the style and form of the animals represented, and those which occur on certain coins attributed to continental Belgic tribes, and notably the Remi and Ambiani. It is a fair deduction that as in the case of the Marlborough bucket we have an article of Armoric export, so in the present example we may be allowed to recognise an article of Belgic fabric, probably from a centre of manufacture approximately indicated by the coin-types of the Reims or, perhaps, the Amiens district. The close resemblance borne by the reliefs on the Aylesford *situla* to those of the sword-sheaths found in the Helvetian station of La Tène fits in well with this hypothesis, if we may accept Dr. Keller's suggestion that the swords and sheaths found on the Swiss site were in all probability, like many similar examples found in other widely distant localities, import articles from a central fabric somewhere in the Belgic region of Gaul.

The parallels with the La Tène ornaments are of further value as supplying us with an additional chronological standpoint. From the associated late Gaulish coins in the Helvetian station, it is evident that the bulk of the Celtic objects there discovered must be referred to the last half of the first century B.C. The gold pieces found however show that a part at least of the other relics brought to light belong to a somewhat earlier period, and if we examine the form of the swords, the bronze sheaths of which present the closest resemblance to the *repoussé* scrolls of the Aylesford pail, it is evident that they do not belong to the latest class represented on the Helvetian site. The earliest Late-Celtic swords, such as those found in the Italian cemetery of Marzabotto, or in the skeleton graves of the Saar valley and Champagne, end in a sharp point. But the Gallic weapons being too badly tempered to be available for thrusting, a progressive

latter year as giving the approximate date of the deposit (*Étude sur les monnaies gauloises découvertes en Jersey en 1875*, p. 177, *seqq.* and *Revue Numismatique, 1884.*) The coin of Amminus, however, in all probability a successor of Eppillus in South-Eastern Britain (see *Evans*, op. cit. p. 208, *seqq.*), must be taken to bring the deposit down to a somewhat later date.

tendency manifests itself to discard the useless point, and in the latest La Tène examples, dating from about the Christian era, the sword-ends become almost square.[a] The swords on the other hand, the sheaths of which represent the same stage of *repoussé* work decoration as the plates of our *situla*, belong to an intermediate type with a more leaf-shaped termination, and can hardly be brought down later than the first half of the first century before Christ.

III. (*h*) Bronze *oenochoe* and *patella* of Italo-Greek fabric from the Aylesford cemetery.

The other two bronze vessels found with the Aylesford pail are of the highest interest as supplying the first recorded instance of the discovery of classical fabrics of pre-Roman date in a Late-Celtic interment of Britain. The association of Greek and more rarely Etruscan, bronzes with Late-Celtic deposits is a familiar feature in the early Continental group of interments belonging to this class, to which reference has been made already, the barrows namely from Moravia to the Saar and Upper-Rhine valley, and the flat, skeleton graves of the Marne. The most characteristic form of bronze vessel associated with interments of this group is the beaked *œnochoê*, a very ancient Oriental form inherited by Hellenic art, some examples of which, as that from Dürkheim[b] and Heerapfel[c] near Saarbruck, are of fine archaic Greek, perhaps Chalkidian, fabric dating back to the sixth century before our era. Greek commercial enterprise having once familiarized the Gallic populations with the use of this ancient form of vessel, these beaked vases seem to have remained in vogue among them to a somewhat later date than amongst the Greeks themselves. Bronze *hydrias* with or without

[a] See especially Dr. O. Tischler's excellent observations on the Celtic swords in *Schriften d. phys.-ökon. Gesellsch. zu Königsberg*, 1882. *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 17, *seqq.*, and again in his *Archäologische Studien aus Frankreich* (*Schriften*, &c., 1884).

[b] Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, &c., B. ii., H. ii., Taf. 1, 2, 3.

[c] Gerhard, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, xxiii. (1856) Taf. 4, 5, 6. Lindenschmit (*op. cit.* B. ii., H. ii., Beilage zu Taf. 1, n. 2) refers to this place as "Grabhügel von Schwartzenbach." For an early example of a beaked *œnochoe* of this class in a Celtic tumulus at Hradisht, in Moravia, see Wocel, *Pravek zeme Ceské*, p. 202.

their tripod stands,[a] and shallow dishes with scroll-work ornaments,[b] are also amongst the typical imported vessels of this group.

In the Waldalgesheim deposit we find an example of a distinctly later stage of Greek bronze-work; a form of *situla*, namely, exhibiting palmetto ornaments of a somewhat florid style to be approximately referred to the third or second century before our era. A very similar vessel, the decoration of which is even more elaborated, was discovered at Kelby, in the Danish isle of Moen. The form is found in Italian deposits of the second century B.C.,[c] and both in form and in decorative style these vases show a decided approach to the ornate Campanian style, revealed to us by the bronzes of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Fig. 13. Bronze *Œnochoë* found in Denmark.

It is to this later period, the close of which is illustrated by the station of La Tène, that the imported bronze vase (fig. 14) in our Aylesford tomb must unquestionably be referred. Like the *situlæ* of Kelby and Wäldalgesheim it is no doubt the product of Italo-Greek industry, and, like the others, it represents a particular class of Italian vases which were finding their way by Celtic trade routes to Northern and North-Western Europe during the first two centuries before our era. A bronze *œnochoë* (fig. 13) almost absolutely identical with that

[a] The tripod found at Dürkheim near Speier (see Lindenschmit, *loc. cit.*) is the exact counterpart, almost to the minutest detail, of the tripod from Vulci, now in the British Museum. Some of the figures on the stand are in this case obviously Etruscan.

[b] *E. g.* from Hradisht, Moravia (Wocel, *loc. cit.*) from Rodenbach, in the Rhenish Palatinate, from Armsheim, in Rhenish Hesse, and Zerff, near Trier (Genthe, *Ueber den etruskischen Tauschhandel nach dem Norden* p. 165). An identical vessel was discovered at Dodona.

[c] A *situla* of this shape was found for instance in a tomb discovered in 1888 at Chianciano,

from Aylesford, even to the details of the ornament beneath the handle with its curious terminal cross, was, in fact, discovered in Denmark.[a]

The thin folded-back collar that surrounds the rim of these examples is characteristic of this class of Italo-Greek vessel, and exhibits a marked contrast to the heavy Roman fabric. The handle itself, as can be seen from the Danish specimen, was joined to the body of the vase by a very small attachment. Below this, however, is seen a well-defined convolvulus-leaf-shaped outline within the limits of which the bronze of the Aylesford vessel shows a less patinated and more polished surface than elsewhere, implying that it had originally been covered by a thin embossed plate, doubtless either of bronze or silver. The outline of this plate, as well as of its side-scrolls and cruciform continuation below, is picked out with silvery lines, due, no doubt, to the metal by which it had been originally soldered.

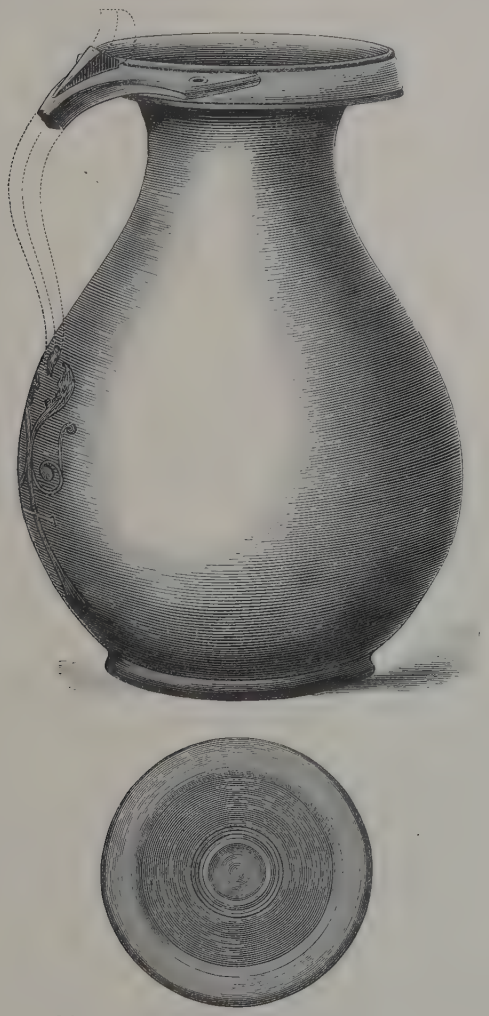


Fig. 14. Italo-Greek Bronze *Œnochoê* from Aylesford, Kent. (½ linear.)

Fig. 15. Handle Ornament of the Aylesford *Œnochoê*. (Full size.)

In the leaf-shaped boss beneath the attachment of the handle and its orna-

near Chiusi, with alabaster urns of the family of Narχni, and belonging to the second century B.C. Now in the *Museo Etrusco*, Florence.

[a] Worsaae, *Afbildninger fra det k. Museum for nordiske Oldsager in Kjöbenhavn*, p. 60, fig. 225.

mental continuations we recognise a decorative outgrowth of a form of handle already met with on Greek bronze vases of the fifth century B.C. in which the handle itself is attached to the body of the vessel by a leaf-shaped termination. A simple form of this is seen on a small vase found in a tomb at Corinth, and associated with late Transitional red figured vases dating from about the year 420 B.C.[a] In a Greek vase-handle, from the prehistoric cemetery of Zirknitz[b] in Carniola, the extreme chronological limits of which can hardly be brought down beyond the fifth century B.C., we already see the simple "convolvulus leaf" assuming a more elaborate form and terminating below in a central cusp and two returning curves. Here we have the starting-point of the present form.

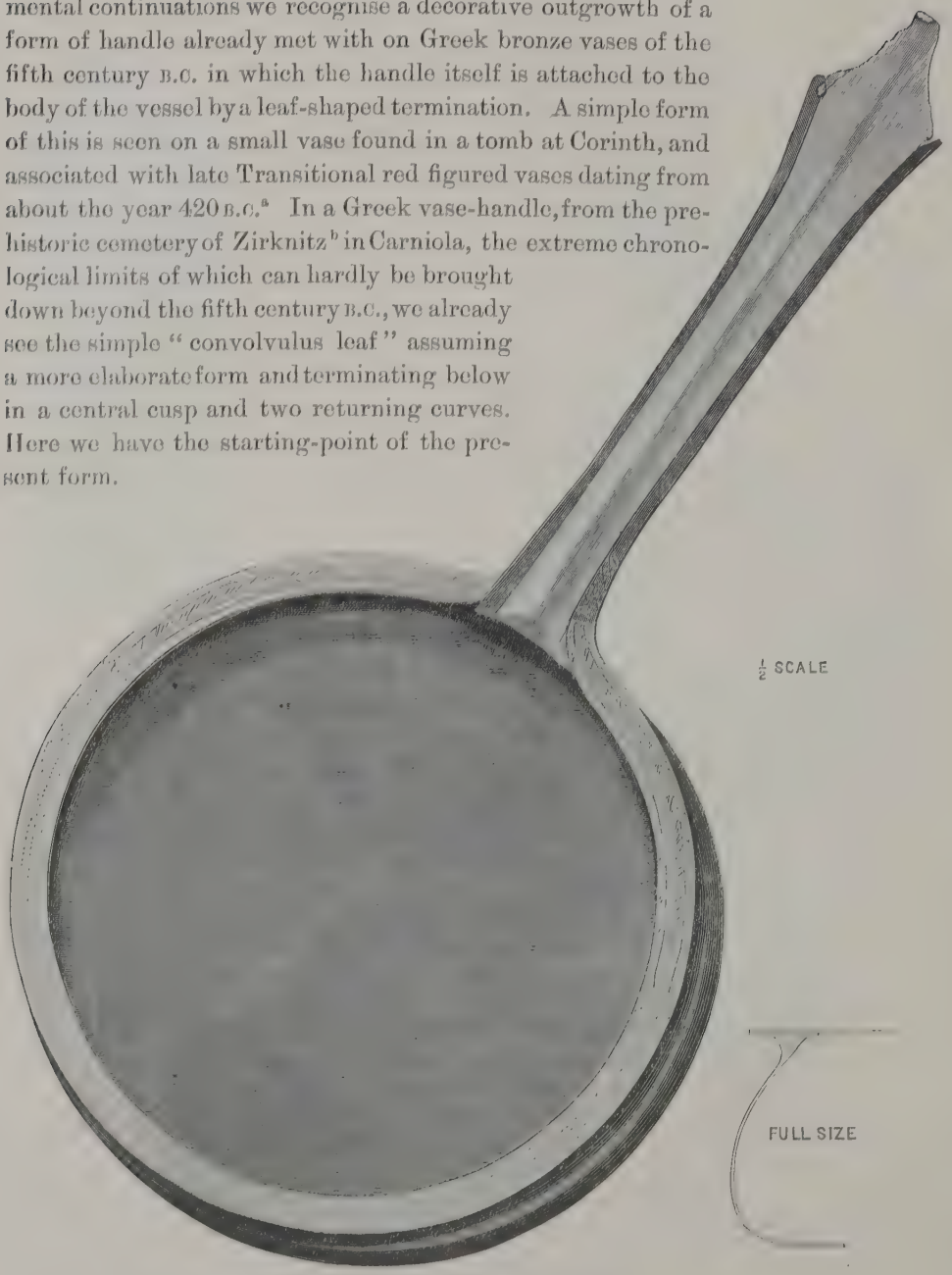


Fig 16. Bronze *Patella*, Aylesford.

[a] Now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[b] C. Deschmann, *Funde von Zirknitz* (Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft von Wien, 1879, (viii.) p. 137, *seqq.* See fig. 10).

The type presented by the upper part of the attachment with its central projection and angular wings is common to a whole series of late Greek vase handles. A handle resembling that of the Aylesford and Danish vases was found in a Cisalpine Gaulish tomb at Mezzano in the Milanese,[a] dating from the second century B.C. In this case it appears to have belonged to a small bronze vase[b] found in the same grave, somewhat broader below than the types before us, but belonging to the same general class of fabric, and with the thin turned-over collar. The concentric circles on the bottom of the Aylesford *œnochoë* are a late characteristic which hardly appears on Italian bronze-work before 200 B.C.

The long-handled bronze *patella*[c] (fig. 15), or frying-pan, belongs to the same general category as the imported vase with which it was associated in our Aylesford deposit. It is of a form and fabric that does not occur amongst Roman provincial remains in Britain or elsewhere, and, like the *œnochoë*, must be regarded as an article of pre-Roman import from beyond the Alps.

It is interesting to note, that in this case also we have to do with a form of imported vessel which during the first two or three centuries before our era seems to have been generally in vogue among the Celtic populations. In the Cisalpine Gaulish interments of Mezzano in the Milanese, already referred to as containing a handle similar to that of the Aylesford vase, and belonging, as was shown by the coins and inscribed objects brought to light, to the second century B.C.[d] a bronze *patella* was discovered with part of a long, flat handle, channelled in the middle, and in every respect resembling our Aylesford example. The handle of a similar bronze *patella* also occurred in a grave belonging to another Cisalpine Gaulish cemetery of pre-Roman date excavated at Povegliano, near Verona.[e] In a Gallic tomb at Carrù,[f] again, in the Modenese, was discovered another example.

[a] Pompeio Castelfranco, *Liguri Galli e Galli Romani* (Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana, 1886, Tav. xiii. 68, p. 245.)

[b] Castelfranco, *op. cit.* Tav. xiii. 66, and see p. 245. A vase of an identical type was found in the Gaulish cemetery of Povegliano, near Verona (C. Cipolla, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, Tav. viii. 9).

[c] The long-handled bronze vessels that occur with Roman remains in Britain are bowl-shaped and partake more of the nature of a saucepan than a frying-pan. They are also of heavier fabric.

Two imported Roman objects of this class with colanders to fit them were found in the Danish Early Iron Age interment of Mœllebanke in Seeland (Engelhardt, *Influence Classique sur le Nord pendant l'Antiquité*, Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires du Nord, 1876, p. 233, f. 30).

[d] Pompeio Castelfranco, *Liguri Galli e Galli Romani* (Bullettino di Paletnologia italiana, 1886, p. 245, Tav. xiii. f. 65.) Castelfranco gives the date as 300-200 B.C., but the presence of an uncial *s* and of certain "North Etruscan" inscriptions brings the cemetery down to the succeeding century.

[e] Prof. G. Pellegrini *Di un Sepolcreto preromano scoperto a Povegliano*, Verona, 1878; and see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1880, Tav. viii. f. 8, and p. 238. This cemetery contained "flat-graves," with skeletons.

[f] Fabretti, *Scavi di Carrù*, Tav. vii.; Crespellani, *Scavi del Modenese*, 1879, Tav. ii., 6.

The coincidences in the forms of the imported Italo-Greek objects found in the Kentish cemetery and in the Gaulish cemeteries of Upper Lombardy are of great importance to our present inquiry, and illustrate, what has been already shown in the case of the pottery, the intimate relation subsisting between these sufficiently remote Celtic regions, in the period which immediately preceded the Roman Conquest. From the analogies thus supplied, it is probable, though we have not at present direct evidence of the fact, that the inventory of other Late-Celtic graves belonging to this period in Britain may have contained some of the other classical relics which form part of the typical contents of the contemporary or slightly earlier interments of Cisalpine Gaul. Among the principal of these must be classed the bronze mirrors; and, though I am not aware of any recorded discovery of a late Greek or Etruscan mirror in Britain, the imitations of such, which form a striking feature in later British art, certainly point to an early acquaintance with these articles of imported luxury. It is probable, moreover, that other specimens of bronze vessels, hitherto classed in our museums as "Roman" will eventually prove to belong to the same Italo-Greek or Late-Etruscan class as those from Aylesford. Mr. Franks informs me that some pre-Roman bronze pans apparently of Italian fabric analogous to the Aylesford *patella* were found some years since in Northamptonshire.[a]

The imported bronze vessels found in the Aylesford grave were, as we have seen, in all probability made in Italy in the second century B.C. It is always possible, however, that between the date of their manufacture and that of their deposit on British soil a not inconsiderable interval of years may have elapsed, though, from their generally well-preserved condition, it is improbable that this deposit could have taken place later than the first half of the ensuing century.

III. (*i*) The Aylesford *Fibulæ*.

Of the two bronze *fibulæ* found inside the bronze-plated pail at Aylesford, the first (fig. 17) is somewhat difficult to classify with precision. A simpler form of the same type occurs already in the earliest part of the cemetery at Este, and it may therefore be of Italian origin.

The other *fibula* (fig. 18) is of a type classified by Dr. O. Tischler[b] as be-

[a] They were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London by Mr. Mathew Bigge.

[b] *Die Gewandnadeln oder Fibeln* (von Gurina) in *Gurina im Obergailthal* (*Kärnthen*), Dr. A. Meyer, Dresden, 1885, and cf. Dr. Tischler's earlier work, *Archäologische Studien aus Frankreich* (Schriften der Physikalisch-Oekonomischen Gesellschaft zu Koenigsberg xxv. (1884) Sitzungsberichte, p. 18, *seqq.*)

longing to the late "La Tène" Period. Its comparatively late date indeed appears from the evidence of its own conformation, the raised rings round what

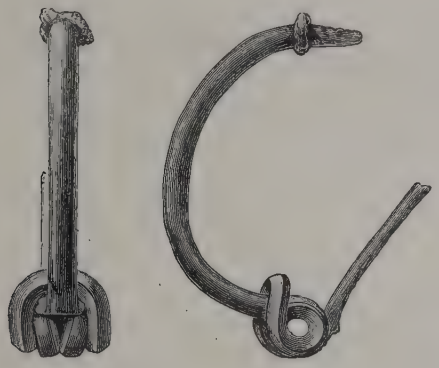


Fig. 17.

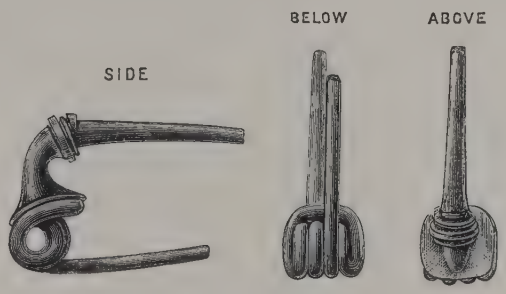


Fig. 18.

Fibulæ from Aylesford Grave.

we may term its neck being the survival of those that in the intermediate types bind the retroflected end of the fibula to its bow.[a] On the other hand the fact that the *fibula* is of the simple kind, made that is of one piece of metal, and that the spring does not require to be fixed to the head by a hook, conclusively proves that the present example belongs to the pre-Roman period. The "Roman Provincial" *fibulæ*, which are the immediate outgrowth of this type, are in all cases made in two pieces, the pin and spring being separate from the bow, and are provided with a hook to catch the loop of the spiral.[b] Although unfortunately imperfect at the lower part it may with great probability be completed, as in fig. 19. This *fibula*, though fitting on to the La Tène group, is itself probably of Italian fabric.

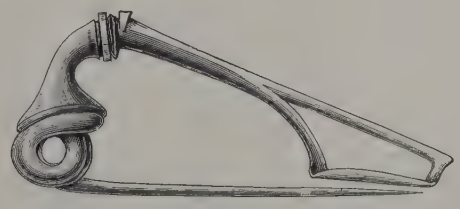


Fig. 19. Aylesford *Fibula* (fig. 18) restored.

[a] Hildebrand, *Bidrag til Spännets Historia*, Antikvarisk Tidskrift for Sverige, iv. 1872-1880; and Montelius, *Spännen fran Bronsåldern*, &c., pp. 185, 186, and cf. fig. 188.

[b] Tischler, *Gurina, &c.*, p. 26.

Fibulæ of this character were numerously represented on the site of Alesia,[a] Alise St. Reine, amongst relics of the final struggle between Cæsar and Vercingetorix, in 52 B.C. They are also found on the site of the Æduan city of Bibracte, Mont Beuvray, the predecessor of Augustodunum. It is noteworthy however that in both the above instances this *fibula* is found with the later adaptation of the hook, from which we may infer that the present simple variety dates well back into the first half of the first century before our era. This approximate chronology is quite consistent with that already elicited from the other bronzes from the same grave.

PART IV.—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE DATE AND CHARACTER OF THE AYLESFORD CEMETERY.

From what has already been said it will be seen that the Aylesford interments belong to an extensive Late-British cemetery of a kind not hitherto described by English archaeologists. Arguments have already been adduced to show that the richest group of objects discovered, those namely in the grave containing the Late-Celtic pail, and including among them two imported bronze vessels, cannot be referred to a later date than the close of the first half of the first century B.C. It is probable, indeed, that the *œnochoê* and *patella* of Italian fabric there found were actually made in the preceding century. Of the two uninscribed British gold coins found in the cemetery the stater belongs to a type the full weight of which is about twelve grains heavier than that of the staters belonging to the earliest inscribed coinage of the sons of Commios, struck about 20 B.C. Assuming that the reduction of the weight of British coins was, roughly speaking,[b] one grain in every four years, we may infer that the Aylesford specimen was struck about the year 68 B.C. On the whole the balance of probability weighs in favour of the middle of the first century B.C. as the chronological centre-point of the Aylesford cemetery. Some graves are probably of earlier date, some, no doubt, come down later.

The evidence derived from the discovery of parallel ceramic forms in France and the Rhinelands supplies an additional corroboration of this approximate chronology. It has been shown that analogous types of cinerary vessels are found in Gaulish cemeteries belonging to the latest pre-Roman period, which, on the

[a] Tischler, *op. cit.*

[b] Cf. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 31.

Continental side of the Channel, finds its close in the latter half of the first century B.C. A fresh standpoint for comparison has been lately gained from the excavation by Dr. Koehl and others, of an interesting group of urn-fields presenting the same typical features as that of Aylesford, and productive of a series of ceramic types belonging to the same general class, in the neighbourhood of Worms, the old Celtic Borbetomagus. These finds include both a fine type of *situla* vase, with elegant pedestal and cordons, and other forms representative of the best Late-Celtic ceramic style, as well as some more recent and degenerate offshoots of the same class. Although from the beginning of the Christian Era onwards Borbetomagus was converted into a great Roman centre on the Rhenish border, traces of Roman influence were entirely absent from these interments, none of which can therefore well be later than the close of the first century B.C. The relics exhumed were typically Late-Celtic, including the *fibulæ* with retroflected ends and others of the Nauheim type, iron knives ending in rings or animals' heads, the usual iron shears, tweezers, and La Tène sword of these Continental deposits, and a very fine iron spear-head of the "jessamine leaf" shape $17\frac{5}{8}$ inches in length. With these were found some Gaulish coins, among them silver pieces and bronze imitations of Massaliote coins dating from the latter half of the first century B.C., but also a quarter stater of an East Gallic type representing on its obverse side a comparatively recognisable imitation of the Philippic head, and a winged horse on the reverse, which is hardly of later date than the end of the second century before our era. This latter coin may thus be taken to give the approximate date of the finer ceramic forms discovered in the Worms group of interments.

That some of the later graves of the Aylesford cemetery come down to a date appreciably nearer to that of the Claudian Conquest than 50 B.C. is by no means improbable. The somewhat degenerate character of the vessels found in the "family circle" last excavated, as well as its outlying position on the extreme borders of the cemetery, tends to show that this was the most recent group of interments brought to light on this site, and the pale brick-red, well-baked pottery of the cinerary in grave C seems to point to Romanizing influences, though the cordons and striations of the same vessel still betray its Celtic pedigree. The same brick-red appearance is presented by Nos. 7, 12, and 13 of my list. This class of vessels presents a close parallel to some transitional forms characteristic of the period of incipient Roman influence on certain Rhenish sites, and one of the Elveden pots apparently belongs to the same category.

It seems probable, however, that the Late-Celtic relics recently brought to light

in the British camp or *oppidum* of Hunsbury, near Northampton, reach down to a somewhat later date than those of the Aylesford Urn-Field.

The later class of British pottery with the incised spiral decoration represented by some good examples on the Hunsbury site is wholly absent at Aylesford. On the other hand, that of the Aylesford type appears at Hunsbury in a degenerate form. The character of the embossed ornaments on the Hunsbury sword-sheaths represents a slightly later phase of ornamental development than those upon the *situla* from our Kentish site, which, as has been shown, answer to the style represented by the earlier sword-sheaths of the Helvetian station of La Tène. The hatched lines with which on the Hunsbury example the embossed designs are eked out is a falling off from the simpler and bolder style, which, as in the case of the figures of our *situla*, relies for its effect on pure relief, and in this respect the Hunsbury sheath shows an approach to a later decorative style which lived on in the west and north of our island after the Roman subjugation of the south-east, and is well represented in early Irish art.[a] At Hunsbury, moreover, side by side with the survival of some more primitive forms there occurred a *fibula* of a pre-Roman class, which seems somewhat later in date than even the late forms represented at Aylesford. The example referred to, with its elongated triangular-headed bow, is identical with that to which Dr. Tischler[b] has given the name of the "Nauheim *fibula*," from its plentiful occurrence in the cemetery of Nauheim, near Frankfort, belonging, as is shown by the associated coins, to the last half century before the Christian era.

Both the Kentish cemetery and the Northamptonshire *oppidum* are alike in this particular, that in neither has any single object of purely Roman fabric come to light. This fact is the more remarkable when we recall the astonishing progress of Romanizing fashions among the Southern tribes of Britain during the two generations that preceded the actual conquest of that part of the island in Claudius's reign. What Velleius Paterculus[c] says of the Pannonian Celts was no doubt equally true of the Britons of this period, and many of them must have

[a] E. g. on the radiated crown from the Petrie collection described in *Archæologia*, xlvii. p. 475. From the spiked form of this crown, analogous to that usual on coins of the Roman Emperors during the period that succeeded the reign of Caracalla, it is probable that this crown is posterior to c. 200 A.D.

[b] *Archäologische Studien aus Frankreich* (Schriften der phys.-ökon. Gesellschaft zu Königsberg, 1884, p. 27), and cf. *Guerina*, &c. p. 24. This *fibula* has been found on the site of the station of Stradonic in Bohemia, at Bibracte, Lyons, Besançon, &c.

[c] *Hist. Rom.* I. ii., c. 110.

not only acquired a knowledge of the language but have been familiar with the literature of Rome. At the courts of the Kentish prince Amminus, of the sons of Commios, of Tasciovanus or Cunobeline, Latin was already the official speech, and the types of the coinage are permeated with the artistic and religious creations of the classical world. We know indeed from Strabo[a] that in his time the princes of Britain had paid court to and secured the friendship of Augustus, that their envoys had offered gifts in the Capitol, and had made the whole island (or at least its southern part) "well nigh a home-country for the Romans." Under such conditions we should expect amongst the British remains of the period in question, extending from about 20 B.C. to 43 A.D. the year of Claudius's invasion, direct evidences of this advancing Roman culture. We should expect, for example, to find the same forms of imported Roman wares, such as the Arretine vases and their provincial imitations (miscalled Samian), and the small glass bottles that occur in the graves of the latest pre-Roman period in Gaul.[b] That remains of this class exist in the south-eastern parts of Britain cannot be doubted, though they seem to have been hitherto lumped together with those belonging to the period of actual Roman dominion. Meanwhile the entire absence of such relics in any important British settlement or cemetery is itself a strong argument for referring it to a period not only before the date of the Claudian conquest, but before the beginning of the Christian era.

It has already been shown that the characteristic pottery of the Aylesford interments represents in its most typical forms a ceramic class common to the contemporary cemeteries of Belgic Gaul, and which by the light of parallel types found in Champagne and on the middle and upper Rhine may be traced back to bronze originals indigenous in an extensive Italian and Adriatic region.

The sudden appearance on British soil of this elegant exotic race of vases, in their pedestals and cordoned zones revealing still their pedigree of noble metal, and standing out, both in paste and contour, in strong contrast to the rude traditional urns evolved from basket-work and daub by our native potters, is a highly significant phenomenon. It can hardly be interpreted in any other way than as an indication that at the beginning of the period to which the Aylesford

[a] *Geogr.*, l. iv. c. 5, 3, "*ἀναθήματα τε ἀνεθήκαν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ καὶ οἰκείαν σχεδόν τι παρασκεύασαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅλην τὴν νῆσον.*"

[b] Strabo (lib. iv. c. 5, 3) mentions the import of glass vessels into Britain during this period (before c. A.D. 24).

cemetery belongs, this Kentish site was occupied by an intrusive Gaulish tribe. The rapid diffusion of the same types of vessel throughout the south-eastern parts of England, as revealed by a series of kindred discoveries, seems to show that this invasion affected a considerable area.

The appearance of the "urn-field" type of cremation burial in the flat earth is, in its way, moreover, as significant as are the forms of the cineraries themselves. In the Late-Celtic inhumation graves like the "King's Barrow" at Arras, in Yorkshire, in which the skeleton of the departed warrior is laid with his chariot and his horses, we recognise the characteristic features of that earlier class of Gaulish interments, such as we find them on the plains of Champagne, the valleys of the Saar and Mosel, or, still further afield to the south and east, which, from the associated Greek and Etruscan relics, are known on the Continent to belong to the third, fourth, and fifth centuries before our era. In the occurrence of these skeleton interments in Britain belonging to the period that directly follows on our insular Bronze Age we may perhaps trace the influence of an earlier wave of Gaulish invasion belonging to the close of the Continental period above indicated, and to which the first introduction of Late-Celtic arts in this island may reasonably be ascribed. The cremation graves of Aylesford, on the other hand, stand in the same relation to the sepulchral practice in vogue among the Gauls of a later age, during the period namely that immediately preceded the Roman Conquest.

We have seen that during this period a new form of cremation burial in shallow pits in the flat surface of the earth had taken root throughout an extensive Gaulish region, where it is associated with the appearance of the same class of pottery as that of our Kentish cemetery. The same is true of the Rhenish districts, and in North Germany and Scandinavia the occurrence of an allied class of pottery, in company with other relics belonging to the La Tène Period of Continental culture in its strictest sense, is accompanied with the diffusion of similar burial rites. In this region an allied usage was prevalent, according to which the ashes were not placed in urns, but were deposited in the graves themselves, the "Brandgruben" or "cremation-pits" of Northern archæologists, which however, like the urn-pits, are excavated in the flat surface of the ground.

The simultaneous entry into Britain of this new "urn-field" type of burial, side by side with the same ceramic forms that mark its extension on the Gaulish side of the Channel, affords a trustworthy clue to the source from which this new sepulchral usage made its way to our shores. The urns, themselves, are, as has been shown, the derivatives of North Italian, and, in a marked degree, Old

Venetian prototypes. The associated bronzes, like the *œnochoê*, or the long-handled *patella*, answer to an Italian usage adopted, as we have seen, by the Gaulish settlers in the Po valley. The Late-Celtic *situla* of the principal grave is itself a development of forms of bronze buckets that in the North Etruscan cemeteries of Bologna, or elsewhere, so frequently fulfilled the function of cineraries. The occurrence of identical or allied bronze forms in "La Tène" deposits of North Germany and Scandinavia points to a common centre of radiation, and, in all probability, in part, at least, to a common channel of transport by the passes of the Alps.

The inference which we seem entitled to draw from this diffusion of North Italian forms of bronze and ceramic relics in the Late-Celtic graves of the last two centuries before our era, *pari passu* with the spread of a new form of cremation interments in the flat earth, is that the new sepulchral practice of urn-burial which superseded the older skeleton interments of the Late-Celtic peoples, was in fact disseminated from the same source, and must be regarded as the outcome of the direct communion with various Italian and Illyric elements into which the Cisalpine Gauls had been brought by their occupation of Ligurian and North Etruscan territories on the one side and of the Eastern Alps and the lands about the head of the Adriatic, on the other. In Italy itself the progress of this sepulchral revolution may be actually watched. In the earliest Gaulish graves at Marzabotto, and elsewhere, we see the fifth-century Celtic practice of the inhumation of the body still adhered to. But the form of urn-burial at that time predominant amongst the neighbouring populations, such as the Old Venetians and their kinsmen, with which the invading Northern swarms came in contact, soon appears to have re-acted on the national ritual of the Gaulish settlers. In the later Cisalpine Gaulish interments from the third century onwards incineration becomes general.

The Aylesford type of cremation graves and the Aylesford type of vases represents then the first introduction on to British soil of forms of sepulchral usage and of ceramic art, which had already propagated themselves across a wide Gaulish tract—answering, in part at least, to the Continental extension of the Belgic group of tribes—from the lands beyond the Alps, in an appreciable degree apparently from the borders of a well-defined Adriatic province peopled by an Illyro-Italic race, the immediate neighbours of the Cisalpine Gauls, and the name of whose most powerful representative is still preserved in that of Venice. The channel through which this new influence reached our shores is undoubtedly

to be sought in Belgic Gaul, and the first stage of its course was probably the Upper Rhine valley.

This sudden break with the pre-existing sepulchral usages and the traditional indigenous forms of pottery points to the progress of a conquering race, and if we may suppose that the first appearance of these new forms dates back to the middle of the second century before our era, the beginning of the movement to which the introduction into Britain of this new culture was due will be found to synchronize in a remarkable way with the first appearance in the south-eastern parts of our island of a gold coinage consisting of Belgic types derived from the Philippus.

The fact that the British gold coins found at Aylesford itself were of types common to the Belgic parts of Gaul, as well as to south-eastern Britain, throws a suggestive light on the nationality of the occupants of this Kentish site during the period to which the cemetery belongs. The same intimate connexion with Belgic Gaul is borne out by the ornamental style of the *situla*, which, if we may judge from the animal forms that it exhibits, was, in all probability, manufactured in the Reims district. In the imported objects of Greek or Italian fabric, we see, for the first time on British soil, the evidences of a race acquainted with the products of classical art, and traditionally accustomed, like the Continental Gauls, to associate such objects with their interments. The conditions revealed to us by the Aylesford discoveries display that close communion with the Belgic parts of Gaul that is otherwise attested by Ancient British coins as well as by the direct statements of Cæsar, from whom we learn that in the middle of the first century before our era the authority or influence of Commios the Atrebatian extended over a great part of Britain. In a certain sense, this connexion may be taken to resemble that which subsisted between England and Normandy during the period that immediately succeeded the Norman Conquest; in both cases we find the same princely houses exercising sway on either side of the Channel, and in both cases the conqueror succeeded in introducing Continental arts and Continental usages to our insular soil. It must however be borne in mind that the Belgic conquerors to whom we have referred the introduction of the Ancient British coinage, the *situla*-vases, and the urn-field system of interment, in all probability were only following in the wake of earlier Gaulish invaders who, perhaps, as early as the middle of the third century B.C., had introduced, together with the more archaic sepulchral usage of inhumation beneath a barrow, the first beginnings of Late-Celtic art in Britain.

XV.—*Wall painting in St. Anselm's chapel in Canterbury cathedral church. By the Rev.* John Morris, *S.J., F.S.A.*

Read May 23rd, 1889.

I am enabled by the kindness of a friend in Canterbury to place before the Society a tracing and a photograph of the wall painting which has been recently discovered in the apse of St. Anselm's chapel in Canterbury cathedral church, together with a ground plan of the chapel, showing its position. The painting is worthy of attention: first on account of its antiquity, and secondly on account of the singular fact that for seven hundred years it has been hidden from sight.

St. Anselm's chapel was built by St. Anselm himself, or rather by his prior Ernulf. On the accession of St. Anselm in 1093, Ernulf took down the choir which Lanfranc had erected just before, and rebuilt it of larger dimensions. The new choir, like the old, had an apse with a square-ended chapel at its east end, which was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Trinity. On either side of the Trinity chapel Ernulf built two towers, and the portion of each tower that opened into the church was dedicated as a chapel, that on the north in honour of St. Andrew, and that on the south of SS. Peter and Paul. They are no longer towers, but Gervase calls them by that name, and he is completely borne out in this by the Norman plan, *circa* 1165, attributed to the monk Edwin, which shows that the church had two eastern towers, as high as the towers at its west end. These eastern towers radiated out from Ernulf's apse, and their retention when the church was rebuilt by William of Sens and his namesake the Englishman (1174—1184) is the cause of the beautiful curve in the line of the choir walls, which strikes the eye with

such pleasure, both within and without the church, and is very perceptible in the accompanying ground plan.

St. Anselm was buried in the Trinity chapel in 1109, and after some years his body was translated into the chapel that he had called after SS. Peter and Paul. Its name was speedily changed by the popular voice, and Gervase tells us that in his time, that is to say, before the fire in 1174, it was called St. Anselm's chapel. It is curious that St. Augustine's abbey should have been dedicated by that saint in honour of SS. Peter and Paul, and that it also should have changed its title and assumed the name of its founder. St. Anselm's chapel was evidently so called from the time when his shrine was placed in it, without waiting for his canonization, for it seems probable that St. Anselm was never canonized formally by the pope. St. Thomas at the Council of Tours in 1163 petitioned for it, and as late as 1494, in the reign of Henry VII. a commission to report to the pope on the virtues of St. Anselm was issued, which commission is often wrongly called the bull of canonization.

The painting on the apse of St. Anselm's chapel has recently been uncovered by the removal of a wall[a] in the process of restoration of the chapel. The stones of that wall bore undoubted marks of fire, and we thus learn how the painting was saved when the choir of the cathedral was burnt on the 5th of September, 1174. The antiquity of the wall, and the fact that the painting represents St. Paul, one of the original co-titulars of the chapel, are external proofs of the time when the painting was executed. For its style is so free from the stiffness of the designs painted in the early part of the twelfth century, and so different from the style of the well-known paintings in the chapel immediately below it in the crypt, that without such convincing proofs antiquaries would probably have assigned it to a later date.

The chapel beneath, which, from an inscription partly still remaining, has been called St. Gabriel's, but which would seem rather to have borne the title of St. John the Baptist, was built up solidly. The wall cutting off a small portion of the apse in the chapel above, and the substantial building up of the arch in front of the apse in the chapel below, must both be due to the same cause, and have been done at the same time. It must have been thought by the architect, Prior Conrad, we may presume, that buttressing was needed just in that place; and therefore after the chapels were decorated with paintings, those walls were built by him. We may assume that this will have been done before the consecration of the church by Archbishop Corboil in 1130. At any rate the chapel in the crypt

[a] Shewn by darker shading on the plan.

such pleasure, both within and without the church, and is very perceptible in [illegible] ground plan.

St. Anselm was buried in the Trinity chapel in 1109, and after some years his body was translated into the chapel that he had called after SS. Peter and Paul. Its name was speedily changed by the popular voice, and Gervase tells us that in his time, that is to say, before the fire in 1174, it was called St. Anselm's chapel. [illegible] honour of SS. Peter and Paul, and that it also should have changed its title and assumed the name of its founder. St. Anselm's chapel was evidently so called from the time when his shrine was placed in it, without waiting for his canonization, for it seems probable that St. Anselm was never canonized formally by the pope. St. Thomas at the Council of Tours in 1163 petitioned for it, and as late as 1494, in the reign of Henry VII., commissioners to report to the pope on the virtues of St. Anselm was issued. [illegible] often wrongly called the bull of canonization.

The painting on the apse of St. Anselm's chapel has recently been [illegible] by the removal of a wall[a] in the process of restoration of the chapel. [illegible] was saved when the choir of the cathedral was burnt on the 5th of September 1174. The antiquity of the wall, and the fact that the painting represents St. Paul, one of the original co-titulars of the chapel, are external proofs of the time when the painting was executed. For its style is so free from the stiffness of the designs painted in the early part of the twelfth century, as to [illegible] from the style of the [illegible] in the chapel [illegible] before it, on the north, [illegible] without [illegible] probably [illegible] [illegible].

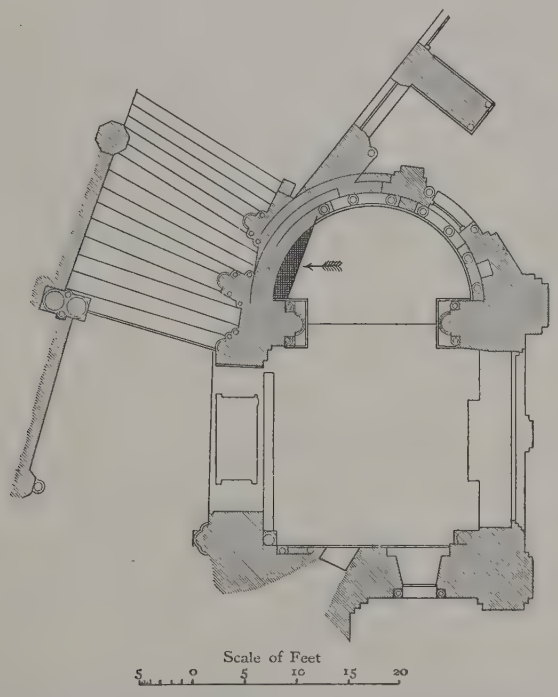
The chapel [illegible] is now [illegible] partly still remaining [illegible] been called [illegible] rather to have borne the title of St. John the Baptist [illegible]. The wall cutting off a small portion of the apse in the crypt [illegible] substantial building up of the arch in front of the apse in the [illegible] both be due to the same [illegible] have been done at the same time. [illegible] have been thought by the [illegible] Conrad, we may presume, that such a thing was needed just in [illegible] therefore after the chapel was consecrated with paintings, the [illegible] by him. We may assume that the [illegible] have been done before [illegible] the church by Archbishop Corbeuil in 1130. At any rate the [illegible]

[a] Shewn by dark shading on the plan.

WALL PAINTING IN ST. ANSELM'S CHAPEL
IN CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

(about $\frac{1}{5}$ linear)

was walled up before the time of Gervase, for the altar in it is the only one not mentioned by him in his list of the altars of the upper and lower churches. It is remarkable that there were in his time, that is before the fire in 1174, two altars under the Trinity chapel side by side, which is an unusual arrangement. That on the south side was the altar of St. Augustine the Apostle of England, that on the north was St John the Baptist's. It might be suggested that when the altar originally intended to be St. John the Baptist's was walled up, place was found for an altar in his honour by moving St. Augustine's altar to one side. The walled-up chapel in the crypt cannot be very far from the place occupied in Saxon times by the church of St. John the Baptist, built before 758 by Archbishop Cuthbert as a baptistery and burial-place for the archbishops.



Plan of the chapel of St Anselm in Canterbury cathedral church, shewing the position of the painting of St. Paul recently discovered.

It only remains for me now to say that the painting recently uncovered in St. Anselm's chapel is in the north-east corner of the chapel. It measures 3 feet $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and 3 feet $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width, and represents St. Paul

putting sticks on the fire after his shipwreck at Malta, when the viper fastened itself on his hand (Plate XIV.). The ground of the painting is ultramarine, and when it was first uncovered it was very bright. The tunic of St. Paul is white, with the shades in cobalt. The mantle is whitish, shaded with vermilion, and deepened with chocolate. The face is painted naturally, the hair dark. The fire is vermilion and bright; the sticks ochre, mixed with brown. On the hand the mark of the bite is bright red. The viper is bluish white and striped. The clouds are shaded with chocolate and ochre, the upper part of them cobalt, with a rim of ultramarine.

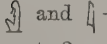
We may fairly conclude that William of Malmesbury included both the paintings in the lower chapel and in the upper in his praise of "the glass windows, the marble pavement, and the many-coloured paintings" of Ernulf's work, "the like of which was not to be seen in England." At any rate we may congratulate ourselves on having such noble specimens of Ernulf's decorative painting. And if hitherto the paintings in the crypt have been deservedly looked upon as surpassing any paintings in the country of their date, they are themselves surpassed both in design and execution by this painting of St. Paul, which may fairly claim to be the finest work of its kind of the early part of the twelfth century, or indeed the end of the eleventh, if it be Ernulf's, who left Canterbury for Peterborough in the year 1100.

XVI.—*On the Hieratic Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu,*[a] *a scribe in the Temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes, about* B.C. 305. *By* E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read January 30th, 1890.

THE papyrus which is transcribed and translated in the following pages is preserved in the collection of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum, where it bears the number 10188. It was found at Thebes in the year 1860, and was purchased by the late Mr. A. H. Rhind;[b] in 1865 it was sold to the trustees of the British Museum by Mr. David Bremner, together with a number of other papyri collected by Mr. Rhind. A few years later its existence was pointed out by Dr. Birch to Dr. Pleyte, who wrote a short article upon it,[c] in which he gave a description of the chapters and translated some passages principally from the first work written on the papyrus. In November, 1886, a further account of it was given by me,[d] together with hieroglyphic transcripts of some important passages in it.

The papyrus is about 19 feet long by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and is very fine in texture; it contains thirty-three columns, or 940 lines, of well-written hieratic.

[a] The sign is commonly but erroneously read Khem. The variants of the name are  and Renouf, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. viii. p. 204, note 2.

[b] The late Dr. Birch informed me that Mr. Rhind had found this papyrus during the excavations which he made at Thebes in 1861. I have searched in Mr. Rhind's *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, London, 1862, and in his *Account of the Tombs in which the Papyri and Tesserae were found* (printed in Birch, *Facsimiles of two Papyri found in a Tomb at Thebes*, London, 1863, pp. 18-29), for particulars, but no mention of this papyrus appears to exist there. Its registration mark is $2\frac{6.5}{4}18$.

[c] In *Recueil de Travaux*, t. iii. pp. 57-64.

[d] In the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1886-87, pp. 11-26.

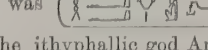
The beginnings of some of the lines in the first column, and parts of the foot lines of the first four columns, are broken away; here and there small breaks in the text occur, but the text as a whole is wonderfully perfect, and nearly all the missing parts can be restored from parallel passages. The bottom edge of the papyrus is stained with bitumen.

The titles of the books, the first words of each paragraph, the directions for reciting the verses and for performing the various parts of the service for the destruction of Apepi, the names of his companion fiends and devils, and certain words are throughout written in red; in my transcript these are represented by a black line printed over the hieroglyphics so written. The handwriting is small and neat, and is of interest to the palaeographer because it exhibits the forms of many of the characters in the transition state between the ordinary hieratic and demotic scripts.

This papyrus seems to have formed one of a number kept in stock by a person who made it his business to supply funereal papyri to be placed in the tombs by relatives of the dead: it was not written expressly for Nesi-Amsu, as we may see by comparing the carelessly written colophon with the careful hand in which a part of the papyrus is written. Traces of two or three handwritings appear in the work. The date when the papyrus was purchased and the titles of the deceased are set forth in the two columns of very cursive writing which occur between the first and second and the second and third compositions written on it. They read: "Written in the fourth month[a] of the sowing season, in the twelfth year of Alexander,[b] the son of Alexander, for Nesi-Amsu,[c] son of Petâ-Amen-

[a] The Egyptian , Coptic ϫΟΙΑΚ=November 27—December 26.

[b] Alexander IV. son of Alexander the Great, reigned, according to the canon of Ptolemy, about twelve years. He began to reign about B.C. 317, but was murdered six years after; in B.C. 305 his successor Ptolemy Soter began to reign. The scribe appears to have added the six years of the interregnum to those of the actual reign of Alexander IV. Dr. Brugsch has published a decree of this king dated in the "first month of the sowing season of the seventh year," (*Aeg. Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 1) and M. Revillout has published the texts of monuments dated in the thirteenth year of his reign (*Revue Égypt.* 1880, pp. 8, 15). See also Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Synoptische Tafeln, p. 9; and *Ueber einige Ergebnisse der Aeg. Denkmäler für die Kenntniss der Ptolemaer-Geschichte*, p. 8. Ptolemy Soter became Macedonian governor of Egypt B.C. 322, and assumed the title of king B.C. 305.

The prenomen of Alexander II. was  *Hāā-ab-Amen-setep-en-Rā.*

[c] *i.e.* "belonging to Amsu." The ithyphallic god Amsu was a form of Amen-Rā, the sun-god, and represented the generative power in nature. He is called "Amsu-Amen, bull of his mother," "Amsu, son of Isis," and "Amsu, engendered of Rā." He was worshipped particularly at Panopolis, the modern اخميم

suten taiu[a] the prophet, and Ta-shere, a sistrum bearer of Amen-Rā, daughter of Nesti-Tûra[b] . . " His titles and offices were as follows: "Prophet of the temple of Het,[c] scribe of Amen of the third order, first divine father and prophet of Amen-Rā, king of the gods; prophet of Horus-Rā, the great and mighty first-born son of Ra-Amen; prophet of Amen the two-horned;[d] prophet of Chensu within Benenet;[e] prophet of Osiris, the great god of the 'persea trees;'[f] prophet of Osiris, the dweller in Asher;[g] prophet of Amen (may his throne be exalted!) the dweller in Apt;[h] first priest of Ra in the temple of Amen of the second order; inspector and scribe of Amen of the second order; vicar of Amen of the second and fourth orders; prophet of Nefer-hetep[i] the great and prophet of

[a] *i.e.* "the gift of Amen, king of the world."

[b] I am not certain about the reading of this name.

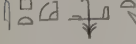
[c] A name of the metropolis of the seventh nome of Upper Egypt (*Diospolis parva*).

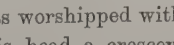
[d] *Sept ābu*, literally "provided with two horns," is the original form of the title which Alexander the Great gave to himself as the son of Amen. The Greeks translated it by *κερασφόρος*, the Arabs by ذا القرنين and the Ethiopians by ዘክልኤ:አቅረንቲሁ:

[e] *Benenet*, or *Benbenet*, was a tract of land which surrounded the temple of Chensu at Karnak. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 195.

[f] Name of a part of Thebes.

[g] Asher was the name given to a part of Thebes which lay to the south of the great temple at Amen at Karnak, on the right bank of the river. It was the seat of the goddess Mut, the wife of Amen. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 74.

[h] Apt is the name given in the Egyptian monuments to the part of Thebes which lies on the east bank of the river, and which is represented to-day by the ruins at Karnak and Luxor (El-uksûr); it was surrounded by a wall and was called the "fortress of Ap," and "Ap of the south,"  to distinguish it from another town called Ap, situated in Lower Egypt. The name Ap, or Apt, has survived in the Coptic ⲁⲡⲉ or ⲧⲁⲡⲉ. The famous temple of Amen-Rā was situated here, and was considered specially sacred. The part of Thebes on the west bank of the river was called *em χeft Àptet* "Contra Apt." The town of Thebes generally was called or *Uast*, and was the capital of the fourth nome of Upper Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* I. p. 20; Mariette, *Karnak*, (Texte), p. 2; Chabas, *Recherches sur le nom Egyptien de Thébes*, p. 6; and Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, I. p. 178.

[i] Nefer-hetep, or more fully,  *Chensu nefer hetep*, is one of the names of the god Chensu, under which he was worshipped with great honour at Thebes. He is represented under the form of a man, having on his head a crescent and disk; on the right side of his head is a lock of hair, and in his hand he holds either a palm-notched branch or a sceptre, with the symbols of life , stability , rule , and dominion . The statue of this god was sent to Bechten in the 26th year of Rameses XIII. to drive out the evil spirit which had taken possession of the daughter of the prince of this land.

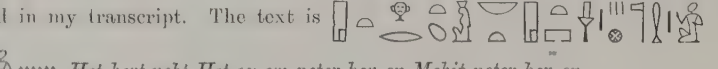
Nefer-hetep the little; prophet of Osiris, Horus, Isis and Nephthys of the temple of Het; prophet of Hathor, lady of Het-sechem, prophet of Mehit,[a] prophet of[b] Amsu, and Atmu, lord of Het-sechem,[c] vicar of Nefer-hetep[d] of the four orders; first prophet of Nefer-hetep, and prophet of the gods."

From this it is clear that Nesi-Amsu held several official appointments in the temples of Amen-Rā and the other gods at Thebes, and also in those of Diospolis parva, or Het.

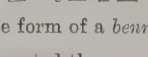
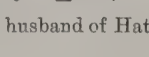
The lines which form the second part of the colophon contain a prayer, a curse upon any one who shall dare to remove the papyrus from its resting-place, and a blessing upon the man who shall take the trouble to "establish the name and the *Ka*" of the deceased Nesi-Amsu. They read: "May their names (words?) be established and increased and never be destroyed before Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys and the gods and goddesses whose names are written upon this book, in the presence of the gods and goddesses, whosoever they are, who are in the nether world and within the mighty and secret pylons which are there! May these names be made to come forth in the mighty nether world! Mayest thou (*i.e.*, the deceased Nesi-Amsu) be proclaimed by them (*i.e.*, the gods and goddesses) in the boat of Rā; mayest thou have given to thee by them sepulchral meals upon the table of the great god in the course of every day; mayest thou have given to thee by them fresh water and incense such as is given to the mighty kings of the north and south who are in the nether world; may there be given to thee by them coming forth and progress among the favoured ones of Osiris at the head of those in the nether world; and may they grant to thee that the rays of the disk may fall upon thy body daily."

"If any person from any foreign land, whether he be Negro, Ethiopian, or

[a] This god is, perhaps, the north wind personified. See Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, p. 325.

[b] This line is omitted in my transcript. The text is  *Het-ḥert nebt Het-seχem neter ḥen en Mehit neter ḥen en.*

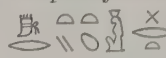
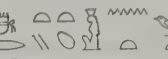
[c] Het-sechem is the sacred name of the metropolis of the seventh nome of Upper Egypt, or *Diospolis parva*, which was dedicated to the worship of Hathor and Nephthys; the name is also written .

[d] Nefer-hetep, called also  *Ânsar Nefer-ḥetep*, and  *Nefer-χā-ḥetep*, was the name of Osiris under the form of a *bennu* bird he was the husband of Hathor or Nephthys of Het-sechem and was venerated there.

Syrian, shall remove this book, or any thief (?) shall carry it off, may his body never draw near to [the presence of the god]; may he never be placed in the cool; may he never breathe the breezes of the north wind; may neither son nor daughter arise to him from his seed; may his name never be remembered on earth through his children; and may he never see the beams of the disk! But if any person shall look upon this book and shall so act that my name and my *ka* be established among the favoured ones of Osiris, may there be done likewise for him after his death in retribution for what he has done for me."

The papyrus of Nesi-Amsu is inscribed with three distinct compositions, which are entitled respectively: 1. The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys; 2. The Litanies of Seker; and 3. The Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi. Thanks to the liberality of the Society of Antiquaries, it has been possible to print the full text of each of these works with interlinear transliteration and literal translation. The order of the columns has been kept strictly, and the words written in red ink in the papyrus have been indicated in the hieroglyphic transcript by having a thick black line printed over them. The transcription has been made as uniform as possible, but the scribe was not always consistent in writing the same word; wherever the transcription of a character is doubtful it is represented by (?). In a few cases, where the signs are new ones, special types representing them have been cut. In transliterating I have followed the old system used by Lepsius, Brugsch, Birch, Renouf, and others; the other systems now in use in France and Germany may possess superior advantages, but they do not appear to outweigh their difficulties and disadvantages. The interlinear translation has been made as literal as possible, but a free rendering of each work is given in this introduction. Some passages are easy to translate and easy to understand; some are easy to translate but hard to understand; and some are both difficult to translate and to understand. In making my first transcript and translation I had the benefit of Mr. Renouf's supervision, and I gratefully acknowledge his kind assistance.

I. THE FESTIVAL SONGS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS.

This work fills seventeen columns of writing, and contains 463 lines. It is entitled "The Verses[a] of the Festival of the two 'Terti," and the rubric tells us that the whole of it was to be sung in the temple of Osiris on the occasion of the festival which was celebrated in the fourth month of the sowing season[b] (= November 27—December 29) from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth day. 'Terti is the term applied to Isis and Nephthys in their character of protectors of the deceased; Isis is called  *'terti urt*, "the great *'terti*," and Nephthys  *'terti ne'teset*, "the little *'terti*." The rubric goes on to state that these verses were to be recited by two women who were virgins[c] and who were ceremonially pure; the hair of their limbs was to be removed, they were to wear ram's wool garlands upon their heads, and to hold tambourines in their hands; on the arm of one of them was to be a fillet inscribed, "To Isis," and on an arm of the other was to be a fillet inscribed, "To Nephthys." Thus arrayed they were to recite or sing the verses of the festival of the 'Terti. The rubric of a similar composition, which has been called the "Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys,[d] gives rather different directions; it reads,

[a] The word rendered "verses" is and means literally "houses." Dy. Pleyte translated the word by *traité, livre, chapitre*, and there is conclusive evidence that has, at times, the meaning of *chapitre*, as for example in the enumeration of the chapters of a composition. Here, however, the word is best rendered by "verses." Compare Arab. بيت plur. ابيات Syr. ܒܝܬܐ plur. ܒܬܝ, Gr. *oîkos*, Italian *stanza*. In Syriac we have the expression ܒܬܝ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܗ ܠܩܕܡ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ "verses which are to be said when they go in for the offering," and ܒܬܝ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܗ ܠܩܒܠ ܣܘܪܝܐ "verses which are to be said when they receive the Mysteries" (*i.e.*, the Lord's Supper). See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 479, and Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 2nd ed. vol. ii. pp. 378, 192.

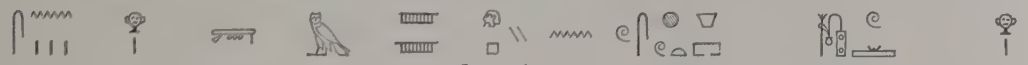
[b] *I.e.* ϪΟΙΑΚ. The days of the celebration of the festival correspond roughly with our December 25—29th.

[c] *âpt* appears to be used here in the sense of "defiled" (Comp. Heb. מְחֻלָּל Ezekiel, xxxvi. 23); *ân âpt*=undefiled, pure, unpolluted.

[d] A facsimile of the hieratic text from a manuscript at Berlin is published by J. de Horrack in his *Les Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys*, Paris, 1866. A hieroglyphic transcript is published in my *Egyptian Reading Book*, London, 1888, pp. 46-51, and an English translation by de Horrack in *Records of the Past*, 1st ed. vol. ii. pp. 117-126.

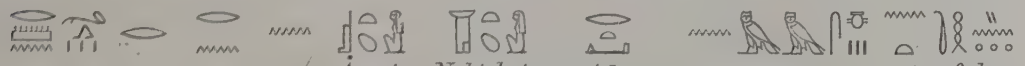
ân χertu set sen nefer em ḥāu — sen ertāt sene'tem-

To be said by women two, beautiful in bodies their. Shall sit



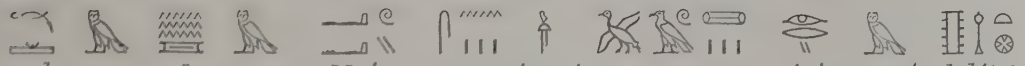
sen er ta em āā ḥetepi en usuχut nāu ḥer

they upon the ground at the door chief of the hall, shall be inscribed upon



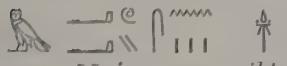
ermen er ren en Auset Nebt-ḥet ertā nemmes ent θeḥen

their arms the names of Isis and Nephthys. Shall be placed vessels of glass



meḥ em māu em āāui- sen âment pau âri em Aneb-ḥ'tet

filled with water in two hands their left, and cakes made in Memphis



em āāui -sen âbt

in two hands their right.

The composition to which this rubric referred was to be recited or sung at the third and eighth hours of the day, and it is especially enjoined that the recital of it shall not be omitted during the period of the festival.

The Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys were led off by an address to Osiris on the part of the *χer ḥeb*, or precentor, and they were continued by Isis and Nephthys, who sometimes sang together and sometimes singly; they appear to have accompanied their singing by the beating of tambourines. Throughout the composition there is no rhyme, but there is a very persistent rhythm; this is slightly monotonous, but is quite in keeping with what is known of oriental songs, and the way in which they were sung. The following lines will serve as an example of this rhythm.

[a] literally means "to bring." It must, however, be translated here by some such word as *said, recited, repeated.* M. de Horrack (*op. cit.* p. 15) translates *ân χertu set sen* by "étant amenées deux femmes."

Col. iv. l. 7	ut-f	χesef	Sebau
	māa	ti en	χennu-k
	χesef	mehi χent	het-n
	māa	ti en	χennu-k
	an tut	erek θas	em uāi
	neb-en	em hetep	auset-f

Certain phrases, like "come to thy temple," "come, thy relatives wait," and "come in peace," form refrains, and are repeated at frequent intervals. The structure of the composition has something in common with the non-devotional Hebrew psalms; there is the same parallelism in the members of the verses, the same manner of saying the same thing in different words, and there are many examples of address to the sun-god which begin in the second person and end in the third. The grammatical construction of many of the sentences is interesting and, when sufficiently examined and explained, will increase our knowledge of the grammar of the Egyptian language during the later period of its existence. The Egyptian vocabulary will be increased by this text, for there are words in it which do not exist in the great dictionary of Dr. Brugsch.

About the age of this work it is impossible to make any definite statement. Here and there in it the words *ki 'tet*, "otherwise said," occur; which show that other copies of the work existed, and that it was sufficiently ancient for variant readings to have crept in. There seems to be little doubt that services were held, and hymns sung in honour of Osiris at Karnak from very ancient times, and it is probable that these verses are either copies of ancient works, or redactions based upon them. Certain passages appear to be corrupt, but it is impossible to correct them without the help of other manuscripts. Judging from internal evidence, it will probably be right to assume that the work in its present form is not older than the twenty-sixth dynasty. Of the name of the author we are quite ignorant.

The subject of the verses throughout is the destruction of Osiris by Set, and the reconstruction of his body by Isis and Nephthys, his wife and sister respectively. As the references to this subject are so many and so frequent, the principal points of the story as given by Plutarch are here repeated. Osiris and Isis, having been united before their birth, were born on the first and fourth of the five days which formed the epact respectively; Osiris was the son of Rhea and the Sun, and Isis was the daughter of Rhea and Mercury. Rhea also bore to Saturn Typhon and Nephthys, the former on the third and the latter on the fifth

day of the epact. Osiris became king of Egypt, and applied himself to the civilisation and improvement of his country. When the Egyptians had learned how to worship the gods, he set out to visit the other parts of the world, in order that all mankind might benefit by his teaching and assistance. Typhon, the half-brother of Osiris, was unable to work mischief in the land of Egypt during his absence, but on his return he joined himself to a queen of Ethiopia, called Aso, and seventy-two other persons, and entered into a conspiracy with them. Having secretly taken the measure of the body of Osiris, he caused a chest to be made exactly of the same size as it, and brought it into his banqueting room; when all those who were present had admired it, he promised to give it to the person whose body it would fit. One guest after another tried to get into it, but without success; last of all Osiris laid himself down in it, and it was found to fit him exactly. Before, however, he had time to get out of it again Typhon threw the cover over him, and, having nailed it down firmly, poured molten lead over it. The box was then carried away to the bank of the river, whence it was brought to the Tanaïtic mouth of the Nile; this happened either in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris, or in the twenty-eighth year of his age. When Isis heard of this she cut off one of the locks of her hair, and put on mourning apparel, and wandered about in sore distress seeking for the chest; finally some children who had watched Typhon told her by what mouth of the Nile it had been conveyed to the sea. About this time she also learned that Osiris had been united with her sister Nephthys, who, fearing the anger of Typhon her husband, had exposed the fruit of her unlawful commerce as soon as it was born. With great difficulty and by the help of dogs she finally discovered where the offspring was, and going to the place she bred it up, and it was afterwards named Anubis. Soon after she heard that the chest had been carried by the waves of the sea to Byblos,[a] and there gently lodged in the branches of a tamarisk tree, which in a short time had shot up into a large and beautiful tree, growing round the chest and enclosing it on every side, so that it was not to be seen. Isis came to Byblos and succeeded in obtaining the chest, which she carried away with her to Egypt, but intending to visit her son Horus, she deposited it in a remote and unfrequented place, where, however, it was found by Typhon one night hunting by the light of the moon. Having recognised the body of Osiris inside it, he tore it into fourteen parts which he scattered about

[a] Not Byblos in Phoenicia, but the papyrus swamps in the north-east of the Delta.

the country. Once more Isis set out in search of the scattered fragments of her husband's body, and whenever she found one she buried it and built a sepulchre over it. The phallus of Osiris was never recovered, for it was swallowed by the Lepidotus, Phagrus, and Oxyrhynchus fishes when it was thrown into the Nile immediately after its separation from the body. To make some amends for the loss, Isis consecrated a phallus made in imitation of it, and instituted a solemn festival to its memory. After these things Osiris returned from the nether world, and appearing to his son Horus, encouraged him to do battle with Typhon, and instructed him in the exercise of arms. In the battle with Typhon Horus was victorious, and Osiris his father was avenged.

The Egyptian inscriptions show us that Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Anubis, Set or Typhon, and Horus, are all children of Nut, the Sky, and Seb, the Earth, and Mr. Renouf has proved that these gods are nothing more nor less than powers of nature. The greatest and most important of these was naturally Osiris, the sun, and the Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys were composed in praise of this god. The two virgins who sang them assumed the characters of Isis and Nephthys, and as, in the myth, these two goddesses put together the fragments of the dead body of their husband and called upon him with pathetic and loving words to return to them, so in these the two virgins address the dead god with every endearing epithet possible. The prayers of Isis and Nephthys that Osiris should return again to them were answered, for that god lived again in the person of his son Horus, by whom he was avenged; and the Festival Songs refer to the resurrection and renewed birth of Osiris, the type of man after his death, who in this capacity is identified with the sun, the daily rising of which constantly recalled the idea of a birth eternally renewed.

TRANSLATION.

Column I.

1. The beginning of the verses of the festival of the two 'Terti, which shall be sung in the temple of Osiris, at the head of those who are in the nether-world, the great god, the lord of Abydos, in
2. the fourth month of the sowing season, from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth days of the same. They are written expressly for the temple, and are to be sung by women whose
3. limbs are pure. They shall be virgins, the hair of their flesh shall be removed, their heads shall be bound round with ram's wool, and
4. they shall hold tambourines in their hands. Their names, Isis and Nephthys, shall be inscribed on their arms;
5. they shall sing the verses of this book in the presence of this god,
6. and shall say, "O lord Osiris, O lord Osiris, O lord Osiris, O lord Osiris."
7. The precentor, standing in the front of this temple, shall then say,
8. "O mighty one (?), chief of the earth," four times.
9. Then shall the women with ruffled flowing hair say,
10, 11. "O beautiful boy, come at once to thy temple, for we see thee not.
12, 13. "O beautiful boy, come to thy temple, draw near after thy departure from us.
14, 15. "Hail, beautiful boy, who leadest along the hour, who increasest except at his season.
16, 17. "Thou exalted image of his father Tenen,[a] hidden essence coming forth from Atmu.[b]
18, 19. "The lord, the lord, how very much greater is he than his father! eldest son of his mother's womb.
20. "O come back again to us with that which belongeth to thee, and we will
21, 22. "embrace thee; depart not from us, O thou beautiful and greatly-loved face,
23. "image of Tenen, virile one, lord of love!

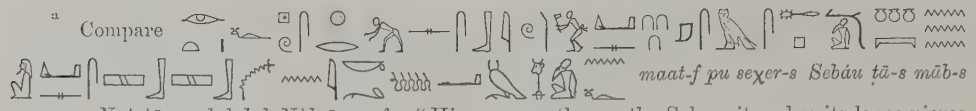
[a] The god Tenen is a personification of the earth, and is also assimilated to the night sun. He is represented sitting on a throne, having on his head horns, disk, and feathers and holding in his hands and See Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, pp. 246, 1257 (plate cccci), and Pierret, *Panthéon Egypt.* pp. 54, 55. He appears to have been the local god of the land on the borders of Lake Moeris, and in an inscription there he is represented as sitting on the hieroglyhic for an island See Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 59.

[b] The night sun as opposed to Rā, the day sun.

24, 25. "The child (?) whose limbs are feeble by reason of his emotion in opening the womb,
26. "Come thou in peace, let us see thee, our lord.
27. "The two sisters will join thy limbs together, thou shalt feel no pain; they will put an end to thy calamity as if it never had befallen thee.

Column II.

1. "Our heads are turned back upon our faces.
2, 3. "O mighty and great one among the gods, the path which thou traversest cannot
4, 5. "be described; O babe, child at the two seasons, thou, together with that which belongeth to thee, goest round heaven and earth.
6. "Thou art the bull of the two sisters.
7, 8. "Come thou, O babe, who in setting renewest thyself, let us see thee, our lord.
9, 10. "Let thy phallus be with us like the phallus of Tebha at his block!
11, 12. "Come thou in peace, babe, mighty one of his father, be thou established in thy temple without fear, for
13-15. "thy son Horus avenges thee. May Nekau[a] (the devil) be carried away, may he be
16. "placed in his fiery cavern daily, may his name perish among the gods.
17. "May Tebha[b] die finally!
18, 19. "Thou shalt dwell in thy temple and shalt not be afraid of any evil thing that Sut[c] may do unto thee,
20. "for what Nut sent forth[d] has pierced him.
21-23. "Let him embrace us with joy travelling on earth with us. . . . . .

[a] Compare  *maat-f pu seχer-s Sebáu ṭā-s māb-s em seχap Nut ṭā-s seshebsheb Nūk ām·nef.* "His eye overthrows the Sebau, it makes its lance pierce Nut, and makes Nak to vomit what it has eaten." Grébaut, *Hymne à Ammon-Rā*, p. 10.

[b] Another name for Sut, or Apepi, the chief adversary of Rā.

[c] Sut, or Set, the Typhon of the Greeks, was one of the five sons of Seb and Nut, brother of Osiris, and husband of Nephthys. The worship of this god is as old as the Vth dynasty, and some of the greatest of the Egyptian kings delighted to call themselves "beloved of Sut," and attributed to him all the good qualities possible. About B.C. 1000-600, however, a violent reaction against this god set in; his statues were broken, he was expelled from the company of the gods, and from being considered the god of all good, he became the god of all evil, and his very name was a synonym of wickedness. "Nel mito di Hesiri, Set fu riguardato non solamente come il nemico implacabile di suo fratello ed il di lui uccisore, e quegli che ne usurpò il trono, ma pur anche, quale principio cattivo nel sistema de' due opposti principi; cosicchè in quella guisa che ogni bene essere attribuivasi ad Osiride, ogni danno ed ogni male assegnavasi a Set." Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia*, p. 1130.

[d] *i.e.* Rā, the son of Nut.

COLUMN III.

1. "Apostates (?).
2, 3. "Our two eyes are looking upon thy face blazing with radiance.
4-6. "Hail, lord, we cry to thee from the left, O beautiful face, lord of love, bull fecundating the cows.[a]
7, 8. "Come, boy with the saffron face, the ONE who increases and who is beautiful in his two eyes.
9-13. "O lord among women, male of the cows, O child, chief of beauties, once more let us see thee as well as what belongs to thee, for I love to see thee.
14-16. "I am thy sister Isis, the darling of thy heart, by reason of my love for thee when thou departest I water this earth with my tears this day.
17, 18. "Thou travellest along, thou art hymned by us, and life springs up for us out of thy nothingness.
19-22. "Come, lord, in peace, let us see thee! O prince, come in peace, and drive away the flame which is in our temple. May thy phallus be with us like the phallus of Tebha."
23. Then the women with ruffled flowing hair shall continue to say:
24, 25. "Hail, Osiris, bull of those in the underworld, the established ONE; how very
26. "much greater is he than the gods! O Baby, virile one,

COLUMN IV.

1-3. "mighty heir of Seb, who art born god of the gods, come to the two widows.[b]
4, 5. "The entire cycle of the gods goes round thee [when] they meet thee.
6, 7. "Cursed be the name of Sut when he comes, behind the shrine, into the presence of thy father Rā, who darts out and repulses the fiend.
8-10. "Come, thy relatives wait, drive away sorrow from our temple, come, thy relatives wait for thee.
11-14. "There is none like unto thee, O thou that dwellest in solitude; the resting-place of our lord is in peace. Victorious one, his long-suffering is greater than himself when the
15. "Lock[c] hovers over his enemies. He fashions the earth according to his designs.

[a] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

[b] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

[c] The Lock was a name given by the Egyptians to that class of cloud which resembled a ringlet, curl, or tuft of hair, and which was supposed to be an enemy of the sun-god. He was a mythological personage, and is distinctly spoken of as a demon. In an inscription of the XVIIIth dynasty, he is called "the son of Nut," a fact which seems to imply an identification with Set. Renouf, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* viii. p. 212.

16-18. "O thou who comest forth mightily, O great one among the gods, inasmuch as thou art greater than the gods, the cycle of the gods is bowed

19. "down on their knees before thee. I stoop on the ground [before thee] O thou mighty one of the womb!

20, 21. "The uraeus crown is upon his head, he is born before his heart; how great

22-25. "is he in his coming! Divine body, lord of love, how exceedingly art thou loved! O soul, thou livest a second time, for the two sisters join thy limbs together drawing near [to thee] having waited for thee a long time.

26, 27. "Inasmuch as thou art greater[a] than the gods thou art proclaimed mighty in thy circuit.

Column V.

1, 2. "Come, thy relatives wait. Thy father Rā butts against the Lock.

3. "The cycle of the gods goes round thee as thou makest thy circuit, and they repulse the fiends for thee.

4, 5. "Remove thou the great grief (?) of thy images.[b] Thy temple is in festival, the evil one

6. "is at his block, the fiend is in evil case through what he has done. He drowns the earth with his empty schemes.

7-9. "Nut drives him off from the earth (?) turning back and bringing the fiend to the block in the storehouse (?).

10, 11. "Thy father Rā is for avenging thy constraint, thy son Horus will return an answer for thee.

12, 13. "Thou traversest the earth as thou revolvest, thou stridest over the four quarters

14, 15. "of Nut. Thou hoverest over the divine dwellings on earth, the two *rehti*[c] are

16, 17. "going round thee. Thou art exalted, thou art exalted! Verily Sut is in the dwelling, may that enemy of thine never rise up!

18. "Come thou to thy temple, Osiris, thy dwelling seeks to see thee.

19. "Thou hearest the report of Horus at the hands of his mother Isis.

20. "Placed in all lands, thou drivest off whatever comes against thy body, thou receivest what is in the house of thy books.

21. "O great god, thou art hidden in thy attributes.

22. "Go not away from thy temple, Osiris, come thou in peace to thy every dwelling,

23, 24. "victorious one, beautiful in his becoming, mighty bull, lord of love.

25. "Thy sister Isis is thy darling, she removes from thee that which causes thee

26, 27. "uneasiness, and embraceth thee; depart not from us, O Lord.

[a] The broken text in this line is probably to be restored by the insertion of *tennu-k.* Compare line 17.

[b] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

[c] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

COLUMN VI.

1. "Thou didst give life from the beginning . . . . . .
2. "Hail, protected art thou from that which floweth from the nome of Aphroditopolis,[a] from the
3. "evil as if it never existed.
4. "Thy sister comes to thee and cleanses thy limbs. The great and living god, the
5, 6. "greatly beloved one is dandled in the presence of the South and North.
7, 8. "Thou art decorated, O lord of decorations, mighty male, prince of beauties.
9. "Thy mother Nut comes to thee, and as she comes to thee she spreads herself out over thee.
10, 11. "She protects thy limbs against all evil, she advances . . . . . within her, she, the
12. "solitary guardian of thee, has driven away all the disease which was in thy limbs
13, 14. "as if it never existed, she clothes the baby, the lord which cometh forth from her.
15-18. "The lord, the baby which comes forth from her womb, the mighty heir of the gods; the opener of Amenti at his season, makes this earth to be as in times
19-22. "of old. Behold, the blind baby advances, thy father Rā is avenging thee, and thy son Horus protects thee against Sut and all the evil which he has done. Come thou then to thy temple and be not afraid."
23-26. The women with ruffled flowing hair shall also say, "Hail, beautiful boy, come to thy temple; thou twice exalted Being, let thy side be turned to thy temple and towards the gods upon their thrones.
27. "I am the woman who defends her brother, I am thy wife, Osiris, thy mother's sister.

COLUMN VII.

1. "Come thou to me running.
2. "O firm of heart, let thy face be seen because I see not thy face.
3. "Make clear thou for us the way before my face to Rā in heaven.
4. "Heaven unites with earth and darkness is thus made upon the earth daily.
5, 6. "My heart burns at thy escape from the evil one, my heart burns, turn thou thy
7. "side to me and remove it not from me for ever.
8, 9. "O thou that makest firm the two domains and turnest back the ways, I am seeking to see thee for my love's sake.
10. "I am in the town the walls of which are mighty.
11, 12. "I am overcome by reason of thy love for me, come by thyself, and depart not.
13. "Verily thy son [Horus] repulses Tebha at his block.
14. "I have concealed myself among the bushes to hide thy son that he might return
15. "an answer for thee, and that the moment of great distress might depart from thee.

[a] See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 1357.

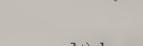
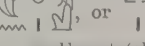
16. "Does not she (*i.e.*, Nephthys) collect thy limbs?
17. "I advance by myself and I go round among the bushes.
18-20. "There is a huge crocodile following after thy son, a female whose face is against the male; but Anubis and I know it.
21. "I go round the ways, and I turn back after my brother, who leaps away from the evil one.
22-27. "The hearts of myriads of people burn, O mighty splendour among the gods, may we see thee the lord! May there be no lack of thy love upon our faces, O phallus, lord of love, king, lord of eternity.

Column VIII.

1-3. "Thou who fliest as he lives, ruler of everlasting, destroyer of An-reχ,[a] king of the north and south, the lord going forth from Tasertet. May there never be to thee a time of misfortune with which my heart may be filled!
4-6. "O brother, lord, going forth from the nome of Akertet,[b] come thou to me with that which belongs to thee, come in peace, come in peace.
7, 8. "O king, prince, come in peace, let us see thy face again as before, for I love to see the
9-12. "My two hands are lifted up to protect thee, I love, I love the circuits of the two regions, the people of the north are in thy recollection (?) thou receivest a head of hair from them, the breezes which accompany them are of *ānti*.
13, 14. "O husband, my brother, lord of love, come thou in peace to thy seat; O beautiful boy, come to thy house at once, at once, come thou.
15, 16. "The things which concern thee as bull of those who are in the underworld are hidden, a place of secrecy is thy flesh in Pa-Hennu.[c]
17. "Hail to thee in thy name, 'Prince of eternity!'
18, 19. "Horus comes to thee with strength, he delivers thy limbs, he collects for thee the
20. "emanations which come forth from thee. The great god approaches thy body, O thou who art closed up in that which belongs to thee.
21-23. "Come thou in peace, lord, thou that becomest young a second time. Thy son Horus avenges thee, come to thy temple and inundate it with thy love.
24-27. "Sovereign, chief, distinguished in the egg, only one, strong one, mighty one, veritable son, opener of the womb,[d] divine germ of Seb[e] through his mother,

[a] A name of Apepi. (?)

[b] A general name for any Necropolis.

[c]  , or  *Pa-hennu*, "the house of Hennu," is the name of the 10th nome of Lower Egypt (the Athribis of the Greeks), where the "divine heart" of Osiris was deposited. Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 498.

[d] *i.e.* "firstborn." Comp. Heb. פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם Exodus xiii. 2; xxxiv. 19; Numb. iii. 12, etc.

[e] The god of the earth, father of Osiris.

Column IX.

1, 2. "decorated one, greatly beloved, working for those in the underworld, he overthrows
3-5. "disaster. Lord of the underworld, and bull of those who are in it, image of Rā Harmachis, baby beautiful in appearance, come thou to us in peace, in peace.
6, 7. "Thou repellest thy disasters, thou drivest away evil hap. Lord, come thou to us in peace, in peace.
8-10. "Hail thou that becomest young again, come in peace! hail, brother, come let
11, 12. "me see thee, the king and prince of eternity. Stay not, rest not, lord, come to thy temple, be not afraid."
13. . . . . Then shall the precentor say,
14, 15. "O beautiful boy, come to thy temple, the cycle of the gods seeks to see thee.
16-18. "Child, lord, opener of the womb, baby, who art beloved on account of thy face, perfect heir opening the womb, perfect son coming forth from the god of seeing and hearing,
19. "O Temple, Isis grieves for thee, go not away from thy dwelling.
20, 21. "May the heads [of Isis and Nephthys] be delivered by thy love, for they lament for thee and tie up the curls of their head.
22-25. "Un-nefer, lord of food, chief, mighty by reason of his terror, god, president of the gods, when thou inundatest [the land], things are engendered. Thou art gentler
26-28. "than the gods. The liquid which comes from the emanations of thy body makes the dead and living to live, O lord of food, prince of green things, mighty lord, the staff of life, the giver of offerings to the gods, and

Column X.

1, 2. "sepulchral meals to the beatified dead. Sesheta,[a] Lord of the sepulchral bier,
3-9. "Lord of the two eyes hidden in the horizon, who shinest in his season, who risest at his hour. Thou art splendour, dowered with splendour, thou shinest at the left-hand of Atmu, thou lookest forth from the habitation of Rā, thou collectest his splendours in thy noble form.
10-15. "Thy soul flies after Rā, thou shinest at dawn, thou settest at twilight, thou risest every day; thou wilt rise on the left hand of Atmu for ever and for ever. When thou risest the Lock is accursed, and is put an end to before his doom and before his failure.
16, 17. "Rā turns back the fiend, that attacking devil that comes against him; Amsehti is his heir.
18, 19. "All the gods worship him. The cycle of the gods rejoices when they meet thee,

[a] The correct reading of this god's name was first shown by Mr. Renouf, in *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.* Nov. 1884. See also Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1112.

20-22. "Thy occupation is with Rā every day, thou lookest steadfastly from the left, thou lookest steadfastly at the living.

23-26. "Thou art Splendour, the deputy of Rā, the whole cycle of the gods comes to thee invoking thy face; its flame reaches unto thy enemies.

27. "We rejoice when thou hast gathered together thy bones, when thou hast summed up thy body daily.

Column XI.

1, 2. "Thou enterest like Atmu at his hour, without turning, thy bones are made

3. "strong for thee. Apuat[a] presents thee with a mountain of stone and hews out a

4, 5. "burial place for thee. The lord of Taser[b] comes to thee and the two sisters come

6-8. "to thee. They have obtained splendid things for thee, and they gather together thy limbs for thee from the mutilated pieces seeking to put thy body together.

9, 10. "The impurities which are upon them wipe upon our hair, and come thou to us without thy unpleasant recollections.

11, 12. "Come thou in thy attribute as prince of the earth, lay aside thy impetuosity, and

13, 14. "rest upon us, lord. Thou shalt be proclaimed heir of the world, the ONLY god, the fulfiller of the plans of the gods.

15, 16. "All the gods invoke thee, come to thy temple, be not afraid.

17, 18. "O Rā, thou art beloved, beloved art thou of thy two Images;[c] rest thou in thy habitation for ever."

19. The women with flowing hair shall also say:—

20, 21. "O beautiful boy, come to thy temple, turn, exalted one, turn thy side to thy temple; the gods are seated on their thrones.

22-24. "Hail, come in peace, king, come in peace, thy son Horus avenges thee.

25, 26. "Lay all thy great pain upon thy two images, who weep for thee at thy sepulchres.

27, 28. "O baby, how lovely will it be to see thee! Come, come to us, mighty one, strengthen thou for us our love.

Column XII.

1. "Come thou to thy temple and be not afraid.

2-4. "O ye gods in heaven, O ye gods on earth, O ye gods in the underworld,

5-7. "O ye gods in the watery deep, O ye gods who are among the followers of the deep, we follow after the lord, the lord of love.

[a] "The opener of the ways," a name given to Anubis.

[b] A name of the nether world.

[c] *i.e.* Isis and Nephthys.

8-10. "Brother, phallus, lord of love, hail! Come to me, unite heaven with earth, and
11. "let there be shadow on the earth daily.
12-14. "Messenger from heaven to earth, hail! may we come to thee! Thou makest fruitful the women in the town who seek our lord.
15. "I march over the earth towards my lord; come to me, O messenger from
16. "heaven to earth.
17-19. "May it be granted that the god shall come to his seat, may there be breathing of air to thy nose, may there be breath with the lord in his palace!
20. 21. "Hail, Rā is avenged, there are no disasters to him causing him trouble.
22, 23. "The limit of the desire of my heart is to see thee, heir, king, beautiful babe.
24-26. "Hail, lord of love, come to me, lord, that I may see thee daily, come, brother, that we may see thee.
27, 28. "My two hands are mighty to avenge thee, my two hands are raised up, raised up to protect thee.

Column XIII.

1. "Male, lord, babe, child, to avenge our lord.
2, 3. "I am the daughter of Seb, depart not from me, O thou who increasest except at his time.
4, 5. "I traverse the roads that thy love may come to me. I fly over the earth, I rest not from seeking thee.
6, 8. "I have in me a flame of love for thee, hail! come let me see thee; I weep for thy lonely condition.
9, 10. "Come thou to me quickly, for the extent of my desire is to see thee; come to me because of my desire to see thy face.
11, 12. "Hail, god invoked at the door of thy temple, thou art protected, protected
13-15. "in peace. Hail, hail, our lord cometh to his temple, the two arms of Isis and Nephthys protect his temple, their lord cometh to his habitation in peace.
16. "Be thou established in thy temple, be not afraid.
17. "Hail, twice exalted one, our lord; lament not in coming to us, O great god, come thou in perfect peace.
20-22. "Thou comest forth to Rā, O victorious one among the gods. O gracious one, come in peace, let me see thee: O child, come in thy attribute of Baby, Hai[a] is
23-25. "overthrown. Horus is like a prince, the mighty one is with thee, there is no work for thee.
26. "Thou art exalted as thou circlest, ... the two sisters.
27-30. "O beloved of his father, lord of rejoicings, thou delightest the hearts of the cycle of the gods, and thou illuminatest thy house with thy beauties, the cycle of the gods fear thy power,

[a] A name of Apepi. (?)

COLUMN XIV.

1. "the earth trembles through fear of thee.
2-4. "I am thy wife who makes thy . . . . . , the sister who protects her brother; come, let me see thee, the lord of my love.
5, 6. "O twice exalted one, mighty of attributes, come, let me see thee; O baby who advancest, child, come, let me see thee.
7-9. "Countries and regions weep for thee, the zones weep for thee as if thou wert Sesheta, heaven and earth weep for thee, inasmuch as thou art greater
10. "than the gods, may there be no cessation of the glorifying of thy *Ka*.
11-13. "Come to thy temple, be not afraid, thy son Horus embraces the circuit of heaven.
14, 15. "O thou sovereign, who makest afraid, be not afraid. Thy son Horus avenges thee and overthrows for thee the Semi[a] and the Lock.
16, 17. "Hail, lord, follow after me with radiance, let me see thee daily; the smell of thy flesh is like that of Punt.[b]
18, 19. "Thou art adored by the venerable women, in peace; the entire cycle of the gods rejoice.
20, 21. "Come thou to thy wife in peace, her heart flutters through her love for thee,
22. "she will embrace thee and not let thee depart from her; her heart is oppressed
23, 24. "because of her anxiety to see thee and thy beauties. She has made an end of prepara-
25. "tions for thee in the secret house, she has destroyed the pain which is in thy
26, 27. "limbs and the sickness as if it never existed. Life is given to thee by the most excellent wife.
28, 29. "Hail, thou protectest the inundation in the fields of Tepahet[c] this day.

COLUMN XV.

1-3. "The cow[d] weeps aloud for thee with her voice, thy love is the limit of her desire. Her heart flutters because thou art shut up from her.
4, 5. "She would embrace thy body with both arms and would come to thee quickly, otherwise said, in peace.

[a] *i.e.* Fiends.

[b] The spice land of Arabia.

[c] Tep-ahet, the metropolis of the 22nd nome of Upper Egypt (Aphroditopolis), Coptic ⲧⲡⲓⲫ the modern اطفيح *Atfih*. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 933; and Juynboll (مراصد الاطّلاع) t. i. p. ٧٥ "اطفيح بلد بالصعيد الادنى من ارض مصر على شاطى الذيل فى شرقيّه"

[d] *i.e.* Isis.

6-9. "She avenges thee on account of what was done to thee, she makes sound for thee thy flesh on thy bones, she attaches thy nose to thy face for thee, she gathers together for thee all thy bones.

10-13. "Thy mother Nut comes to thee with peace offerings, she builds thee up with the life of her body. Thou art endowed with a soul, thou art endowed with a soul, thou art established, thou art established, thou hast a soul, O thou lord of women thou makest women fruitful.

14. "When thou comest from the Divine Land[a] there is odorous unguent on thy hair, there is unguent upon thy hair of *ānti* which flows of its own accord.

15-18. "O thou that comest forth, come in peace, come in peace: O king, prince, come in peace. O lord of Sais, the two hands of Nut are stretched out to thee; the heart of Shenthit,[b] turns to thee.

19, 20. "Thou art like a god, and comest forth like a god . . . . . .

21, 22. " . . . . . his baby. The hair upon thy body is like emerald when thou comest from the

23. " emerald fields. Thy hair is of the blue colour which appertains to lapis-lazuli, and

24, 25. " behold, thou thyself art more blue than thy hair. Thy skin and thy flesh are made

26. " for thee of the steel of the south, thy bones are moulded out of silver just as I am

27, 28. " from a babe. The teeth which thou hast are of emerald, *otherwise said*, the unguent of thy hair is of *ānti* which floweth of its own accord.

Column XVI.

1. "The crown of thy head is of lapis lazuli.

2, 3. "The god Seb is laden with peace offerings for thee, and he conveys them to the god who cometh forth from his nose.

4-9. "O heir, mighty one, coming forth from Rā, eldest one, prince, beautiful of face, living soul of Astennu,[c] babe, coming forth from the god of hearing and seeing, eldest one, prince of the two regions, heir of Seb, who gives to thee a circuit, O lord of the disk!

10, 11. "Come to thy temple, Osiris, messenger of the gods. Thy two eyes are opened that thou

[a] *Neter ta*, "divine land," is the name given by the Egyptians to the lands to the east of the Nile on the shore of the Red Sea which extend from the mountains on the south nearly to Suez on the north. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 382.

[b] or "Shenthit," is the name of a funereal form of the goddess Isis to whom sanctuaries in Abydos, Busiris, Denderah, etc., were consecrated. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1178. The name of the sanctuary was Pa-Shenthit. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 89.

[c] A name of the god Thoth.

12, 13. "mayest see with them. Thou drivest off rain storms, thou grantest that the earth may be lightened by the radiance of night.
14. "Come to thy temple, Osiris, at the head of those in the underworld, come to thy
15. "temple, O thou that proceedest from the body of the uraeus which is upon thy head.
16. "Thy two eyes light up the lands of the north and the south, and the gods; thou art
17. "twice exalted, O prince, our lord.
18. "That enemy of thine is laid upon the block and shall never rise up again; thou
19. "art established, established in thy name of 'established one.'
20. "Thou hast thy limbs, O Unnefer,[a] life, strength, health! thou hast thy flesh,
21. "O still heart.
22, 23. "Beautiful is that which cometh forth from thee, knowledge is the utterance of thy mouth.
24, 25. "Thy father Ta-tenen supports the heaven that thou mayest walk over its
26, 27. "four quarters; thy soul flies on the left hand, thou risest in the image of Rā.
28, 29. "Those who are in the underworld receive thee with shouts of joy, and Seb
30, 31. "opens out for thee a passage through it. They come to thee in peace, and thou comest in peace to Tettu.

Column XVII.

1, 2. "Exalted art thou, therefore, Osiris, exalted art thou, exalted art thou in peace.
3-5. "Isis, lady of the horizon, comes to thee, inasmuch as she has conceived the
6. "one, who is the guide of the gods; she avenges thee, she avenges thee, she avenges Horus,
7. "she, the woman who acts as the begetter of her own father."

Here endeth the book.

[a] A name of Osiris. For an explanation of the name, see Renouf, *Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, April, 1886, p. 111 ff.

II. THE LITANIES OF SEKER.[a]

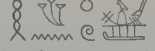
This composition contains one hundred lines, and fills Columns XVIII. to XXI. of the papyrus. It is written in the same neat, careful hand, and appears to be a short rhythmical supplementary work, which was intended to be sung after the festival verses of Isis and Nephthys. It consists of three parts: 1, A Litany to the Sun-god; 2, A Recitation by Isis; and 3, A Litany to the Hathors. The subject-matter generally is easier to understand, but there are a few passages in it which are difficult. According to the rubric, it was to be sung sixteen times to the accompaniment of tambourines. The various names given to the Sun-god will probably be of much interest to the student of comparative mythology.

TRANSLATION.

The Litanies of Seker (Socharis).

Column XVIII.

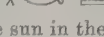
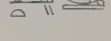
1. The Litanies which Seker introduced: to be said in addition to the mysteries already recited.
2. Hail, prince coming forth from the womb!
3. Hail, eldest son of primeval matter!
4. Hail, lord of multitudes of aspects and evolutions!
5. Hail, golden circle in the temples!
6. Hail, lord of time and bestower of years!
7. Hail, lord of life for all eternity!
8. Hail, lord of myriads and millions!
9. Hail, thou who shinest in rising and setting!
10. Hail, thou who makest beings joyful!

[a] Seker is, like Ptah, Osiris, and Tenen, a form of the night sun, with which the deceased is identified. The day of the festival of Seker, or Socharis, was celebrated in the various sanctuaries of Egypt at dawn, "at the moment when the sun casts its golden rays upon the earth." The festival consisted in drawing the Hennu boat  a symbol of the god Seker of Memphis, by a cord round the sanctuary. The god Seker is represented by a hawk-headed mummied figure as early as the time of Seti I. and in this form he is represented sitting on a throne, holding , and in his hands; he appears on a coffin in the Imperial Museum at Vienna, in the form of a bearded man holding a knife in each hand. A list of the shrines of this god is given by Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 1117-1119.

11. Hail, thou lord of terror, thou fearful one!
12. Hail, lord of multitudes of aspects and divinities!
13. Hail, thou who art crowned with the white crown; thou master of the *urerer* crown!
14. Hail, thou sacred baby of Horus, praise!
15. Hail, son of Rā who sittest in the boat of millions of years!
16. Hail, restful leader, come to thy hidden places!
17. Hail, lord of terror, self-produced!
18. Hail, thou restful of heart, come to thy town!
19. Hail, thou that causest cries of joy, come to thy town!
20. Hail, thou darling of the gods and goddesses!
21. Hail, thou dipper in the sea, come to thy temple!
22. Hail, thou who art in the Nether-world, come to thy offerings!
23. Hail, thou that protectest them, come to thy temple!
24. Hail, Moon-god, growing from a crescent into an illuminated disk!
25. Hail, sacred flower of the mighty house!
26. Hail, thou that bringest the sacred cordage of the Sekti [a] boat!
27. Hail, thou lord of the Hennu [b] boat who becomest young again in the hidden place!
28. Hail, thou perfect soul in the Nether-world!
29. Hail, thou sacred visitor of the north and south!
30. Hail, thou hidden one, unknown to mankind!
31. Hail, thou illuminator of him that is in the Nether-world, that causest him to see the disk!

Column XIX.

1. Hail, lord of the *atef* crown, thou mighty one in Het-suten-henen! [c]
2. Hail, mighty one of terror!

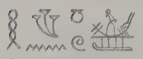
[a] The *Sektet*  was the boat of the sun in the morning, just as the *Māti*  was the boat of the sun in the evening. A hymn to the sun-god says:

χā-k em ṭuau em sekti

Risest thou in the morning in the *sekti* boat;

ḥetep-k em māti em māsher

Settest thou in the *māti* boat in the evening.

[b] The *ḥennu*  was the boat which was drawn around the sanctuaries of the temples at dawn. Drawings of it are given by Lanzone, *Dizionario*, plates CCLXV-CCCLXVII.

[c] Heracleopolis, the metropolis of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt.

3. Hail, thou that risest in Thebes, flourishing for ever!
4. Hail, Amen-Rā, king of the gods, who makest thy limbs to grow in rising and setting.
5. Hail, ... offerings and oblations in Ru-stau![a]
6. Hail, thou that placest the uraeus upon the head of its lord!
7. Hail, stablisher of the earth upon its foundations!
8. Hail, opener of the mouth of the four mighty gods who are in the Nether-world!
9. Hail, thou living soul of Osiris, who art diademed with the moon!
10. Hail, thou that hidest thy body in the great coffin at Heliopolis!
11. Hail, hidden one, mighty one, Osiris in the Nether-world!
12. Hail, thou that unitest his soul to heaven, thine enemy is fallen!
13. The goddess Isis cries unto thee, saying, "Hail, from the river,
14. "thou who separatest the pure *ábtu*[b] fish from the front
15. "of the boat of Rā! Hail, lord of the excretion which turns into the rejoicing gods!
16, 17. "Hail, egg which turns into Hen, cutting off the heads of the rebels in her name of 'Lady of Tep-ahet'![c]
18, 19. "Hail, lady of excretion, thou comest in front of the heads in name of 'Hathor, lady of emerald, lady of Thebes'![d]
20. "Thou comest in peace in thy name of 'Hathor, lady of Thebes.'
21. "Thou comest in peace, O Tait,[e] in thy name of 'lady of peace.'[f]
22, 23. "Thou comest forward to overthrow her enemy in thy name of 'Hathor, lady of Het-suten-henen.'[g]
24. "Thou golden one, thou comest in peace in thy name of 'Hathor,'
25. "'lady of Memphis. . . . . .' Thou restest near Neb-er-ter[h] in the name of 'Hathor, lady of Shet-tesher.'[i]

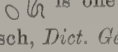
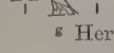
[a] Literally "the door of the funeral passages," leading to the tomb.

[b] The *ábtu* and *ánt* were mythological fishes. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 16.

[c] Aphroditopolis, the metropolis of the 22nd nome of Upper Egypt.

[d] *i.e.* "lady of the peninsula of Sinai," where emerald mines were worked as early as the VIth dynasty.

[e] One of the names of the goddess Hathor mentioned in the eighty-second chapter of the Book of the Dead (Lepsius' ed. pl. xxxi.); it appears to be connected with *ta*, "fire."

[f] Neb-ḥetep  or is one of the names of Hathor, the local divinity of  *Pa-ḥeru*, near Tanis. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 333, and Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 370.

[g] Heracleopolis.

[h] *i.e.* "the lord of totality," a name of the god Osiris.

[i] The "town of the red pool," a district in the mountains east of Memphis.

26. "The golden one rises near her father in her name of 'Bast,'[a] advancing above
27. "the temples near the great double house in her name of 'Sati,'[b]
28. "verdifier of the north and south, leader of the gods in her name of 'Uatit.'
29. "Hathor gains the mastery of the enemies of her father in her name of 'Sechet.'[c]
30. "Uatit'[d] gains the mastery over the fire in her name of 'Lady of Ammu.'[e]
31. "There is perfume upon her hair and head in her name of 'Neith.'[f]

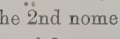
Column XX.

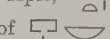
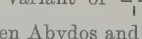
1. "Hail, O ye gods, on account of his virtues.[g]
2. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Thebes!
3. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Suten-henen![h]
4. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Tep-ahet![i]
5. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Nehau![k]

[a] Bast was one of the four great Hathors and represented the life-giving heat of the sun. For the list of Basts and the towns protected by them, see Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 225.

[b] See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pp. 1124, 1131.

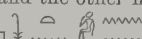
[c] A form of Hathor, wife of Ptah, mother of Nefer-Aïmu. She represented the blazing heat of the sun. See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 1098.

[d] A form of the goddess Hathor, whose sanctuary  *Pa-sat*, was situated in Sechem (Letopolis), the capital of the 2nd nome of Lower Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 659.

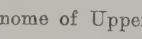
[e] Ammu, *i. e.* "the town of date trees," is the name of the sanctuary of the goddess Hathor, which was situated in "the town of Apis,"  , the metropolis of the 3d nome of Lower Egypt. is a variant of  . There was a town also called Ammu in Upper Egpyt; it lay between Abydos and Panopolis. Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 327.

[f] There is a play here upon the words *ānti* and *Nit*.

[g] In the papyrus one-half of this line is written perpendicularly on the right-hand side of the list of the twelve Hathors, and the other half on the left.

[h] Suten-henen or  Het-suten-ḥenen, the metropolis of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt, called Heracleopolis by the Greeks, ϩⲉⲛⲛⲥ by the Copts, and اهناس by the Arabs. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 601, and Juynboll, *op. cit.* t. i. p. ١٠٥

[i] Aphroditopolis, the metropolis of the 22nd nome of Upper Egypt; the local divinity was the goddess Hathor.

[k] *Neh*, or *Pa-neh*, a part of the town of Athribis  *Het-ta-ḥer-ab*, the metropolis of the 10th nome of Upper Egypt, the modern Benha بنها which is famed for its honey, عسل مصر اجود منها, see Juynboll, *op. cit.* t. i. p. ٧٧ Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 349.

6. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Rehsau![a]
7. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Shet-Teshert![b]
8. "Hail, Hathor, lady of the Emerald Land![c]
9. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Aneb![d]
10. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Uaua![e]
11. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Ammu![f]
12. "Hail, Hathor, lady of Amem![g]
13. "Hail, Hathor, lady of the 'City of Sixteen.'[h]
14. "O ye nine *smeri*,[i] come ye bearing your father Osiris upon your two hands,
15. "come ye with divine adorations, come ye with divine adorations, come ye with divine adorations, come ye with divine adorations!
16. "Hail, crown of the festival! hail, crown of the festival! Sovereign!
17. "Hail, thou rejoicest the nurses who love thee!
18. "Hail, thou livest, thou livest, for ever!
19. "Hail, thou makest festival for ever!

[a] *Re-ḥesau*, a town famous for its temple of the goddess Sechet, was situated near Seχem (Letopolis), the metropolis of the 2nd nome of Lower Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* pp. 71, 460.

[b] *Shet-tesher*, "the town of the red pool," was a district situated in the mountains to the east of Memphis, where are to-day the quarries of Ma'ṣara and Ṭurra. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 971.

[c] *Mūfek, i.e.* the peninsula of Sinai, where the emerald mines were dedicated to this goddess as early as the Vth dynasty. Compare also the list of Hathors quoted by Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 971, and Mariette, *Dendérah*, t. i. pl. 27.

[d] A town situated to the east of Pelusium and north of Migdol. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* pp. 50-52. In my interlinear translation for Memphis read Aneb.

[e] The country of *Uaua* was situated in Ethiopia, to the east of the modern town of Korosko. It is mentioned in the inscription of Una (line 16), where it is described as a Negro-land *Uauat neḥes*. In the list of ten Hathors printed by Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 1367, after "Hathor, lady of Aneb," we have "Hathor, lady of *χaχau*."

[f] See Note to column xix. line 30.

[g] *Àmemet* was the sacred name of *Pa-uátet*, Buto, the metropolis of the 19th nome of Lower Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 25.

[h] *I.e.* Lycopolis, the metropolis of the 13th nome of Upper Egypt. Compare var in Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* pp. 1067, 1391.

[i] A title of a class of temple official.

20. " Hail, object of adoration, thou traverser of ways!
21. " Hail, thou who art established in the heavenly Tattu!
22. " Hail, god, who listenest to adoration, hail, thou listenest to adoration from the mouth of the divine nomes!
23. " Hail, thou who comest forth from thy two eyes, son of the prophet!
24. " Hail, thou who art protected by amulets when thou speakest!
25. " Hail, protect me, O king, to do thy pleasure!
26. " Hail, protect me, O king, to do thy will!
27. " Hail, Sitter, the restful of heart comes to thee!
28. " Hail, son of the prophet, the festal ritual is recited for him.
29. " Hail, thy name is established in the heavenly Tettu!
30. " Hail, thou sweetly smelling one in the heavenly Tettu.
31. " Hail, thou that comest to destroy the Sebau (fiends)!
32. " Hail, thou that comest to extol the Baby!

Column XXI.

1. " Hail, thou that settest thy terror in the evil-hearted!
2. " Hail, thou Worker, who followest after thy lord, there is not . . . . . !
3. " Hail, ye evil-hearted, who hate the temple, strike death from his throat!
4. " Hail, the lord of the heavenly Tettu cometh, he has repulsed the evil-hearted!"
5. This book shall be recited sixteen times by players on tambourines.

Here endeth the book.

III.—THE BOOK OF THE OVERTHROWING OF APEPI.

This composition contains three hundred and seventy-seven lines and fills columns xxii. to xxxiii. of the papyrus; two columns are written on the back, and as the papyrus is in this place somewhat damaged, the reading of a few of the words is uncertain. The writing is neat and careful, but there are in it traces of more than one hand. The character of the subject-matter is quite different from that of the earlier works in the papyrus, and although rhythmical passages occur here and there, the work cannot be, like them, considered poetical. From the frequent repetition of certain passages parts of the work are monotonous; the varied and interesting nature of the other parts, however, amply atones for this, and makes it of considerable value, both to the Egyptologist, and to the student of comparative mythology.

The subject of the work is the daily battle which was waged by Rā, the Sun-god, against the demons and fiends of mist, clouds, rain, thunder, darkness, and night. The head of these veritable powers of darkness was named Apepi, and he seems to have been assisted in his dire work by fiends called Qettu, Sebau, Sheta, etc. Each night when Rā went to his home in the west he was assailed by squadrons of fiends under the leadership of Apepi; with these he waged war throughout the night, and chiefly by the might of sun-flame, he was enabled to show himself each morning to the expectant world. The fiercest and most violent attacks were made upon him during the night, but the fiends of darkness never lost an opportunity of sending clouds into the sky by day to obscure his light and to overcome his power. When they could send rain with their clouds they did so, and they rejoiced greatly when they succeeded in making a violent thunderstorm. Rain and cold were disliked by the ancient Egyptian as much as they are detested by his modern descendants. Everything then that he could do to cause the sun to shine, and to keep off the rain and cold he felt it to be his duty to do. Apart from his bodily comfort, he had a spiritual interest in the victory of the Sun-god over his foes. When the ancient Egyptian deposited his relative or friend in the grave, he identified the resurrection of his body with the daily renewed birth of the Sun-god. The dead man was identified with Osiris, the night sun, king of the dead, lord of the under-world, and a form of the Sun-god; if the god of the dead were overcome by the powers of darkness, what hope of renewed birth could remain for his subjects? The dangers which hovered over the path of the night-sun must necessarily stand in the way of the dead man; any deed or service which gave power to the Sun-god, or defeat to his enemies must also, necessarily, be of great benefit to the dead man. The name of the dead man is linked with that of Rā, the Sun-god, in the following manner: "Horus takes his steel lance and drives it into the heads of the enemies of Rā; Horus takes his steel lance and drives it into the heads of the enemies of P-āa[a] (the deceased). Therefore art thou exalted, O Rā, for thy enemies are smitten, Apepi is slaughtered, and the fiends of the Devil have been cast down.

[a] *P-āa, i.e.*, the "mighty one," written inside a cartouche, in this papyrus takes the place of the name "Osiris," by which in other papyri the deceased is usually designated.

Therefore art thou exalted, P-āa, for thy enemies are smitten, thy foes are slaughtered, and thy devilish opponents are cast down. Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā gains the mastery over thee Apepi, and P-āa gains the mastery over thee, Apepi." Hence provided that the dead man is justified before Osiris, whatever good is done for the god is also done for him; and a service recited by the priests in a temple to the honour and glory of the Sun-god became an act of worship in which each person would gladly join, as much for the sake of his beloved dead as for his own material comfort.

The "Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi," printed in the following pages was, as we learn from the title, recited in the temple of Amen-Rā in the Apts every day. It was divided into sections and chapters, each of which is clearly indicated in its proper place, and contained shorter compositions on the subject of the defeat of Apepi which were to be recited at suitable occasions. Of its author and date nothing is known. It contains variant readings, and it is evident from this that other copies of the work were extant, and also that it was sufficiently old for doubts to have arisen in the minds of scribes about the correct readings. The work is not entirely original, but appears to be a much amplified redaction of a number of chapters of the Book of the Dead which refer to the turning back of serpents in the under-world. A comparison of the seventh, thirty-first, thirty-third, and the thirty-fifth to the thirty-ninth chapters with the Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi will show that the redactor of this work was well acquainted with them, and that parts of them enter into it. Of these chapters the thirty-ninth is the most largely used, but it will be seen that there are many important variations between the two texts, due either to corruptions of the text, or to a change in religious views. The oldest hieroglyphic recension of this chapter has been given, with variants from three manuscripts, by M. Naville in *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch* (Band 1, bl. liii. Bd. ii. ss. 107—109). In two manuscripts it is found with the sixty-fifth chapter, and in two others before or after the fortieth chapter. The text as given by Lepsius (*Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter*, bl. xviii.) is, in many places, quite different from that printed by M. Naville. Translations of it have been printed by Dr. Birch[a] and M. P. Pierret;[b] the following tentative version has been made from the text of M. Naville.

1. The Chapter of Repulsing his Serpent in the Nether-world.

2. Get thee gone, depart, withdraw, thou baleful Serpent, retreat and be drowned at
3. the pool of the Sky, where thy father has commanded thy slaughter to be made. Depart thou to that birthplace of Rā, where exists that which makes thee afraid. I am Rā in his terror.
4. Get thee back, Sebau, by the darts of his beams Rā has overthrown thy words.
5. The gods have reversed thy face, the lynx has torn out thy heart, the scorpion has shot forth fetters upon thee, and Māāt has sent forth
6. destruction for thee. Those who are in the ways overthrow thee; fall down, depart, O Apepi, enemy of Rā! O pass away over the region in the east of the sky in the

[a] Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. v. p. 193.

[b] *Le Livre des Morts des Anciens Egyptiens*, pp. 135—140.

7. voice of the roaring thunder cloud! Rā opens the gates of the horizon at once and comes forth; [Apepi] is ruined and cut to pieces.

I have performed thy will, I have performed thy will,

8. O Rā, I have done well, I have done well. I have worked in peace, making the ropes of thy boat to advance.

Apepi is overthrown! The gods of the south, north, west, and east tie and

9. fetter Apepi, they set fetters round about him; Rekes overthrows him, and Hertit fetters him. Rā sets, Rā sets, Rā strengthens himself in peace!

10. Apepi is overthrown, Apepi, the enemy of Rā, falls down.

The sting which thou art made to taste is stronger than the sting of

11. the scorpion; it has wrought death for thee and thy courses are over for ever. Thou shalt never experience sexual pleasure, there shall never be emissions of body to thee, O Apepi, enemy of Rā, who repulses thy face, O

12. hater of Rā, when he sees thee. Get thee back, thy head is crushed, thy face is slit, thy head is rolled along in the filth of the roads, thy head is broken in on his land, thy bones are broken, thy limbs are cut

13. in pieces, Nekker has condemned thee, O Apepi, enemy of Rā.

Thy sailors, thy green food, and thy necessaries, are

14. provided and offered to thee there. The advance to the house, the advance which thou makest to the house is a good advance. May there never come forth any evil disaster against me from thy mouth while thou workest for me.

15. I am Set, letting loose the storm clouds and the thunder clouds within the horizon of heaven, as his heart the Lock.

Says Atmu, "O ye soldiers of Rā, lift up your faces, for, by the

16. might of Powers, I have repulsed Nentā."

Says Seb, "O ye that are in your seats in the boat of Chepera, make

17. yourselves ready, find your roads, and hold ye your weapons in your hands."

Says Hathor, "O take ye your armour."

18. Says Nut, "Come, we will repulse that destroying one who follows after him that is in his shrine; he shall go forth [against] him . . . . . Neb-er-ter is without repulse."

19. The gods who are in their cycles, going round the lakes of emerald, say, "Come, O mighty one, we adore and deliver the mighty one in [his] shrine, from whom proceedeth the substance of the gods.

20. Commemorations are made for him, shouts of acclamation are given for him, he is addressed by you and praised."

"Hail," says Nut, with reference to that Sweet One.

21. Those who are among the gods say, "He comes forth, he finds the way, he maketh captives among the gods, he drives away evil from Nut, Seb stands up."

Hail, victorious one!

The cycle of the gods marches along . . . . . Hathor is trembling.

Rā triumphs over Apepi.

The Book of the overthrowing of Apepi is divided into the following chapters and divisions:—

I. The Chapter of Spitting upon Apepi.
II. The Chapter of defiling Apepi with the left foot.
III. The Chapter of taking a lance to smite Apepi.
IV. The Chapter of putting fetters upon Apepi.
V. The Chapter of taking a knife to smite Apepi.
VI. The Chapter of putting fire upon Apepi.
VII. The First Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi.
VIII. The Second Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi.
IX. The Book of Overthrowing the enemy of Rā.
X. The book of turning back Apepi. To be said at dawn.
XI. The Book of knowing the Evolutions of Rā and the overthrowing of Apepi.
XII. The Book of Overthrowing Apepi.
XIII. Another Book of Overthrowing Apepi.
XIV. The Accursed Names of Apepi.
XV. A Hymn of Praise to be recited after the foregoing Chapters.

The subject-matter of the first six chapters calls for little comment; they consist chiefly of adjurations against Apepi, and accounts of the various methods by which he was destroyed. The rubrics which follow these chapters order what acts were to be performed at the time of their recital. Apepi, the enemy of the Sun-god, was represented as a serpent of many folds, with a knife stuck in each. A wax figure of this fiend was made and taken by the priest into his hands. When he recited the words "An end to thee, an end to thee, Apepi, I have destroyed the enemy of Rā," he cast the wax figure of Apepi upon the ground and smote it four times with his left foot, saying "Thou art defiled, Apepi." A wax figure of Apepi, with his accursed name cut upon it, was also to be wrapped in a piece of new papyrus, upon which a figure of Apepi was drawn in green ink, and burnt in a dried grass[a] fire; what remained afterwards was to be mixed with excrement and burnt, and while it was burning it was to be spit upon by the priest several times. This was to be done morning, noon, and night, and at certain other times and seasons which are duly specified. If tempests were raging in the sky, or if heavy black-red clouds were stealing over the sky to obscure the sun's disk, or if heavy rain had set in, to make these pass away it was necessary to burn several such figures, and to recite these chapters over them while they were burning. The last part of the rubric which refers to this section of the papyrus states that it is a meritorious act for a man to perform these acts, that it is good for him upon this earth and good for him in the nether-world; they will enable him to attain to dignities which are above him, and he will be delivered from all evil things. Following this comes what appears to be a note by the scribe: "May I see these things happen to me."

The first book of the overthrowing of Apepi was to be recited by a person, ceremonially clean and pure, over a papyrus, upon which the name of Apepi was written in green colour, while it

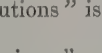
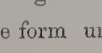
[a] I am unable to find an exact meaning for the word *χessau* which is here translated by dried grass.

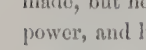
was burnt in the fire. The subject-matter is the injuries which are inflicted upon Apepi by Rā, Horus, and the deceased for whom the papyrus was written.

The second book of the overthrowing of Apepi was also to be recited by a person ceremonially clean and pure, and was devoted to the destruction, not only of Apepi, but also of Sebau, Qettu, Sheta, and the other rebels, fiends, and devils that accompanied him. The rubric is a little fuller than that of the first book, and orders that a wax figure of each demon and of his father, mother, and children shall be made, that they shall be wrapped up in pieces of new papyrus, upon which their names are written, and tied round with black hairs. These figures were to be spit upon, defiled with the left foot, and hacked with a stone knife, and then burnt in a blazing fire of dried grass. The rubric also orders that the book was to be recited, according to the original codex, when the *atep* boat of the sun went forth, at dawn, to overthrow the enemy of Rā, and every enemy of Horus. It was a meritorious act to recite it in the presence of the god at dawn every day without fail.

The short book of overthrowing Apepi which next follows is of small interest, and the "Book of turning back Apepi," which follows it, merely contains some interesting variants of the old theme, *i. e.*, the tortures which are inflicted upon Apepi by Rā, Horus, and the other gods.

Among this mass of half magical, half religious compositions, we meet with a very remarkable document entitled "the Book of Knowing the Evolutions of Rā," which relates to the origin of things and the genesis of gods and men. In Colums xxvi. and xxvii. one version of it is given, and in Columns xxviii. and xxix. is another; the first version is the shorter of the two, and is more easily understood. It is difficult to account for the presence of two versions of the same text in one papyrus; but it is fortunate that both occur, for the second helps to explain the first. Both are difficult to translate because it is nearly impossible to find exact equivalents for some of the Egyptian words, and it appears that, in places, the text is corrupt. The literal and the running translations of this document given below are not intended in any way to be final; they are only put forward to give an idea of the meaning of this, so far as can be ascertained, unique work.

The account of the creation is put into the mouth of the god Neb-er-ter, who is supposed to state how he came into existence, and what had happened since his birth. He begins by saying that there was no heaven and no earth, and that animals and reptiles did not exist; all animal life, according to his assertion, was made out of the watery mass of Nu, (the abyss or sky) which previous to his coming into being lay in an inert and chaotic state. There was not even a place upon which this god could stand; but his will was strong, and by an effort thereof he laid the foundation of everything which afterwards came into existence, and performed all that there was to be done. More than once the god points out that he was quite alone, and that there was none other who worked with him. As to his own origin he says that he developed himself out of the primeval matter which he himself had made, and that he evolved himself out of this matter by a series of evolutions which followed one after the other; from the same matter all other things were made by him. The word here translated "evolutions" is  *χeperu* which may be fairly accurately rendered by "rollings" or "turnings." The god  *χepera*, who performed these "turnings" or "rollings," was the form under which Neb-er-ter developed

himself, and a common title of this god is *χeper tesef, i. e.,* "becoming of himself" or "self-produced," like the Greek *αὐτογενής*. Without either insisting on the appropriateness of the word "evolutions" as a rendering of *χeperu*, or attempting to read into the text the modern technical ideas connected with it, it is nevertheless a remarkable coincidence that this word should so admirably suit, and make sense in many passages of a text written more than two thousand years ago to explain the various stages in the creation of the world, gods, men, and animals. The god Chepera not only created himself out of the matter which he himself had made, but he did so by uttering his own name from his mouth, thus using it as a word of magical power, and he straightway developed himself by evolutions or turnings. A little earlier the god tells us that his name is Ausares, which is the "matter (germ?) of primeval matter"; Ausares,  may possibly be a form of Ausar or Osiris. The conception of a god creating himself out of matter, which he had made, by the mere utterance of his own name is remarkable, and shows what an amount of power was attributed to the utterance of certain names. The word here translated "matter" is *paut,* and means literally the "cake" or "substance" from which all things were made.

Neb-er-ter, under the form of Chepera, having created matter and himself and animals, next brings the gods into existence. This he does by union with his own limbs, and as a result the gods Shu and Tefnut are produced. Thus, says the god, "from being one god, I became three gods, and they came out of myself into existence in this land." The origin of men and women were the tears which fell from the eye of the god. Thus far the meaning of the text appears to be perfectly clear, in spite of the repetitions of words and sentences which occur in it. A very difficult passage, however, follows here, and its meaning is not so easily perceived. It appears to have reference to the eclipse of the eye of Chepera or Neb-er-ter (*i. e.* Rā), and to a dispute which the god had with it. According to one version the god Nu complains that his eye is eclipsed, and Neb-er-ter says that it growled or raged at him because of some act of his. In the other version Neb-er-ter says that Shu and Tefnut brought his eye along with them, but that when it came, and saw that the god had collected his limbs and wept near them, and that men and women had sprung into existence from them, it growled at him. Both accounts agree in saying that Neb-er-ter restored it to its place in his face, that he filled it with radiance, that it put into order all things, and that it ruled the whole earth. Both accounts end by saying that Shu and Tefnut gave birth to Seb and Nut, and that Nut gave birth to Osiris, Horus, dwelling in invisibility, Sut, Isis, and Nephthys. This is the account of the creation as accepted by the Egyptians three hundred years before Christ at least. The text is, no doubt, corrupt, and from the frequent repetitions which occur, it is clear that a large number of variant readings, or glosses by scribes, have been incorporated into it. The number of glosses, or variant readings, shows that the work is of some antiquity, and hence it appears that the copy before us cannot be the first that was written. It is much to be hoped that future discoveries in Egypt will bring to light other copies of the text in a more correct form and of older date.

The formulæ for the destruction of Apepi are continued to a great length after the account of the creation, and the rubrics of the chapters are chiefly repetitions of those which are found early

in the papyrus. Concerning one chapter it is said "It is a mystery, and is to be performed in the chamber; no eye shall see it. The Book of Words of Power is its name." At the end of it is a smaller chapter in which the gods Rā, Atmu, Chepera, Shu, Tefnut, Seb, Nut, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys, Hu, Sau, Osiris of Kochome and Hiku, the genius of Rā are taken to witness that the deceased P-āa has cast fire upon Apepi. This chapter is, in its turn, followed by "Another Book of overthrowing Apepi," and in it every dead person, every living person, and every person who is to be born is called upon to regard P-āa as a "great god, lord of heaven," for "Rā protects him, Rā protects his soul against every man, every woman, every dead person, and every unborn person. Rā will shut the mouth of every person who would speak evil against P-āa, and Rā will watch carefully to do harm to any person who would do any harm or evil thing to him." The rubric, which states at what time of the day this chapter is to be said, is mutilated; and with it the "Book of Neb-er-ter" comes to an end.

Next follow, written in red, twenty-nine of the abominable names of Apepi, many of which have been mentioned already in the chapters of the work. Owing to a break in the papyrus, one or two of them are incomplete; the meaning of most of them is evident.

In the last rubric of the work it is ordered that four wax figures of serpents are to be made, to represent the "children of inertness," *i.e.* Apepi, Sebau, Qettu, and Sheta. The first is to have the face of a . . . . . , the second the face of a cat, the third the face of a duck, and the fourth the face of a crocodile. The tail of each was to be thrust in his mouth, a knife was to be stuck in the back of each, each was to be tied round with fetters, and cast upon the ground while the priest uttered imprecations upon it. The names of the four wax figures were Hemhem (Roarer), Aaqaruaba, Hauna-aru-her-hra and Unti.

Following this rubric is the hymn of praise to Rā by the deceased, which ends the papyrus. In it P-āa addressed the god by his great titles of honour, and he claims to be his son in very truth. He says "O Rā, look with thy two eyes, and be graciously pleased with what I have done. I have destroyed Apepi for thee, I have overthrown him within his cavern. He is shut up in restraint, his body is destroyed and blotted out from the horizon of thy two heavens. Apepi has been cast down into the fire and the flame has carried him off; the heart of Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, rejoices, for his enemy has fallen beneath him. Rā triumphs over his enemy, Amen-Rā triumphs over his enemy, Atmu triumphs over his enemy, and Thoth triumphs over his enemy."

The story of the daily battle waged by Rā, the sun-god, against Apepi has something in common with the Babylonian legend of the battle which took place between Marduk and Tiamat. Marduk, the Babylonian sun-god, corresponds to Rā or Horus, and Tiamat, the she-devil of blackness, mist, and night, with scaly body, claws, and tail, corresponds to Apepi. The Babylonian cycle of the gods sent forth their lord and master Marduk to do battle with Tiamat, and they provided him with a spear or club, of fabulous power, and bows and arrows wherewith he might overcome her. They commanded him to destroy her utterly, and to scatter her blood and person to the four winds; Marduk took with him a net wherewith to snare her, and also created a number of winds for his help. He drove across the sky in a chariot, and when he drew near to her he challenged her to combat. He first sent against her a mighty wind, which she tried to

swallow, but she was unable to close her mouth by reason of its violence; this wind entered into her and smote her with great force so that she was overthrown. Marduk then seized his club and smashed in her head, he cast his net round her body, he cut out her entrails, he skinned her, and obtained the mastery over her. The fiends and devils, who accompanied her and formed her army, were scattered, her hosts were overthrown, and they fled away in great fear and trembling. They were, however, pursued by Marduk, who overtook them, and, having broken their limbs, cast his net round about them and fettered them. This brief summary is sufficient to show how great the resemblance between the two legends is; in matters of detail the resemblance is more striking. The Babylonian legend, unfortunately, gives us no rubrics, so that it is impossible to say if this composition was recited daily in the temples at Babylon, or if certain acts, such as the burning of wax figures, which accompanied the recitation of the Egyptian service for the slaughter of Apepi, were performed when it was read. In both the Egyptian and Babylonian legends the gods sing a hymn of praise to their victorious leader on the defeat of the great fiend that opposed him, and the sun shines and the heavens become bright.[a]

Of interest, too, for the subject of Egyptian magic, are the important details given in the rubrics to the Egyptian text of the service for the slaughter of Apepi. In these we learn that, in addition to the chapters and prayers which were to be recited in the temple of Amen-Rā at Thebes, it was necessary to perform certain acts of a magical nature. Apepi, the demon whose destruction was earnestly sought for, was supposed to exist under the form of a crocodile with a hideous face, and he was accompanied by hosts of demons in various forms and shapes. To annihilate his power it was necessary to make a figure of him in wax, and to write his name upon it in green ink. This figure was to be wrapped up in a papyrus case, upon which the figure of Apepi had been written in green ink, it was then to be tied up with black hair, and spit upon several times, and its back was to be gashed with a knife. The figure was then to be cast upon the ground, and trodden upon with the left foot several times, and then burnt in a fire made of a certain plant or grass. If this act was performed at morning, noon, and night, and at certain other stated times, and certain formulae or chapters were recited at the same time, the same injuries that were inflicted upon the figure of Apepi would be inflicted upon Apepi himself. When Apepi had been thus disposed of, wax figures of his principal demons were made and burnt in the same way. How old this piece of ritual is it is not possible to say definitely, but I believe it to be older than the xviiith dynasty. That the custom of performing acts of sorcery by means of wax figures is as old as the xixth dynasty is certain, for there is a case on record in which it appears that a certain superintendent of the cattle of the king was prosecuted in an Egyptian court of law for having made figures of men and women in wax, thereby causing paralysis of their limbs and other grievous bodily injuries.[b] He had by some means obtained a book of magic, which contained not only the formulae necessary for obtaining magical results, but also directions

[a] A summary of the contents of the Babylonian text was published by me in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, November 1883, and the full text in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* December 1887, p. 86; an accurate German translation is published in Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 277 ff.

[b] See Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 170.

how to proceed; he shut himself up in a secret chamber, and there proceeded to cast spells upon the people of his town.

A remarkable instance of the use of wax figures is recorded in the life of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes. Nectanebus II., the last native king of Egypt, was given to the study of magic, and, having become an expert, he used it in a remarkable way to preserve his country from invasion by enemies. Whenever they came to make war against him he used to go into his palace and overcome them from there by means of magical practices. If they came by sea he took a basin of water and set it in the middle of his room, and having made models of the soldiers of the enemy and of those of his own army he placed them in models of ships which he set upon the water opposite to each other. He then took a rod of wood in his hand, and uttered magical formulæ and the names of certain demons. Presently the ships would draw near to each other and the wax figures would begin to fight. If the figures which represented his own soldiers were victorious on the water in the basin his soldiers were victorious on the sea; but if they were beaten and the ships sunk, the same result whuld happen to his army if they attempted to fight. One day, by this means, Nectanebus discovered that the gods of Egypt had handed over the country to the invader, for his ships were scattered on the basin of water, and were driven hither and thither by those of the enemy; on seeing this he disguised himself and fled away.[a]

The above remarks will indicate the interesting nature of the texts which are transliterated and translated in the following pages. It is hoped that the attention of other students may be drawn to the consideration of them, and also that other copies may come to light to clear up the difficulties which now exist.

TRANSLATION.

The Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi.

Column XXII.

1. Here beginneth the book of the overthrowing of Apepi, the enemy of Rā, the enemy of Unnefer, life, strength, health, triumphant! It shall be recited in the temple of Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, at the head of the Apts, in the course of every day.

The Chapter of spitting upon Apepi.

Then shall be said: —

2. "Be spit upon thou Apepi, be spit upon thou Apepi, be spit upon thou Apepi, be spit upon thou Apepi."

Rā rests with his *ka*, P-āa rests with his *ka*, Rā cometh mighty, Rā cometh victorious.

3. "Rā cometh exalted, Rā cometh dowered, Rā cometh with acclamation, Rā cometh in beauty, Rā cometh as king of the north, Rā cometh as king of the south, Rā cometh with divine

[a] For the Greek text see *Pseudo-Callisthenes* primum edidit C. Müller, Parisiis, 1877, lib. I. cap. 1., and see my *History of Alexander the Great*, p. xxxix.

4. "oblations, Rā cometh with triumph then, P-āa, life, strength, health! thou hast destroyed for him all his enemies as he has slain for thee Apepi. He slays Qettu for thee, he gives adoration to thy might,
5. "he adores thee at all thy risings in which thou risest for him, and he overthrows for thee all thy enemies in the course of every day."

The Chapter of defiling Apepi with the left foot.

To be recited:—

6. "Therefore art thou exalted, Rā, for thine enemies are destroyed.
"Shine, therefore, Rā, for thine enemies are fallen.
"Verily, Rā has destroyed for thee all thine enemies, O P-āa, life, strength, health!
Verily, all thine enemies are destroyed for thee in life and death. Rā gains the mastery over thee, Apepi,
7. "his flame bristles against thee, it gains the mastery over thee, turning its flame against thee; its fire falls upon the enemies of Rā, its flame falls upon all the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health!
8. "Rā gains the mastery; O Rā, thine enemy is trampled upon by thee in thy horizon. Those who are in the *sekti* boat adore thee, the *ahiti* go round thee and thy boat with acclamation, thou renewest festival in the valiant-hearted who are in the māāt boat.
9. "Adoration to thee, Rā Harmachis, adoration to thee, Rā Harmachis, adoration to thee, Rā Harmachis, adoration to thee, Rā Harmachis."

The Chapter of taking a lance to smite Apepi.

To be recited:—

10. "Horus takes his steel lance and thrusts it into the heads of the enemies of Rā; Horus takes his steel lance and thrusts it into the heads of the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! Of a truth Horus takes his steel lance and smites the heads of the fiends in front
11. of his boat.
"Therefore shalt thou be exalted, Rā, for thy fiendish enemies are hooked, Apepi is slaughtered, and the fiends of the Devil have been cast down. Therefore shalt thou also
12. be exalted, P-āa, for thy fiends are hooked, thy foes are slaughtered, and thy devilish opponents are cast down. Come then, Rā, in thy splendours, those who are in their
13. shrines adore thee in thy beauties in that thou risest and shinest unopposed by foes; thy words of power protect thy body. P-āa adores Rā, he thrusts his lance against Apepi, he
14. takes the flame of fire and casts it upon him, he sticks hooks into the bodies of his enemies. Be there fire upon you, be there flame upon you, be there burning to you, O ye enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! may it consume you. Therefore shalt thou be exalted, Rā, for hooks are stuck into thy fiendish foes, fire is cast upon Apepi, and it gnaws
15. into the joints of his backbone. Hail, there is fire thrown on Apepi.

"Rā is in the midst of the breezes of the north winds, and the valiant-hearted ones who
16. navigate his boat in the horizon exult at the sight of him. He overthrows the fiend, his fire prevails over Apepi, and the Fiend roars, may he never be at peace, may he never be at peace!

"O Rā Harmachis, show thy beautiful face to P-āa, life, health, and strength! destroy
17. thou for him all his enemies, for he adores thee in very truth. Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies."

The Chapter of putting fetters upon Apepi.

To be recited:—

18. "O ye fetterers, fetter, fetter ye Apepi that enemy of Rā! Thou canst not know, O Apepi, what will be done unto thee, for justice meets thee.

19. "O thou that goest back at thy moment, thou destroyest thyself; by opening thy throat, thou holdest fast the fetter. Horus cries, 'Be thou fettered;' Rā cries, 'Be thou tied up, mayest thou never experience the delights of the pleasures of love,

20. "'mayest thou never escape from his fingers'; Rā cries, 'Mayest thou be damned;' and Horus dwelling in invisibility cries, 'Be thou tied up.'"

The Chapter of taking a knife to smite Apepi.

To be recited:—

"O slaughterer, mayest thou have the mastery, mayest thou have the mastery and over-
21. "throw the enemy of Rā with thy knife! O slaughterer, mayest thou have the mastery, mayest thou have the mastery and overthrow with thy knife those heads of yours, Sebau
22. and Apepi, slaughtering and slaying them with thy knife!

"O goddess Septet, who providest flame, O goddess Asbit who presidest over the spark, overthrow ye the Fiend with your knives, slaughter ye the Demon with your swords, slay
23. ye them because of the injury done to you, hack them in pieces because of what has been done to you, let there be justice done to them by you because of the evil which has been wrought upon you. Rā triumphs over you, ye fiends, Horus hacks you in pieces."

The Chapter of putting fire upon Apepi.

24. To be recited:—

"Fire upon thee, O Apepi, that enemy of Rā! The eye of Horus prevails over the accursed soul and shade of Apepi, the flame of the eye of Horus gnaws into

COLUMN XXIII.

1. "that enemy of Rā, the flame of the eye of Horus eats into all the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! in death, in life."

When Apepi is put in the fire speak ye with words of power, and say, "Taste thou, death to thee Apepi! Get thee back, retreat thou enemy of Rā, fall down, wriggle away, depart, retreat. I have driven thee back, I have hacked thee in pieces. Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi. Taste thou, Apepi, taste thou, Apepi, taste thou, Apepi, taste thou, Apepi!

3. "Back, thou fiend, an end to thee! Therefore have I cast fire at thee, therefore have I caused thee to be destroyed, therefore have I judged and condemned thee to an evil doom. An
4. end to thee, an end to thee; taste thou, an end to thee, mayest thou never rise up again! An end, an end to thee, an end to thee, taste thou, and come to an end. I have destroyed the enemy of Rā.

"Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies; Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, and P-āa triumphs over his enemies."

5. Afterwards thou shalt smite Apepi with thy left foot four times, and shalt say, "Defiled art thou, Apepi."

After Rā has risen, standing facing him, with both thy arms bent shalt thou say, "Rā has triumphed over thee, Apepi; Rā has triumphed over thee, Apepi; Rā has triumphed
6. over thee, Apepi; Rā has triumphed over thee, Apepi; in very truth has Rā been made to triumph over thee, Apepi; destroyed is Apepi."

This chapter must be recited over [the name of] Apepi written in green ink upon a piece of new papyrus, and over a wax figure of Apepi on which his name is inscribed in
7. green ink; this figure shall be then put in the fire that it may devour the enemy of Rā. One must place such a figure in the fire at dawn, at daybreak, at eventide, when Rā sets
8. in the land of life, at midnight, at the eighth hour of the day, at the coming on of the evening, and even at every hour of the day and night; also, on the day of the festival, by
9. day, by month, by the sixth day festival, by the fifteenth day festival, and likewise every day. Then will Apepi, the enemy of Rā, be overthrown in the shower, for Rā will shine, and Apepi will be overthrown in very truth.

10. This figure of Apepi is to be burnt in a fire of dried grass, and when burnt, its remains (ashes) are to be mixed with excrement and thrown into a fire. The like of this must be done by thee at the sixth hour of the night, and at daybreak of the festival of the fifteenth
11. day. When the figure of Apepi is thrown into the fire, one must spit upon him very many times at the beginning of each hour of the day until the shadow comes round.

12. Afterwards, when thou hast thrown Apepi into the fire at daybreak of the festival of the sixth day, spit upon him and defile him with thy left foot; thus will be repulsed the roarings of the "Backward of face." Thou shalt do the like of this at daybreak on the festival of the
13. fifteenth day, for by it will Apepi be repulsed and slain before the *sekti* boat. Thou shalt do the like of this when tempests rage in the eastern parts of the sky when Rā sets in the
14. land of life, to prevent the arrival of red threatening clouds in the eastern quarter of the sky. Thou shalt do the like of this very many times to prevent the arrival of a shower
15. or a rain storm or thunder cloud in the sky. If thou doest the like of this many times as a preventive against the shower, the sun's disk will shine, and Apepi will be overthrown in very truth.

It is good for a man to do this, good for him upon earth, and good for him in the nether-
16. world; to this man is given power to attain to dignities which are above him, and he is, in very truth, delivered from all evil things. May I see these things happen to me![a]

17. THE FIRST BOOK OF THE OVERTHROWING OF APEPI THE ENEMY OF RA.

To be recited:—

"Down upon thy face, Apepi, thou enemy of Rā! get thee back, retreat, fiend! Sebau
18. is deprived of his arms and legs, thy snout shall be split; such are the things that shall happen unto thee. Thou art cast down and overthrown. Rā Harmachis overthrows thee, he destroys thee, he damns thee, he sticks hooks into thy body. Thou art thrown down
19. into the fire, the flames proceeding from it come forth, they blaze up at thee at their opportunity."
20. "Isis says with vehement utterance, 'Thy soul is cut in pieces, thy vertebrae are hacked asunder, Horus showers blows upon thee, and the children of Horus deliver crushing blows on thee; thou art destroyed at their season.'

"Get thee back, retreat, retreat, thou art overthrown in going back and retreating,
21. Apepi. The great cycle of the gods who are in Heliopolis turn thee back. Horus drives back thy crocodile, Sut destroys thy opportunity. Isis repulses thee, Nephthys cuts thee in pieces, and the cycle of the great gods who are in front of the boat of Rā drive thee
22. back. The chain of Sut is upon thy neck, the children of Horus drive their spears into thee, those gods who guard the secret portals repulse thee, and the flame from their fire
23. comes forth against thee.

"O thou that goest back and retreatest before the flames of fire which come forth from their mouth, O thou fallen one, O wriggler, O Apepi, O thou who goest back

COLUMN XXIV.

1. "and retreatest, thou enemy of Rā, thou art fallen at this moment of ill luck of thine!

"Those who are in the divine boat have overthrown thee, get thee back and begone.

[a] This sentence appears to be the remark of the scribe.

2. "Cursed art thou, destroyed art thou, repulsed art thou at thy moment of ill luck. O mayest
thou be tripped up! Thy accursed soul and body are turned back, thou thyself art turned
back, thy flesh is stripped off thee, thy blows are inflicted, the hacking in pieces and
3. "slaughter of thee is performed, and thy crocodile is destroyed. Thou art deprived of thine
ears, the flesh is smitten from thy limbs, thy soul is turned back from thy shade, thy name
is destroyed, thy enchantments have come to naught, destroyed art thou, overthrown art
4. "thou, thou shalt never come forth from that cavern of thine for ever and ever. Blows are
5. "inflicted upon thee a second time, thou art fettered and beaten by the cruel beaters, thine
opportunity is destroyed, thy crocodile is driven back, Rā seizes thee by the ear and makes
6. "thee go back upon that seat of thine, thou art tripped up and driven backward, thou art con-
demned for thy crime, Rā beats thee and thy opportunity of escape comes not. Thy
7. "accursed soul and shade are damned, the eye of Horus has condemned thee, it prevails over
thee and eats into thee to the fulness of its face. O, an end to thee, Apepi, it (*i. e.*, the
eye of Horus) darts at thee, it turns thee back, it destroys thee and makes an end of thee."
8. Then shalt be said firmly with the mouth:—
"Down upon thy face, Apepi, enemy of Rā! The flame coming forth from the eye of
9. "Horus comes against thee, a mighty flame which comes forth from the eye of Horus comes
against thee. Thou art thrust down into the flame of fire which rushes out against thee,
and which is fatal to thy soul, thy intelligence, thy words of power, thy body, and thy
10. "shade. The mistress of fire prevails over thee, it sticks hooks into thy soul, it makes an
end of whatever thou hast, and sends darts into thy form. Thou hast fallen by the eye of
11. "Horus which is powerful against its enemy, which devours thee and leads on the mighty
12. "flame against thee; the eye of Rā prevails over thee, the flame devours thee, and nothing
of thee remains.
13. "Get thee back, thou art hacked in pieces, thy soul is parched, thy name is buried in
oblivion, silence covers it, it is overthrown; thou art put an end to and buried under
threefold oblivion. Get thee back, retreat thou, thou art cut in pieces and
14. "removed from him that is in his shrine. O Apepi, thou doubly crushed one, an end to
thee, an end to thee! Mayest thou never rise up, may thy soul never
16. "rise up again! The eye of Horus prevails over thee, and devours thee daily, according to
what Rā decreed should be done unto thee. Thou art thrown down into
17. "the flame of fire which feeds upon thee; thou art condemned to the fire of the eye of
Horus which devours thee, thy soul, thy intelligence, thy body, and thy shade; mayest
thou never have the enjoyment of sexual pleasure, mayest thou never
18. "have issue of thy body for ever!"
Then shall be said four times, "Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi."
Then shall be said four times, "Horus triumphs over his enemies."
Then shall be said four times, "P-āa triumphs over his enemies."
"Get thee back, retreat before these words of power which come forth from my
19. "mouth on behalf of P-āa for ever, these (?) shall destroy thee; never shalt thou escape thy
fate, Apepi, enemy of Rā."

20. To be said four times, "Taste thou fiend, Sebau."
These words are to be said by a person ceremonially purified and clean. Behold, too, thou shalt paint the accursed name of Apepi upon new papyrus, and put it
21. in the fire when Rā shows himself in the morning, when Rā is in culmination and when Rā sets in the land of life. This shall be done on the eighth day, by day, and at every hour of every day, by month, on the festival of the sixth
22. day, on the festival of the fifteenth day, and likewise on every day for the overthrowing of the enemies of Rā Harmachis.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE OVERTHROWING OF APEPI, THE ENEMY OF RA.

23. "Fall down upon your faces, O ye enemies of Rā, ye hostile fiends, ye children of inertness, ye rebels and enemies! Nameless sinners are they whose caverns of fire are prepared for them according to the commands of Rā. The rebels, fiends,
24. "and demons are fettered and tied fast; how many are the enemies who have rebelled! Fall down then upon your faces at the moment of Rā, and come to an end. He overthrows you,

Column XXV.

1. he casts down your head upon your faces, yea, he destroys you, he performs your slaughter. O an end, an end to you! Be ye destroyed, annihilated, brought to naught! May ye never exist, may ye never rise up, may your heads be broken,
2. "Your throats cut, your vertebrae severed, your blows inflicted and your slaughter performed! The eye of Horus endowed with flame falls against you and obtains
3. "the mastery over you. The eye of Horus rises against you and his power smites you. His eye gains the mastery over you, it consumes and devours you in its name of Devourer, and it gains the mastery over you in its name of Sechet; fall ye therefore
4. "by its deadly flame and by the burning which cometh forth from its fire. O it destroys, destroys, destroys you! the blaze cometh forth against you, ye enemies of Rā and fiendish foes of Horus, it comes against your bodies, and against
5. "your shades. The fire comes forth and roasts you, it frizzles, frizzles you, scorches, scorches you, and tries you; Apt-s-ur (*i.e.*, "the fire tries,") judges you, devours you, consumes
6. "you, destroys your souls, and her flames send burning darts into your shades. O, an end to you, an end to you! Ye are destroyed, destroyed, cut asunder, and hacked in pieces, and your slaughter is performed; ye are judged by the fire and the
7. "flame, the lord of blazing heat, the fire of which eats into your souls and drives darts into your accursed bodies, and fetters you with its fire. The fierce fire cuts at you with
8. "its cutting flames, it stabs you with its daggers, it consumes you with its heat, it burns you up with its burning, it sets you on fire with its conflagration, it burns you to ashes with its blazes; it eats you up with its flame, and bites

9. "into you in its name of Set ("fire"), it tries you in its name of Apt-s-ur ("the fire tries"). The fire, provided with huge flames, throws you down into itself and eats into your souls.
10. "O fall ye down, fall ye down, fall ye down therefore, for ye are overthrown; Rā has overthrown you, fall ye down therefore through the impact of his moment. He makes an end to you, an end to you, he destroys you, he overthrows you,
11. "he cuts you asunder, he damns you, he destroys you, he makes an end of your name, he hacks in pieces your soul, he roasts you, he annihilates you, he fetters you, he casts hooks into you, he overthrows you, fall ye down then
12. "through the flame of fire which destroys you; may there never be to thee again a rising up.

"O, come to an end, come to an end, come to an end! Come to an end then, come to an end. May your souls come to an end, may your bodies come to an end, may your shades come to an end, may you come to an end! May you never rise up, may your souls
13. "never rise up, may your body never rise up; may you never rise up, may your shades never rise up, may you never rise up, may your lives never rise up, may you never rise up, may a defender never rise up for you, may your heads
14. "never be fastened again on to your bodies. Retreat therefore ye before Rā, retreat therefore Sebau, may ye never rise up again at the words of power of Thoth. The great God is victorious over you, he casts hooks into you, he causes to be done unto you what your souls hate, fire comes forth from his mouth against
15. "you, be ye therefore consumed, O fiends, may ye never rise up again at the words of power of Thoth. He overthrows you, he hacks you to pieces, he destroys you, the fire coming forth from the eye of Horus judges you, it
16. "devours you to the fulness of its face, it destroys you with the intensity of its flame, and is not repulsed at the moment for which its heart wishes in its name of Mert. Come to an end therefore before it, retreat before it, go back before it,
17. "get thee gone before it, O every enemy of Rā, and every enemy of Horus. It shoots its arrows into you, it makes thee go back, it destroys you, it puts an end to you, it destroys you; may you never have the enjoyment of sexual
18. "pleasures, may ye never have issue from your bodies for ever!

So then Law makes Rā to triumph over you, Apepi, children of inertness, mighty ones of inertness.

Then shall be said four times, 'Rā triumphs over his enemies.'

Then shall be said four times, 'Horus triumphs over his enemies.'
19. "Then shall be said four times, 'Osiris, at the head of those in the nether-world, triumphs over his enemies.'

Then shall be said four times, 'P-āa, life, strength, health, triumphs over his enemies.'

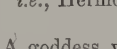
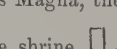
"I have overthrown Apepi, Sebau, Sheta, and Qettu, children of inertness,
20. "in every place in which they are. I have overthrown all the enemies of Rā in every place in which they are. I have overthrown all the enemies of Horus in every place in which they are. I have overthrown all the enemies of

21. "Amen-Rā, lord of the universe, at the head of the Apis, in every place in which they are. I have overthrown all the enemies of Ptah of Memphis, lord of the universe, in every
22. "place in which they are, likewise every enemy of Atmu; likewise every enemy of Thoth,[a] lord of Chemennu;[b] likewise every enemy of Iusāset,[c] lady of Annu (Heliopolis), Hathor, lady of Hetep-hemt,[d] the shade of Atmu; likewise
23. "every enemy of Horus-Chent-Chattha,[e] lord of Kakam;[f] every enemy of Chuaut[g] Neter (?) Shes (?); every enemy of Bast, the mighty lady, lady of Bubastis; every enemy of Osiris, lord of Tattu[h]; every enemy of the 'Ram, lord of Tattu (Mendes),' the great god, the life of
24. "Rā. I have overthrown every enemy of Anher-Shu,[i] the son of Horus the Conccaled, every enemy of Amen-Rā Sam-Behutet,[k] every enemy of Anubis, lord of Siut,[l] every

[a] The divine intelligence, the inventor of arts and sciences and the god of astronomy, numbers, geometry, weights and measures, architecture, sculpture, painting, and music.

[b] *χemennu*, Coptic ϫⲙⲛⲟⲩⲛ, was the sacred name of *Pa-Tehuti*, "the town of Thoth," *i.e.*, Hermopolis Magna, the metropolis of the fifteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

[c] A goddess whose shrine *Ḥet-ḥeka*, was situated at *Annu*, Heliopolis; she was a form of Hathor of Lower Egypt.

[d]  or  *Ḥetep-ḥemt*, the name of a district belonging to the Heliopolitan nome, which, at the time of Ptolemies, formed a kind of supplementary nome with the metropolis *i.e.*, Bilbeis. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 546.

[e] See Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, p. 621.

[f] A name of the great necropolis of Memphis, near the Serapeum, in the desert of Sakkârah; the κωχώμη of Manetho.

[g] *I.e.*, "the protectress," the feminine counterpart of Horus-Chent-Chattha.

[h] Mendes and Busiris both bore the name of Tattu; here Busiris, the metropolis of the ninth nome of Lower Egypt, is referred to.

[i] Anher was the son of Rā, and a form of the god Shu; his name means the "guide of heaven." He is called "the god of lofty plumes residing in Thinis," and is represented wearing See Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mit. Egizia*, p. 75.

[k] Another name for *Pa ḥen-en-Àmen*, the metropolis of the seventeenth nome (Diospolis) of Lower Egypt. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 705. The reading Sam-behutet was first proved by Mr. Renouf.

[l] Lycopolis, the modern Asyûṭ اسيوط. For a list of the Anubis gods see Lanzone, *Dizionario Mit. Eg.* p. 67.

enemy of Horus, lord of those in the east (?), every enemy of Horus of the two eyes[a], lord of Shetenna[b], every enemy of Horus in . . . . . .[c]

COLUMN XXVI.

1. "every enemy of Horus-sam-taiu,[d] lord of Chatet,[e] every enemy of Horus in Pe, Uatit in Tep,[f] every enemy of Horus the aged,[g] lord of the south[h] in every place in
2. which they are; I have overthrown every enemy of Seb in every place in which they are."
   Then shall be said by a person washed and ceremonially pure:
   "Now are ye done for, O every enemy of Rā, and every enemy of P-āa, life, strength, health! in life and in death together with all the schemes which are in your hearts."
3. Then shalt thou write the name of their fathers, mothers, and children, with every . . . . . with green paint upon new papyrus, and shalt also inscribe their names upon wax figures of them which shall be tied round with dark hair; these
4. figures shalt thou spit upon and defile with thy left foot, and pierce with a stone knife. Put these into the flaming fire of the burners, in addition to the [figure with the] name of Apepi, and burn it with the *χessau* plant when Rā rises, when Rā is
5. in culmination, when Rā sets in the land of life, on the first hour of the day, on the . . . . . hour of the night, on the second hour of the night and until the third hour of the night, at daybreak, and likewise at every hour of the day, and every hour of the night. Let a figure be burnt on the festival of the new moon, on the
6. festival of the sixth day, on the festival of the fifteenth day, and likewise [by day] and by month. Then will be overthrown the enemy of Rā, then Apepi will be overthrown in very truth, then will be overthrown the enemy of Rā.
   This book shall be performed after the manner of that which is laid down in writing when the atep boat of the sun goes forth to overthrow the enemy

[a] *I.e.*, lord of the two *uiats* He is thought to be a form of *Àmsu āāh*. Amsu, the moon god of Panopolis, is represented with the head of a hawk and wears and ; in each hand he holds See Lanzone, *Dizionario*, p. 617.

[b] The metropolis of a supplementary nome in Lower Egypt; for the identification of this place see Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 805.

[c] I am unable to transcribe this name.

[d] *I.e.*, Horus, uniter of the North and South.

[e] A name of one of the sacred quarters of Denderah, the metropolis of the sixth nome of Upper Egypt; this name appears to have some reference to the victory of Horus-behutet over Set. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 370.

[f] Pe and Tep were the names of two districts, which together formed the town of *Pa-Uatet*, the metropolis of the nineteenth nome of Lower Egypt, where the goddess Uatet was worshipped.

[g] He was the son of Hathor of Apollinopolis Parva, and brother of Osiris.

[h] See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* pp. 355, 847.

7. of Rā, and every enemy of Horus of the two eyes in Aaat-Peka.[a] It is good for a person if this book is recited before the venerable god regularly and always.

THE BOOK OF OVERTHROWING THE ENEMY OF RA IN THE COURSE OF EVERY DAY.

To be recited:—

8. "Fall down upon thy face Apepi, enemy of Rā; be drowned, be drowned! O thou that comest forth from unknown places, get thee back, get thee back, quickly, quickly; hasten thou to go back as quickly as thou didst come forth. Let there be
9. "overthrow to thee at the pool of heaven, for Rā has commanded thee to be slaughtered. Mighty flame rises up against thee, provided and coming forth from Ap-Hekau,[b] whose two eyes are open observing the two earths. The mighty spell comes forth from the chamber, which is in the shrine, against thee; the hawk
10. "comes forth against thee; the two uraei rear themselves up; and the flame from out of the mouth of the guardians of the secret pylons comes forth against thee. Come to an end, enemy, fiend; be fettered, Apepi. Rā reposes upon his station
11. "within his shrine. Hail to thee Rā, in thy serpent goddess, Mehenet!"

Then shall be said four times:

"Thy voice is triumphant over Apepi, thy voice is Law against thy enemies, and the voice of P-āa, life, strength, health! is triumphant against his enemies.

"Be thou vomited upon, Apepi.

12. The Book of turning back Apepi Char, (the thunder?), which is to be performed at dawn. To be recited:—

"Be thou vomited upon, Apepi, enemy of Rā [To be said] four times.

"O thou that must turn back from him that is in his coffin, come to an end,

13. "thou fiend, and fall down upon thy face, vomit over it! Get thee back to the place whence thou camest, may thy roads be blocked up, may thy paths be obstructed, mayest thou be confined in the place where thou wast yesterday; may thy body be powerless, thy heart feeble and thy limbs torpid.
14. "Thou shalt be annihilated, thou shalt never come forth, thou art decreed for those who preside over the block, the slaughterers who are provided with knives. May they cut off thy head, may they cut in pieces thy neck, may they do for thee a second time, may they throw thee into the flame, and goad thee and terrify thee more
15. "than the flame at its moment. The flame gains the mastery over thee, it devours thy limbs, it gnaws into thy bones, it drives hooks into thy flesh, Chnemu[c] carries off thy

[a] The necropolis of the nome Pharbaethites, the capital of which was Shetennu. See Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* p. 227.

[b] See Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 929.

[c] Chnemu is usually styled the creator and maker of men.

children to his block, thy limbs are transferred to the flame, and thy soul is fettered; may it never traverse the earth, may

16. "thy two hands nevermore exist on this earth, O Apepi, enemy of Rā! Horus the Aged, son of Isis, destroys thee. Thou shalt never have heir or child, thy soul shall never attain to the heaven which Shu supports, thou shalt never

17. "see nor look out of thine eyes, thou art destroyed, and thy shade, O Apepi, enemy of Rā, shall never more exist, vomit thou fiend! Thy name shall come to nought and thou shalt never more be remembered, and thy mastery is completed; be sick over thyself each time thou art mentioned. Rā inflicts thy blows upon thee, thou art

18. "tied up by Isis and fettered by Nephthys, and the virtues of Thoth destroy thee. Thy accursed soul shall never rise up among other souls, thy accursed body shall not be with other bodies; may the fire bite into thee and the flame devour thee, burning thee

19. "up as soon as it rests upon thee, Apepi, enemy of Rā. Rā rejoices, Atmu is full of delight, and the heart of Horus the Aged is glad because Apepi is transferred to the flame, Nekau is transferred to the fire; may he never again exist, and may

20. "the shade of Apepi, the enemy of Rā, never again exist in heaven or earth."
Then shall be said four times, "Be thou spit upon and come to an end, Apepi!"
The above is to be said over a figure of Apepi made of wax, and likewise written on new papyrus. Throw them into the fire in the presence of Rā every day, likewise on the first day of the month, and on every day, and on the festivals of the sixth and

21. fifteenth days; then will Apepi be overthrown on water, on land, and with the stars.

THE BOOK OF KNOWING THE EVOLUTIONS OF RA, AND THE OVERTHROWING OF APEPI.

Column XXVI.

The words of Neb-er-ter who speaks after (or concerning) his coming into existence.

22. "I am he who evolved himself under the form of the god Chepera. I, the evolver of evolutions, evolved myself, the evolver of all evolutions, after many evolutions and developments which came forth from my mouth. There was no heaven, there was no earth, ground—animals and reptiles were not then in existence. I constructed their forms out of the inert mass of watery matter,

23. "I found no place there upon which I could stand. By the strength which was in my will I laid the foundation [of

Column XXVIII.

20. The words of Neb-er-ter who says:—
"I have evolved the evolving of evolutions. I evolved myself under the form of the evolutions of the god Chepera, which were evolved at the beginning of all time. I evolved the evolutions

21. "of the god Chepera, I evolved by the evolution of evolutions, that is to say, I developed myself from the primeval matter which I made, I developed myself out of the primeval matter. My name is Ausares (Osiris?), the germ of primeval matter. I have

22. "wrought my will to its full extent in this earth, I have spread abroad and filled it,

things] in the form of the god Shu, and I made for them every attribute that they have. I was quite alone, for I had not evacuated the god Shu, and I had not spit forth the god Tefnut; there

24. "existed none other who worked with me. I laid the foundation of all things out of my own heart, and the evolutions of things, the evolutions out of the evolutions of their births which took place through the evolutions of their children, became multiplied.

My hand acted for me as a husband, and I copulated with my shadow (or hand);

COLUMN XXVII.

1. "I poured seed into my own mouth, I evacuated the god Shu, and I spat out from my mouth the god Tefnut. My father Nu (the sky) says, 'They eclipse my eye behind them since for long periods of time they depart from me, after that I from being one god became

2. "three gods, from myself, evolved in this land.' Shu and Tefnut rejoiced in the watery mass in which they existed, and they brought to me my eye along with them. After this, then, I collected my limbs, and I wept

3. "over them, and men and women sprang into existence from the tears which fall from my Eye. When it came and found what I had done in its place, it growled at me; with the splendour (*or* might) which I wrought, I restored it and made it take up its place in my face, and afterwards it ruled the

4. "whole of this earth. Their moment fell upon their plants (?), and I restored to it what had been carried off from it. I made plants to spring up, I created all

I lifted up my hand (?) I was quite alone, nothing existed, for I had not evacuated Shu, and I had not yet spit forth Tefnut. I uttered my name, as a word of power, from my own mouth, and I straightway developed

23. "myself by evolutions. I evolved myself under the form of the evolutions of the god Chepera, and I developed myself out of the primeval matter which has evolved multitudes of evolutions from the beginning of time. Nothing existed on this earth [before me], I made all things. There was none

24. "other who worked with me at that time. I made all evolutions there by means of that soul which I raised up there from inertness out of the watery matter. I found no place there upon which I could stand, I was strong in my resolution, and I laid the foundation [of things] out of my own

25. "self, and I performed all that was done. I was quite alone. I laid the foundation [of things] by my own will, I created also the multitudes of things by the evolutions of the god Chepera; and their offspring came into existence from the evolutions of their

26. "births (*or* children). I evacuated and Shu arose, I spat and Tefnut arose; thus from being one god, I became three, out from myself, coming into existence in this land. Shu and Tefnut, then, rejoiced in the watery mass in which they were.

27. "Through my eye I brought them along after long periods of time, and they advanced towards me. I gathered together the limbs of my own person from which they had come forth

reptiles, and everything that existed from them (*i.e.*, Shu and Tefnut?)

5. "Shu and Tefnut give birth to Nut, Seb, Nut giving birth to Osiris, Horus, dwelling in invisibility, Sut, Isis, Nephthys at one birth, one after the other, and their children multiply upon this earth."

after I had begotten them with my hand, and my heart came to me out of my shadow (hand?). I poured seed into my own mouth, I evacuated

COLUMN XXIX.

1. "Shu, and I spat out Tefnut; thus from being one god I became three gods, out of myself, who came into existence in this earth. Therefore Shu and Tefnut rejoiced in the watery mass from which they had arisen. Through my eye I brought them along after long
2. "periods of time. I gathered together the limbs of my own person from which they had come forth after I had begotten them with my hand, and my heart came to me out of my shadow, I poured seed into my own mouth, I evacuated Shu and I spat out Tefnut.
3. "My father Nu (the sky) says, They eclipse my eye behind them, for numbers upon numbers of centuries. Plants and reptiles [came into existence] from the god Rem, [*i.e.*] from the tears which I let fall. My eye cried out and men and women sprang into existence.
4. "I filled [my eye] with flame, it growled against me, and afterwards came another growth in [its] place. Its force fell upon the masses (?) and masses (?) which I
5. "had placed before (*or* in) it, it put order into them and drew near to its place in my face, and ruled the whole earth. Shu and Tefnut bring forth Nut, Osiris, Horus dwelling in invisibility, Sut, Isis and Nephthys, [who] by their children make multitudes
6. "of evolutions upon this earth from the evolutions of the births from the evolu-

tions of their children. They invoke my name and they overthrow their enemies; they create words of power for overthrowing Apepi."

Column XXVII.

6. "The mighty words of power, which are the genius of enchantments, are to be recited, for they are fated to destroy the enemies of Rā by the might of their utterance. May it be fated for me to hear what has become of my limbs. That evil enemy is overthrown, Apepi has fallen into the flame, a knife is stuck
7. "into his head . . . . . his name no longer exists on this earth. It is fated for me to inflict blows upon him, I drive darts into his bones, I destroy his soul in the course of every day, I sever his vertebræ from
8. "his neck, cutting into his flesh with a knife and stabbing through his hide. He is given over to the fire which obtains the mastery over him in its name of "Sechet;" it has power over him in its name of "Chut-ubti-cheft" (Eye
9. "burning the enemy); darts are driven into his soul, his bones are burnt, and his limbs are transferred to the fire. Horus, mighty of strength, has decreed that he shall come in front of the boat of Rā; his fetter of steel ties him up and makes his limbs so that they cannot move; Horus repulses his opportunity during
10. "his eclipse, and he makes him to vomit that which is inside him. Horus fetters, binds, ties up, and Aker takes away his strength that I may separate his flesh
11. "from his bones; that I may fetter his feet, and cut off his two hands and arms; that I may shut up his mouth and lips, and break in his teeth; that I may cut out his tongue from his throat, and carry away his words; that I may block
12. "up his two eyes, and carry off his ears; that I may tear out his heart from its seat and throne, that is to say, from its station; and that I may make him so that he exists not. May his name never exist, and may what is born to him never exist; may he never exist, and may his kinsfolk never exist; may he never exist, and may his relatives never exist; may he never exist,
13. "and may his heir never exist; may his offspring never grow to maturity; may his seed never be established; moreover, may his soul, body, intelligence, shade, words of power and his bones and his skin never more exist! May he fall down and be overthrown and never rise up again! Let the flame
14. "of the eye of Horus grip him. The Striker and the Executioners have their knives and hack at him, they drive their knives into him, and he falls to the ground through the infliction of those evil blows which I have decreed to be
15. "inflicted in the course of every day upon his damnable form. The eye of Horus falls upon

him cutting and hacking his head from his neck; the goddess Sechet tears out his intestines and kicks them on the fire

16. "with her left leg; she places them on the fire and burns into him in her name of "Set-usert-āa" (Fire, victorious mighty one); she burns into him, and drives out his soul from his body; she obtains the mastery over him in her name of "Sechet;" and she overpowers him in her name of "Chut-nebat."
17. "She consumes his interior and blazes in it with the flame of her mouth; Uatit devours [him] and casts herself down against his cavern so that he may never come forth from it again for ever and ever. She constrains those who
18. "have fetters, and they cut in pieces his soul, his body, his shade, his intelligence, and his words of power; they tear out his heart from its place and they destroy his name. He has fallen down, and shall never rise up again, for I have
19. "decreed his annihilation, and the annihilation of his soul. Uatit has seized the bones of Shu (?) at the storehouse of the cater of green things, and she causes his tongue to be split; the goddess Sati also provides destruction for him at the moment of her strength. Sechet places his heart in the flame of the utterance of her
20. "mouth; he falls by her slaughter, and his eye is stopped up. Darts are driven into Apepi and he is overthrown by Rā himself; Rā triumphs over Apepi in the presence of the cycle of the great gods, and a dagger is driven into
21. "his head in the presence of Rā every day. The gods of the south overthrow him, the gods of the north overthrow him, the gods of the west overthrow him,
22. "and the gods of the east overthrow him. The starry deities of Orion of the southern skies fetter him, the Great Bear in the northern heavens turns him back, and those who are in the decans involve him in chains. The fire devours him, the flame consumes him, it drives fiery darts into his bones
23. "and hair, it burns up his members, it shrivels up his skin, and he is utterly overthrown by the hands of the gods. May his name nevermore exist in the mouth of men, and may he nevermore be remembered in the heart of the gods! May he be spit upon each time that his name is mentioned. Rā
24. "has inflicted disasters upon him, he is twice annihilated, he is doubly stabbed by darts of fire, the flame has gripped him, Henbu has fastened upon him; he shall never more breathe, he shall never more breathe, he shall never more smell the breezes, he shall never more smell the breezes. He is
25. "cast into the fire and it burns into his two eyes, its flame slays and devours his face. The gods who are in the divine boat of Rā desire to attack him. O tears that come forth from my eye inflict your blows
26. "upon him, and upon that damnable form of his! Behold, O ye gods, and grant, O ye gods, that his dwelling place and tomb may never exist; grant, O ye gods, that his name may never exist; grant, O ye gods, that his soul, intelligence, shade, bones, and hair may never exist; and grant not unto him, O ye gods, the space of his two hands and arms!

COLUMN XXVIII.

1. "That his children and his accursed heirs may never exist, grant, O ye gods; that his seed may never grow nor lift up its ears, grant, O ye gods; that his words of power may be of none effect, grant, O ye gods; that he may never rise up in heaven or upon earth, grant, O ye gods; that he may never rise up among
2. "the dwellers in the south, north, west and east, grant, O ye gods; and that he may never exist among mortals, grant, O ye gods! May he be in the flame of that eye of Horus, may it obtain the mastery over him in the course of every day,
3. "may it burn in him and never be extinguished for ever and ever. May it seize him at his moment, may it repulse his crocodile, may it burn him and may he come to an end. If Apepi rises up may it grip him, may the flame overthrow him, may Rā himself overthrow him. Rā triumphs over thee. Verily I have
4. "slain thee, verily I have blotted out thy name, and thou art therefore committed to the flame every day, according to what Rā commanded should be done to thee. Behold then, Rā, hear then, Rā, verily I have destroyed thy enemy, I have defiled and trampled upon him with my feet, and I have spit upon him. Rā is made to triumph over thee, and over all his enemies, they have fallen
5. "down and shall never rise up again. The name of Apepi is consumed, inasmuch as I have destroyed his place of habitation, his throne, and his tomb; I have destroyed his soul, his intelligence, his body, his shade, his words of power, his seed, his egg, his bones, and his hair, and he shall be given to the fire
6. "every day according to what Rā has commanded to be done to him. There shall be therefore destruction and seizure and burning for all the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! in death and in life. May their members be hacked in pieces, may they be torn out of their skins, may the lords of Heliopolis make
7. "them their possession and destroy them before thee, O Rā, every day, and may the fire which is in them consume them. May their souls, intelligences, bodies, shades, words of power, bones, hair, strength, utterances and words of power
8. "never more exist; may their graves, homes, habitations and tombs never exist; may their fields, trees and plants never exist; and may they never have water,
9. "bread, fire or warmth; may their children and kinsfolk and heirs and families never exist; may their heads, arms, legs, ears and seed never exist; may their place of habitation upon their own lands never exist; may water never
10. "be poured out for them in this land among the living, and may water never be poured out for them in the Nether-world among the blessed dead.
    Thou hast decreed them to the block of Sechet in Aat-nebt-Asher, thou hast overthrown them at the victorious moment of the Mighty Baby, thou hast
11. "adjudged them to the power of the fetterers among those who dwell in the Nether-world. May their souls never be permitted to come forth from the Nether-world, may they never be among the living upon earth, may they never see Rā

12. "daily, may they be chained in fetters in the depths of the nethermost hell, and may their souls never be permitted to come forth thence for ever and ever. These things are decreed to happen to them because of their cursing Rā in his shrine. The gods in the shrine mete out justice to them, they lay hold upon
13. "the two hands of Apepi, the eye of Horus obtains the mastery over them, and they consume and burn away upon the altars of Sechet, upon the brazier which devours limbs. They are seized in thy presence, Rā, daily, according to what the great god (Rā) decreed should be done to them for ever and for ever.
14. "Thou, O Rā, art seated in thy shrine, thou advancest in the *sekti* boat, thou restest in the *ati* boat, thou traversest thy two heavens in peace, thou obtainest the mastery, thou livest, thou art strong, thou increasest, thou art mighty, thou destroyest by thy decree all thy enemies who do wrong to P-āa, life, strength,
15. "health! with all evil spears (?), every man, every woman, every damned person, every beatified person whatsoever, all the easterns of all foreign lands, and all the enemies of P-āa in death and in life. I have destroyed and made of none effect what thou hast vomited, and thou art fallen, O Apepi. Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi. Four Times. P-āa, life, strength, health! triumphs over
16. "his enemies. Four Times."

This chapter is to be said over a figure of Apepi, inscribed upon new papyrus with green ink, and placed inside a covering upon which his name is written. It must be tied around tightly and put into the fire every day; thou must

17. stamp upon and defile it with thy left foot, and thou shalt spit upon it four times during the course of each day, and when thou placest it in the fire thou shalt say four times, 'Rā triumphs over thee, Apepi, Horus triumphs over his enemies, and P-āa, life, strength and health! triumphs over his enemies.' Next thou shalt
18. write down the names of all the male and female devils of which thy heart is afraid, the names of all the enemies of P-āa, life, strength, health! in death and in life, and the names of their father, mother, and children inside the covering, together with a wax figure of Apepi. These shall then be placed
19. in the fire in the name of Apepi and shall be burnt when Rā rises in the morning; this shalt thou repeat at noon and at evening when Rā sets in the land of life, while there is light at the foot of the mountain. Over each figure of Apepi shalt thou recite the above chapter, in very truth, for the doing of this is of great effect upon earth and in the Nether-world.[a]

Column XXIX.

7. "Rā fetters the two hands and arms and feet of Aker that they may not exist, and he is fastened to one place while Rā inflicts upon him the blows which are
8. "decreed for him. He is thrown over upon his accursed back, his face is gashed because of the

[a] For lines 20—27, col. xxviii., and lines 1—6, col. xxix., see above, col. xxvi., lines 22—24, and col. xxvii., lines 1—5.

evil which he has done, and that accursed form of his remains prostrate. The children of Horus are overthrowing him, they drive away his soul from his body and his shade, and the sages who are in the boat, and the tears of my eye

9. "desire to proceed among them. The disasters of Apepi are decreed, may he never make his courses in this land according to his will! He is annihilated, and his soul is annihilated; those who are in the south overthrow it, those who are in the

10. "north overthrow it, those who are in the west overthrow it, those who are in the east overthrow it. The sages who are in this land, and the cycle of the gods who sprang into existence from the body [of Rā] are watching to overthrow Apepi.

11. "His soul is accursed, his name is destroyed, he is overthrown by your two arms, and his name is caused to be dissipated. May children never exist for him, and may his place of habitation, his soul, his body and his intelligence never more exist. He is given over to the eye of Rā, and it obtains the mastery over him and consumes him. I am decreed to rise up to destroy him, to overthrow his

12. "name, and to make his words of power of none effect. I have decreed them to the flame, I have decreed them to the fire, I have given them over to the eye of Ra, the eye that will consume and devour his soul, his

13. "intelligence, his body, his shade, and his words of power; may he never have sexual pleasure or emission from his body for ever."

This is to be said over a wax figure of Apepi upon which his name has been written with green ink, and over a figure of Apepi inscribed

14. upon new papyrus. Thou shalt also make in wax figures of every enemy of P-āa, in death and in life, and thou shalt write their names upon them in green ink; then shalt thou tie them up inside wrappers, spit upon them, trample upon and defile them with thy left foot, make gashes in them with a knife and throw them into a fire

15. of *χessau* grass, and quench it with the urine of a crocodile. Also, thou shalt paint the names of Apepi and of every enemy of P-āa, in life and in death, upon a slab (?) on the ground and thou shalt trample upon it and defile it

16. with thy left foot, as if it were in very truth an actual person. This figure will know (?) Rā and his evolutions, and will make him to triumph over his enemies.
This book is a mystery [to be said] in the chamber, let no eye see it. The "Secret book of overthrowing Apepi" and the "Book of words of power" are its names.

17. "Apepi is destroyed, his fiends are cut off, Rā triumphs over his enemies, and the divine boats are made to advance in peace. Apepi is made to retreat to the fire, he is made to advance to the divine block of execution, that filth (*i.e.*, Apepi)

18. "is beaten into nothing in very truth, repulsed and made to turn back are his soul, his body, his intelligence, his shade, his children, his kinsfolk, his family, his relatives, his heirs, his hair, his belongings, his evolutions, his body, his

19. "egg, his name, his substance, his arms, his legs, his speech, his words of power, his strength, his seat, his cavern, his tomb, and his two accursed hands; he is overthrown, and his ear is taken off from him. O Rā, thy *sekti* boat

20. advances, and the knife which is in it is made to gain the mastery over him in the presence of Rā every day. When Rā hears this book recited his heart is fortified, his boat is made to advance in peace, and Apepi in his every name is destroyed. "Adoration to the god who causes his strength

21. "to come into existence, the writing is tied up, Nekau and Kettu are cut in pieces, and the god rejoices in coming into existence," says Isis.
Rā, who makes the Fiend to retreat, who blinds his two eyes from covering up the height of heaven, in very truth, who drives darts into his soul as well

22. as into his body, who turns back his bones and places them in the fire, who makes him drive his teeth into his own body, says, "He is given over into the hand of the executioners of Rā, he is made to retreat."
To be recited:—
"Back thou Apepi, thou thing upon which Rā treads! Back thou claw of strife,

23. "thou enemy, thou legless and armless Fiend, whose children are destroyed in coming forth within thy cavern, thou thing upon which Rā treads and which he has turned back. I know the evil which thou hast wrought. Thy head

24. "shall be cut off, thy slaughter shall be consummated, thou shalt not lift up thy face against the great god, let there be fire upon thy face, let there be flame upon thy soul, may the mighty block of execution destroy thy flesh, mayest thou smell the slaughter of the great god! The goddess Serqet curses thee and turns

25. "thee back. O thou that didst twice attempt to come in, twice wast thou overthrown by this word of power which came forth from my mouth. Thou art given over to the flame and it destroys thee; thou art cast down into the fire by the eye of Horus upon thy face. Thou art fallen upon thy face and thy soul is overthrown. The eye of Rā obtains

26. "the mastery over thee. Thou art fallen, thou art fallen, thou art driven back, thou art driven back; O legless and armless serpent, fall down upon thy face. Duration of life shall not be to thee, for thou shall go into the fiery brazier, and the Great God, the self-produced, shall

27. "overthrow thee; those who are in his boat shall destroy thee with the might of their utterance and with the words of power which come forth from their bellies. Thou art thrown upon thy back and thy throat is cut open. The executioners of Sechet are for slaying thee,

Column XXX.

1. "their mouths are buried in thy flesh, they stab thee, letting thy blood fall on the fire, they cut open thy head with a knife, and the mighty god removes thy ears. Retreat, retreat, go back, go back, thou art overthrown, thou

2. "art destroyed, thy footsteps are removed, for the great god carries away thy legs. Rā comes forth and Horus the mighty rises up; they curse thee and Rā triumphs over thee. Thou art spit upon, O thou enemy, Rā slays thee,

3. "vomit thou over thyself. Thou art fallen, thou art come to an end and thy two eyes are

blocked up (?); Rā utters words of power to fetter thee. That which cometh into existence from thee has come to an end, thy belongings are destroyed, they body and shade are made an end of, and thy words of power are made of none effect.

4. "Rā takes away thy life from thee, and the moisture of thy mouth and thy breath shall never more exist. Thou art thrown down, thou art made an end of, the god lays hold of thee with fettering irons, thou art decreed for a mighty slaughter, thy fiends are destroyed, thou art without hands and feet, and thou hast no strength of heart in

5. "its place. Thou art cut in pieces and hacked asunder. Retreat, retreat, go back, for the dagger of Horus comes forth against thee. The chain of Sut is thrown over thy head, Rā himself destroys thee, thy voice is broken and thy cries

6. "cannot be heard. O, thou art destroyed, and made an end of; may that which cometh into existence from thee never rise up. Thou art given over to the eye of Horus and it obtains mastery over thee in the course of every day. O Apepi, enemy of Rā, Rā and Atmu destroy thee, they turn thee back

7. "by the might of their utterances. Thou hearest my words of power, and thou diest according to what Rā commanded should be done unto thee. O enemy of Rā, I know what thou doest. Come, get thee back in thy accursed turn, thou art fallen at thy evil moment. Rā blocks thy way and curses

8. "thee, and the great cycle of the gods judges Apepi, the enemy of Rā. Thou art cast down and overthrown, and thou art seized by irons at that moment. Thou art given over to the knife, and together with those knives which are in the boat of Rā, it obtains the mastery over thee. Thou art given over to

9. "the fire, and it obtains the mastery over thee in the course of every day. Thou art given over to the block, and Isis overthrows thee with her words of power. Thou art given over to the eye of Horus, and Usert Ubti[a] consumes thy soul. Thou art given over to Horus, into the two hands

10. "of the mighty god, and he comes against thee having his dagger in his hand. Thou art given over to Sut, the son of Nut, and he severs thy vertebrae and cuts into thy neck, and he fetters thee with that victorious chain of his which is in his hands. Thou art given over to the eye of Rā, and the burning fiery eye

11. "of Horus bites into thy carcase. Thou art given over to the rowers and sailors of Rā, and they set thy head down on the ground. Thou art given over to Horus, dwelling in invisibility, which is in Sechem, and art cut to pieces by his knife.

12. "Thou art given over to the keepers of the secret pylons, their flames come forth against thee and devour thee, and mighty dread rests upon thy body, O enemy of Rā; thou shalt never advance nor pass on, thou shalt never [again] come

13. "into existence, and there shall never rise up and come forth to thee a soul from among those who are in the Nether-world. Thou art given over to the flame of the utterance [of Rā], and the hawk of Horus comes forth against thee from among those who are in the East. Thou art given over

[a] *I.e.*, "mighty flame."

14. " to the words of power which are in him, those who are in their shrines accomplish their purposes against thee, and they slay thee again and again. Thou art given over to the fire of the God which is on the altar of the eater of limbs (?) in the cavern of the rowers of Rā
15. " at the block of Thoth. Each god receives his weapon(?), and their hearts are satisfied in performing thy slaughter. O Apepi, enemy of Rā, get thee back, retreat, down with thy head, even to the dust! Thy ears are destroyed, thy eyes are blinded, and there is an end to thee. Mayest thou and thy form and
16. " thy attribute never more exist, mayest thou never come to Rā in his two heavens. Rā is in heaven and he triumphs over thee. May thy tail be placed in thine own mouth, mayest thou bite into thine own skin, and
17. " mayest thou be hacked in pieces upon the altar of the gods of the great cycle in Heliopolis! thou art cast down and overthrown, and they make thee to fall. Disasters and flames come forth against thee out of the fire, out of the midst of the fire they cry out to thee, they set their faces against thee
18. " from out of their flames, they hack at thee with knives of flint, they burn thee in thy windings, they destroy thee with the knives which are in their hands, the children of Horus destroy thee, their words of power enter into thee,
19. " their powers turn against thee, thou art accursed upon the water (?), and thou art accursed in all the deeds which thou didst perform in that evil hour. Make no attempt upon the *sekti* boat of the gods, get thee back,
20. " Fiend, thy soul is destroyed, thou art cut asunder, thou art driven back from the divine bark, thou art accursed, thou art driven back, the eye of Rā devours thee. Get thee back, Fiend, an end to thee; Horus has
21. ". . . . . in thee. O broken Apepi, Rā has obtained the mastery over his enemy. The eye of Rā devours thee in its name of " Devourer," it gnaws into thee and consumes thee by the magical words of the utterances
22. " [of Horus and Rā], the flames smite thee and thou diest through them, they cast thee down, they repulse thee and they obtain the mastery over thee! Thou vomitest, there is an end to thee, thou art turned back, and the great cycle of the gods in Heliopolis cuts thee in pieces; the mighty ones who multiply
23. " the deadly spark of the flame fetter thee with hooks. Thou art given over to the flames of those who are in its name [of . . . .], it (*i. e.* the spark) makes an end of thee, and meets thee in thy accursed exit. There is fire against thee, it bites into thy flesh, it makes an end to thee with
24. " flame which burns up thy soul, and it consumes thy bones and thy flesh. The eye of Horus and the eye of Rā work against thee, and Sut drives his lance into thee. The deadly lion, the soul of Bast, the
25. " lady of slaughter, is against thee, and he reposes on thy blood. Let there be fire upon all thy ways! The goddess Pechit, blazing with fire, the mighty lady of slaughter, the mistress of the spark, works evil against thee, she removes thy flesh, she does harm to thy soul, and she burns thee

26. "up with flame. O Apepi, enemy of Rā, the cycle of the great gods who are in their shrines in front of the boat of Rā consumes thee that thou mayest nevermore exist. Mayest thou never be avenged, mayest thou lie down prostrate and nevermore be roused up! Rā has overthrown thee for ever, thou shalt never be stationed in

COLUMN XXXI.

1. "heaven, thou shalt never exist upon earth. Thou shalt be a victim to that great knife, and thou shalt be slaughtered again and again. Fall down, then, by the knife of the god, a net is thrown over thy head, the spear is in
2. "thy stomach, and the darts of Rā are driven into thy form. Thou art overthrown at thy evil moment, thou art burnt up at the moment of Horus. The god comes forth against the Fiend, Apepi is overthrown. Thy face, Apepi, is on the block
3. "at that place where Rā spits, thou art destroyed by it for ever. Mayest thou never have sexual pleasure or emission from thy body, may thy male offspring never exist, may thy egg never grow! The gods that come forth from the eye of
4. "Horus shall cut thee in pieces and thou shalt pass away. Thou art fallen and Rā-Harmachis overthrows thee, he comes against thee with the dagger in his hand, he makes a successful design against thee, and thou becomest non-existent. An end to thee, then, Apepi, enemy of Rā! Four times.

   Mayest thou never come into existence! May thy soul never exist, may thy *ka*
5. "never exist, may thy body never exist, mayest thou never exist! May thy limbs never exist, mayest thou never exist, may thy arms never exist, may thy limbs never exist, mayest thou never exist, may thy bones never exist, mayest thou never exist, may thy words of power never exist, mayest thou never exist, mayest
6. "thou never exist, mayest thou never exist, may thy form never exist. Mayest thou never exist, may thy attributes never exist; mayest thou never exist, may that which springs from thee never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy hair never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy possessions never exist; mayest
7. "thou never exist, may thy emission never exist; mayest thou never exist, may the material of thy body never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy seat never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy tomb never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy cavern never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy funeral chamber never exist;
8. "mayest thou never exist, may thy paths never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy seasons never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy words never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy entrance never come to pass; mayest thou never exist, may thy journeyings never exist; mayest thou never exist,
9. "may thy advances never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy coming never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy sitting never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy growing never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy body never exist; mayest thou never exist, may thy prosperity never exist!
10. "Thou art smitten, Apepi, enemy of Rā, thou shalt die, thou shalt die. Thou shalt perish,

thy name shall perish, thy teeth shall become powerless, thy . . . . . shall pass away, thou shalt be blind and shalt not see. Fall down

11. "upon thy face! Thou art overthrown, overthrown, destroyed, destroyed, made an end of, made an end of, hacked in pieces, hacked in pieces, slaughtered, slaughtered, cut to pieces, cut to pieces, chopped asunder, chopped asunder, butchered, butchered. Thy head is cut off by that knife in the presence of Rā daily. Aker thee to judgment dooms,

12. "and he turns back Apepi's bones. Retreat thou, for Rā Harmachis overthrows thee. Thou art given over to the god who brings destruction upon thee. He says,

"The daggers of Horus are driven into thy head, and they cut it off from thy neck; thy soul is overthrown, thy shade shall never exist, thou art destroyed

13. "at the divine block. Thy head is cut off and thou art thrown down upon thy back; get thee back, O fiend, enemy of Rā. Thou art cut to pieces at thy accursed exit. The eye of Horus eats thee and bites into thee, its heart is satisfied

14. "when its fire and its flame are directed against thee. Get thee back, Apepi, with that accursed foot of thine! The cycle of the gods lift up their faces against thee, and they spit their flame into thy eye. There is fire against thee, a deadly

15. "fire, which masters thee, and burns thee away, and consumes thee. Thou art given over to the flame which is in its mouth, it cuts thee in pieces; Rā turns back thy eyes, and Horus blinds thee from his boat; the flame obtains mastery over thy throat and it performs thy slaughter. There is a knife in thee, and it

16. "destroys thy limbs. Thou shalt never come to the boat of the great god, for Rā himself turns thee back. Thou art at the block and thy face is laid upon it. The gods who are in the shrine of Rā overthrow thee, and the shrine overthrows

17. "thee; thou art walled up, and thy two ears are removed."

Isis overthrows thee with her words of power, she smashes thy mouth, she removes thy ears, she will never give Rā over to thee, for ever, for ever

18. "and for ever. That spear of Rā turns back into thy limbs, be silent, be stabbed, die, live not! Isis and Nephthys overthrow thee, and together they turn back thy crocodile; get thee gone, retreat, be blind, perish, be destroyed thy

19. "soul, live not, for ever and ever. Thy opportunity departs, and the flame of fire which is in thy body takes away thy strength. There is fire upon thee, it grips thy body, and burns thy bones, when thou comest forth it burns thy

20. "soul and gnaws thy body. Thou art seized by the mighty fire which flames against thy limbs, and then returnest to thy block.

Rā makes Thoth to slay thee with his words of power. Thou shalt never come to the

21. "boat of Rā, for Rā himself turns thee back. He knows all the evil which thou hast done. "The flame of those who are in the south is against thee, and masters thee," says divine Sothis Anqet, decreeing what is to be done to thee. "The flame of those who are in the north is against thee and masters

22. "thee," says Uatit, lady of Pe and Tep, decreeing what is to be done to thee. "The flame of those who are in the west is against thee and masters thee," says Kesun, lord of those in

the west, decreeing what is to be done unto thee. "The flame of those who are in the east is against thee and masters thee," says Sept, lord of those

23. "who are in the east, decreeing what is to be done to thee. Mayest thou never exist in any place in which thou art. Behold thou, the flame masters thee. Thou art given over to the flame of the eye of Rā, it decrees its flame against thee in its name of

24. "Uatit, it eats into thee in its name of "Eater," it obtains the mastery over thee in its name of "Sechet," and it flames against thee in its name of "Flame." Die thou by the flame of fire, be there blindness to thee! The eye of Horus obtains the

25. "mastery over thee, it removes thy two hands, it carries away thy two feet, and decrees thy disasters. Rā says, "Let evil arise to thee." Horus says, "Let slaughter be made of thee, be thou spit upon, fettered, and overthrown!

26. "May thy soul be carried away from thy shade, may thy head be fettered, *otherwise said*, may thy head be cut off, may thy bones be smashed, may thy flesh be torn from thy limbs, may thy soul be turned back from thy shade, and thy body be brought to nought: and mayest thou nevermore exist! Thou art seized

27. "by the fire, tortured and turned back." The might of the uraei of Rā overthrows thee, the fire of their mouths chews thee up. Thou art given over to the fire, it blazes in thee, it sparkles in thee, it destroys

Column XXXII.

1. "thy soul at the divine block; the great cycle of the gods rages at thee by reason of that work which thy two hands have wrought. Amen in his Apts enfeebles

2. "thee, and drives his horn into thy neck. Isis says, "It is decreed that thy ways shall be stopped." Her son Horus shuts up thy name. Tefnut says, "The water is turned away from thee, and thou art seized when thou comest forth from it." Shu drives his spear into thee, saying, "Be thou drowned, and never come forth, O Apepi, enemy of Rā."

3. "Be thou spit upon, Apepi. Four times. Be spit upon O every enemy of P-āa, life, strength, health! in death in life."

THE BOOK OF OVERTHROWING APEPI.

To be recited:—

4. "O Rā, O Atmu, O Chepera, O Shu, O Tefnut, O Seb, O Nut, O Osiris, O Horus, O Isis, O Nephthys, O Shu, O Tefnut, O Hu, O Sau, O Osiris, lord of Kakam (Cochome), O Hiku, the genius of Rā, the deceased P-āa comes to you,

5. "he casts fire against Apepi, he carries off the . . . . . of the Fiend, he gives joy to the boat of millions of years. The hearts of the rowers of Rā are in exultation within his shrine, the souls of the gods rest in his horizon,

6. "the gods who are in it give to him adorations. Rā is at the head of Het-Mesq, Horus comes forth upon his station.

"Rā triumphs over his enemies. Four times.

"P-āa triumphs over his enemies. Four times."

ANOTHER BOOK OF OVERTHROWING APEPI.

"O every man, woman, dead person, and unborn person whatsoever who would
7. "do harm to P-āa, O ye gods who would do violence to him, may he be in your sight like a great god, lord of heaven! May all his tongues cry out to Nebau when he travels over the two heavens and earth with fulness
8. "of breezes, when Rā destroys his enemies! May he be a messenger to Heliopolis to propitiate the heart of Atmu and his Powers, and to put Northern and Southern
9. "Heliopolis in delight! May he be in your sight like the golden *abtu* fish under the boat of Rā! He terrifies all the enemies of Rā, he gives power to the heart of Horus; he crushes the enemies of Rā, he gives joy in the heart of Horus; he
10. "sets the rudder in the boat of the great heart of Rā reposing in its shrine: he destroys all fiends. The *māāt* boat is in strength of heart, the *sektet* boat is in peace, *otherwise said*, in fair winds. The goddess Heset is united to her lord in exultation. Rā is protecting him, Rā is
11. "protecting the soul of P-āa, Rā protects him, protects him against every man, every woman, every dead person, and every unborn person whomsoever. Rā will shut every mouth which would speak any evil thing against P-āa. He will make thy face
12. "blind and he will watch carefully any person who would do any evil or wicked thing to him. Rā opens the mouth of P-āa life, strength, health! against every man, every woman, every dead person, and every unborn person whatsoever."

This chapter is to be said when Rā is . . . . . in order to make him live long.

.. *Here endeth the book of Neb-er-ter.*

13. The Accursed Names of Apepi.
14. Apepi, Fiend, bristling with terror.
15. Apepi, Fiend, Doubly evil One.
16. Apepi, Fiend, with face turned behind.
17. Apepi, Fiend, Roarer.
18. Apepi, Fiend, Evil doer.
19. Apepi, Fiend, Qerner or Qelnel.
20. Apepi, Fiend, Iubani.
21. Apepi, Fiend, Devourer.
22. Apepi, Fiend, Adversary of the world.
23. Apepi, Fiend, Eclipser of the earth.
24. Apepi, Fiend, Chermuti.
25. Apepi, Fiend, Monkey (?).
26. Apepi, Fiend, Tortoise.
27. Apepi, Fiend, Destroyer of the world (?).
28. Apepi, Fiend, Strong-face.

29. Apepi, Fiend, Unti.
30. Apepi, Fiend, Karau-ememti.
31. Apepi, Fiend, Repulsive of face.
32. Apepi, Fiend, Devil of Devils.
33. Apepi, Fiend, Rebel.
34. Apepi, Fiend, Chan-re- . . . . -uāa, *otherwise said*, Cha . . . . . .
35. Apepi, Fiend, Nai.
36. Apepi, Fiend, Am.
37. Apepi, Fiend, Turre-pa (?).
38. Apepi, Fiend, Iuba.
39. Apepi, Fiend, Uai.
40. Apepi, Fiend, Fourfold Charebutu.
41. Apepi, Fiend, Sau.
42. Apepi, Fiend, Beteshu (Inert One).
43. The inscriptions which are to be written upon new papyrus for the coverings [of the wax
44. figures of Apepi and the other fiends] which are to be thrown upon the ground and put in the fire.

Make a figure of a serpent having his tail in his mouth, and a knife stuck in his back,
45. and cast it upon the ground, saying, "Apepi, Fiend, Betet."
46. Make another mystery of words, *i e.*, make four other figures of the
47. enemies [of Rā] having the faces of . . . . . , fetter them and tie their hands
48. behind them [and call them] "Children of inertness."

Make another serpent with the face of a cat, having a knife stuck in it, [and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Roarer."
49. Make another with the face of a . . . . . , having its knife [stuck in it, and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Aat-qar-Uaba.
50. Make another with the face of a crocodile, having its knife [stuck in it, and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Hauna-aru-her-hra."
51. Make another image of the Fiend with the face of a duck, having its knife [stuck in it, and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Unti."
52. Make another figure with the face of a white cat, tie it up and fetter it and [put] its knife [in it, and cast it upon the ground] saying, "Apepi, the Fiend."
53. Make four other images each having the face of a duck, tie their hands and their feet together, and stick knives in their backs; [let them represent the] "Children of inertness."

A Hymn of Praise to be recited after the foregoing.

1. "Hail father! lord of the gods, mighty one of the great cycle of the gods!
2. Hail thou primeval matter from which the gods were formed, hail creator of men, hail thou evolver of all evolved things which came into existence after thou thyself wast evolved!
3. I am thy son, thy heart in very truth, that strength of heart which comes forth from thy mysterious being, and commemorates their coming into existence from thee with words of power for

4. making thy beautiful virtues which come forth from my mouth to make protection for thee;
   I am perfect with plans.
5. Come, O Rā, look with thy two eyes, and be graciously pleased with what I have done.
   I have overthrown Apepi for thee
6. at his moment, I have destroyed him within his cavern. Horus the two-eyed has his weapon
   to cut off the head of thy enemy. Menhi (*i.e.*, the executioner)
7. has his mighty knife and he cuts off the head of thy fiend; the flame
8. devours him and shoots fire into his soul [as he lies] on his block.
   Thy soul is joyful, thy soul is joyful. Thou sailest along the sky with fair
9. winds. Come, O look thou with thine eye at what I have done with the limbs of Apepi . . .
   the enemy. He is shut up in restraint, his body
10. is destroyed and blotted out from the horizon of An-Peqa, and of thy two heavens; thy towns
    are saved and possess stability. Thou art
11. firm, thou art strong, thou growest, thou growest, thou risest, thou risest, thou shinest, thou
    shinest every day.
12. Thou risest in thy boat, thy heart is dilated with joy, thy children fill thy heart.
13. Rā cries out to the Enemy, the serpent whose face is turned behind him, "Away with thee,"
    and utters horrible cries against him when
14. he is at his block; he then turns round and crushes him.
    Hail thou who comest forth from the horizon over all lands with strength of heart, thy
    heart, O Rā, rejoices every day.
15. Apepi the fire has cast down, and the flame has carried away Nekau; the heart of Amen-Rā,
    lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of
16. the Apts, rejoices, for his enemy has fallen beneath him.
    Rā triumphs over Apepi, Rā triumphs over Apepi,
    Rā triumphs over Apepi, Rā triumphs over Apepi.
17. Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of the Apts, triumphs over his
    enemy.
    Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of the Apts, triumphs over his
    enemy.
    Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of the Apts, triumphs over his
    enemy.
    Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the earth, at the head of the Apts, triumphs over his
    enemy.
    Atmu, lord of Setemet, triumphs over his enemy.
    Atmu, lord of Setemet, triumphs over his enemy.
    Atmu, lord of Setemet, triumphs over his enemy.
    Atmu, lord of Setemet, triumphs over his enemy.
18. Thoth, perfect in enchantments, lord of divine words, triumphs over his enemy.
    Thoth, perfect in enchantments, lord of divine words, triumphs over his enemy.
    Thoth, perfect in enchantments, lord of divine words, triumphs over his enemy.
    Thoth, perfect in enchantments, lord of divine words, triumphs over his enemy."

Here endeth the book.

THE FESTIVAL SONGS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS.

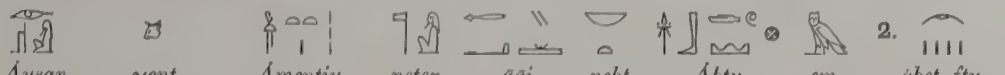
(British Museum Egyptian Papyrus 10188.)

Column I.

1.

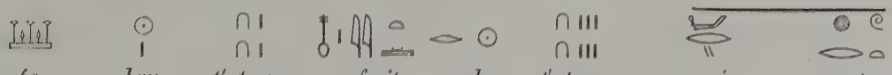
Ḥā *em* *ḥet* *nu* *ḥeb* *t'erti* *ári* *em* *pa*

Beginning of the chapters of the festival of the two Terti, made in the temple of



Áusar *χent* *Ámentiu* *neter* *āāi* *nebt* *Ábṭu* *em* 2. *ábeṭ fṭu*

Osiris, at the head of the Amentiu, god great, lord of Abydos, in month four

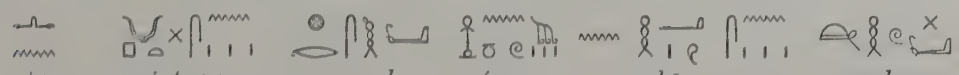


śa *ḥru* *t'at-sen* *neferit* *er ḥru* *t'at-sas* *seri* *χertu*

of the sowing, day twenty-two up to day twenty-six. Written with reference to

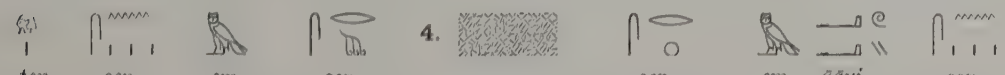
pa *áu* *t'er - f* *án* *χertu* *set* *āb* 3. *ḥā*

temple to entirety its, brought with reference to women pure of limbs,



án *ápt - sen* *χersek* *śennu* *en* *ḥāu - sen* *meḥu*

not polluted are they, removed (is) the hair of limbs their, crowned (are)



ṭep - sen *em* *ser* 4. *ser* *em* *āāui - sen*

heads their with ram's wool, [placed are] tambourines in two hands their,

[a] The words over which a black line is printed are, in the papyrus, written in red.

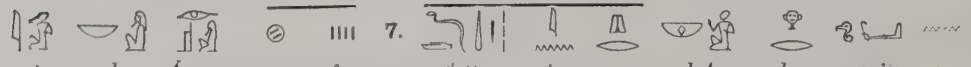
mātennu *ren* - *sen* *ḥer* *ermen-sen* *er* *Áuset* *Nebt-ḥet*
inscribed (are) names their upon two arms their 'To Isis and Nephthys.'

5.

ḥes-sen *em* *ḥet* *nu* *śāt* *ten* *embaḥ* *neter* *pen*
chant they in the chapters of book this before god this.

6.

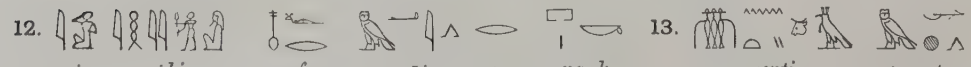
t'eṭ *χer* *sen*
is said by them.



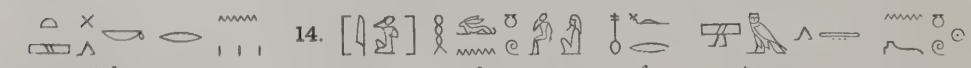
ȧ *neb* *Áusar* *sep* *fṭu* 7. *t'eṭṭu* *ȧn* *χer* - *ḥeb* *ḥer* *nerȧu* *en*
'O lord Osiris,' times four. Says the precentor at the front of

pa *pen* 8. *āa* *ḥer* (?) *en* *ta* *sep* *fṭu* 9. *t'eṭṭu* *ȧn* *ḥenksti*
temple this, 'O..... chief of earth' times four. Say the women with flowing hair.

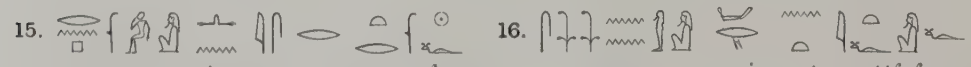
10. *ḥunnu* *nefer* *māȧ* *er* *pa-k* 11. *t'erā* *ȧn* *maa-n-θ*
"Boy beautiful, come to house thy at once; not see we thee.



12. *ȧ* *ȧḥi* *nefer* *māȧ* *er* *pa-k* 13. *χenti* *emχet*
O boy beautiful, come to house thy, approaching after

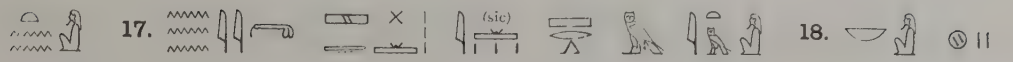


teś-k *er-n* 14. *ȧ* *ḥunnu* *nefer* *śem* - *ta* *ennu*
departure thy from us. O boy beautiful, piloting the hour.



15. *renp* *ȧn* *ȧs* *er* *trȧ-f* 16. *senen* *seri* *ent* *ȧtf-f*
increasing except at season his. Image exalted of father his

[a] In this papyrus, after every title of the Sun-god, and the name of everything relating to him, the determinative of divinity, , is placed.



17. *Tanen* *māi* *śeta* *per* *em* *Átmu* 18. *neb* *sep sen*

Tanen, essence hidden coming forth from Atmu. The lord, twice,

tennu *su* *er* *ȧtf-f* 19. *sems* *em* *χat* *en*

how great (is) he more than father his! Eldest from the womb of

mut-f 20. *ḥa* *iu-k* *en* *n* *em* *ȧru-k* 21. *ḥapt-n-tu*

mother his. Back come thou to us in attribute thy. Embrace will we thee,

ȧn *ḥeru-k* *er* *n* 22. *nefer* *ḥrȧ* *ur* *merτu* 23. *senen* *Tanen*

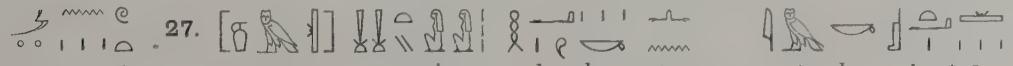
not depart thou from us, beautiful of face, great of love. The image of Tanen,

t'a *nebt* *net'emt'em* 24. *em* *ȧp* *χat* 25. *ḳenen*

the male, lord of love. [child]? opening the womb, feeble (are)

ḥāu-f *em* *ennuḥ-f* 26. *iu-k* *em* *ḥetep* *neb-n*

limbs his in emotion his. Come thou in peace lord our



maa - n - tu 27. *χuem* *senti* *ḥāu-k* *ȧn* *ȧm-k* *ȧuset-ā*

see we thee. Unite the two sisters limbs thy, not (is there) in thee pain,

28. . . . . *ṭu* *mȧ* *enti* *ȧn* *χeper-f*

[they destroy] the evil as if never happened had it.

Column II.

1. *ṭep - n* *ȧn* *ḥer* *ḥrȧ-n* 2. *perti* *āat* *emma* *neteru*

Head our (is) turned back upon face our. Mighty one great among the gods,

3.

ȧn neχebu-s mātennu ȧri - nek

not described (is) it the road (which) makest thou,

4.

pa χi ḫunnu

the babe, child

ȧu trȧui ȧn ȧs

at two seasons .....

5.

rer-k pet ta em

Goest round thou heaven and earth in

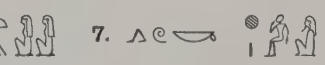
ȧru-k

attribute thy.

6.

ȧu-k em ka ent senti

Art thou like a bull of the two sisters.

7. 

iu-k χi

Come, thou babe,

renp em ḥetep

renewing in setting,

8.

neb-n maa-n-tu

lord our, let see us thee.

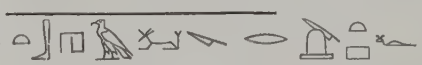
9.

sam-k ȧm-n

Let phallus thy be among us

mȧ sam

like the phallus of

10. 

Tebha er nemmat-f

Tebha at (*or* against) block his.

11.

iu-k em ḥetep nu

Come thou in peace, babe.

ur nu ȧtf - f

great one of father his.

12.

men-tu em pa-k ȧn sent-k

Established art thou in house thy, not fearest thou.

13.

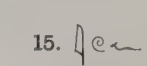
se - k Ḥeru net' - ḫrȧ-k

Son thy Horus avenges thee.

14.

nekȧu mās - su

The devil may carried off be he,

15. 

ȧu f

may be he

em χebait-f ent χet hru neb

in cavern his of flame day every,

16.

śāt ren-f emmā

may be slain name his among

neteru nebu

the gods all,

17.

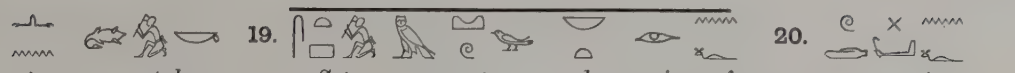
Tebha χep-s āṭi

Tebha may die it finally.

18.

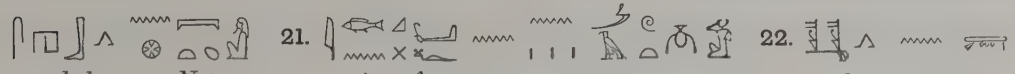
ȧu-k ȧu pa-k

Art thou in house thy,



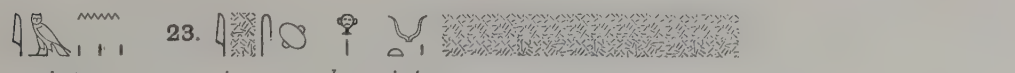
ân *senṯ-k* 19. *Sut* *em* *ṯu* *nebt* *àri* *nef* 20. *uṯ-nef*

not fearest thou Sut in evil all (that) does he. Has shot him (what)



sehab *Nut* 21. *ànq-f* *en* *n* *maatu* 22. *seḫ* *en* *ta*

sent forth Nut Embraces he us joyfully travelling on earth



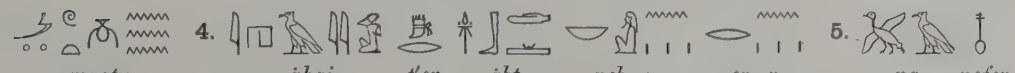
àm-n 23. *à . . . s* *ḥer* *àpt* . . . . . .

among us, ... to open . . . . . .

Column III.

1. *stastau* 2. *maa-n* *em* *bàf* *ḥer* *ḥrâ-k* 3. *uſiḥ*

apostates (?) Two eyes our (are) looking upon face thy blazing with

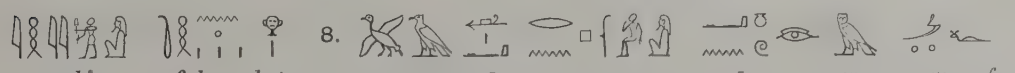


maatu 4. *àhai* *t'er* *àbṯ* *neb-n* *er-n* 5. *pa* *nefer*

radiance. Hail from the left lord our from us. The beautiful

ḥrà *nebt* *mertu* 6. *pa* *ka* *sati* *em* *kauit* 7. *mâà*

face lord of love, the bull sowing seed in the cows. Come

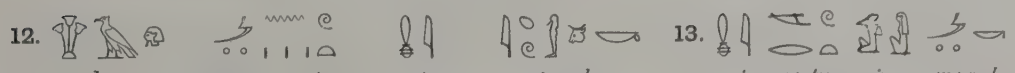


àḫi *θehen* *ḥrà* 8. *pa* *uā* *renp* *ānnu* *em* *maa-f*

boy saffron face, the ONE increasing, beautiful in two eyes his.

9. *neb* *em* *ḥemt* 10. *t'a* *en* *kauit* 11. *pa* *χi* *ḥer* *neferu*

Lord among women, male of the cows. the child chief of beauties.



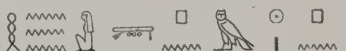
12. *ḥa* *maa-n-tu* *mà* *àru-k* 13. *mà* *mertu-à* *maa-k*

Once more let see us thee as well as what belongs to thee, as love I to see thee.

14.
nuk *senât-k* *Âuset* *mertu* *âb - k*
I am sister thy Isis the darling of heart thy,

15.
ḥer - sa *mertu-k*
because of love for thee

ḥer-tu

16. 
meḥ - â *ta* *pen* *em hru pen*

17.
seḥ-k *ḥes - tu*
when departest thou. Inundate I earth this on day this. Travellest thou, hymned (art) thou

âm-n

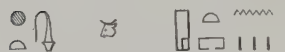
18.
un-n *ânχ* *em* *ḳa-k*
by us, springs up to us life out of nothingness thy.

19.
iu-k *em* *ḥetep*
Come thou in peace

neb-n *maa-n-tu*
lord our, let see us thee.

20.
â *ser* *mââ* *em* *ḥetep*
O prince coming in peace,

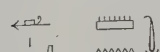
21.
seḥerâut
drive away the


χet *χent* *ḥet-n*

22.
sam-k *âm-n* *mâ* *sam*
flame which is upon temple our, may phallus thy be among us like the phallus of (Tebha)."

23.
s-âšt *t'eṭṭu* *ân..* *ḥenksti*
Repetition of words by the women with flowing hair.

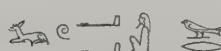
42.
â Âusar ka Âmentiu
"O Osiris, bull of the Amentiu,

25. 
uâ *men*

tennu *[su]* *er* *neteru*
ONE, established, how great is [he] more than the gods!

26.
χi *benen*
Baby, virile,

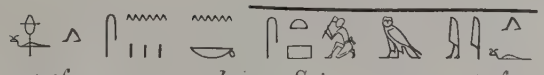
Column IV.

1. 
âuââ *ur* *en* *Sebu*
heir mighty of Seb,

2.
mestu *neter* *em* *neteru*
born god of gods,

3.
iu-k *en* *χart*
come thou to the two widows.

4.
rer-nek *paut* *neteru* *tem-θ*
Go round thee the cycle of the gods entire,

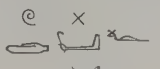
5. 

χesef - sen nek Sut em ī-f
meet they thee. Sut in coming his

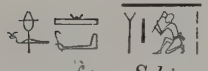
6.

aha ren-f
cursed (be) cursed name his

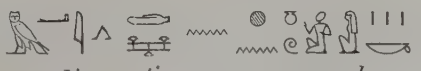
em ḥa kerȧut em baḳ ȧtf-k Rā
behind the shrine before father thy Rā,

7. 

uṭ-f
[who] darts out



χesef Sebȧu
repulsing the fiend.

8. 

māȧ ṭi en χennu-k
Come, wait relatives thy,

9.

χesef meḥi
drive away sorrow

χent ḥet-n
from temple our,

10.

māȧ ṭi en χennu-k
come, wait relatives thy.

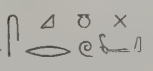
11.

ȧn tut erek
Not (is there) like unto thee

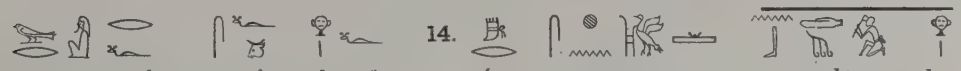
θȧs em uāi
sitting in solitude.

12.

neb-n em ḥetep ȧuset-f
Lord our in peace (is) seat his.

13. 

seqernu
Victor,



ur eref sef ḫrȧ-f
greater than he [is] long-suffering his,

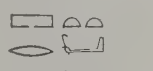
14.

t'er seχennu nebṭ ḥer
when hovers the Lock upon

χerui-f
enemies his.

15.

ḳut-f ta em seχeru-f
Moulds he the earth according to designs his.

16. 

pertet
Mighty comer forth,

āat emmā neteru
great one among the gods,

17.

paut neteru nek em ḥetep maȧuset
the cycle of the gods (are) to thee upon shanks (their),

18.

mȧ tennu-k er neteru
inasmuch as greater (art) thou than the gods.

19.

χenṭ - ȧ ta tennu
Tread I the earth, O very

ur enti χat 20. *χut em ṭep-f* 21. *mes-su em baḥ ȧb-f*

great one of the womb! The crown (is) upon head his, born (is) he before heart his,

em ī tennu 22. *t'et neter nebt mertu tennu āśt*

in coming, how great! Body divine, lord of love, how exceedingly manifold

mertu 23. *pa ba ānχ-k em nem* 24. *χnem senti*

of love! O soul livest thou a second time. unite the two sisters

ḥāu-k 25. *speru ṭi erek t'er em-baḥ* 26. *neχtu - nek*

limbs thy, approaching waiting for thee long time. Proclaimed mighty art thou

em śen-[k] 27. *mȧ* ..... *neteru nebt*

in circuit thy, as ..... the gods all.

Column V.

1. *māȧ ṭi χennu-k* 2. *ȧtf-k Rā kahabu*

Come wait relatives thy. Father thy Rā butts

ȧu nebt 3. *rer-nek paut neteru em śen-k χesef-sen*

against the Lock. Go round thee the cycle of the gods in circuit thy, repulse they

nek Ṭeśu ṭer-k ȧu ur en erpetet-k

for thee the fiends. Remove thou the unpleasantness great of images thy.

5. *pa-k em ḥeb ṭu ȧu nemmat-f Sebȧu em ṭu em*

Temple thy (is) in festival, the evil one (is) at block his, the fiend (is) in evil case by what

ȧri-nef 6. *ȧuḥenu-f* *ta* *em* *seχeru-f* *qesn* 7. *ḥabu-f*

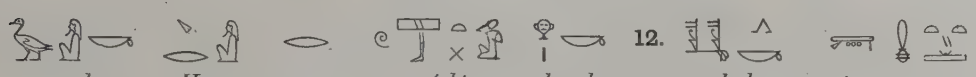
done has he. Drowns he the earth with schemes his empty. Drives off him

Nut *er* *se-taiu* 8. *χetχet* *mās* *em* *ḥebt*

Nut from Setaiu, turning back bringing into the storehouse,

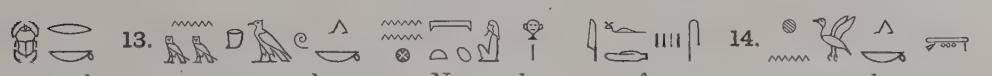
9. *mās* *er* *nemmat* *Sebȧu* 10. *ȧtf-k* *Rā* *er* *neṭ* *ser-k*

bringing to the block Sebȧu. Father thy Rā (is) for avenging constraint thy,



11. *se-k* *Ḥeru* *er* *uśebt* *ḥer-k* 12. *seḥ-k* *ta* *mȧtet*

son thy Horus (is) for answering for thee. Traversest thou earth as



χeper-k 13. *nemmetau-k* *Nut* *ḥer* *ȧfṭ-s* 14. *χen-k* *ta*

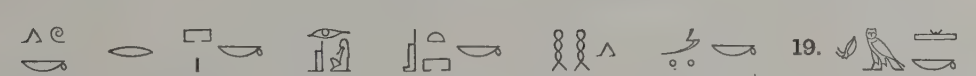
turnest thou, stridest thou Nut over four quarters its. Restest thou on earth

ḥer *neterui* *het-ȧt* 15. *reḥti* *ḥer* *rer* *nek* 16. *χi-tu*

upon the divine dwellings, the two *reḥti* are for going round thee. Exalted (art) thou,

sep sen *māk* *Sut* *em* *ḥebt* 17. *Sebȧu-k* *ȧn* *un-nef*

twice, verily Sut is in the storehouse. Sebȧu thy not may rise up he.

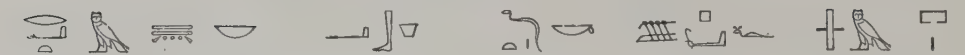


18. *iu-k* *er* *pa-k* *Ȧusar* *ȧuset-k* *ḥeḥ* *maa-k* 19. *setem-k*

Come thou to house thy Osiris, seat thy (is) seeking to see thee. Hearest thou

semȧu *ent* *Ḥeru* *ḥer* *āāiu* *mut-f* *Ȧuset* 20. *χesef-k*

the report of Horus at the two hands of mother his Isis. Keepest off thou



erṭāt em taui neb āb t'et-k seśep-f ȧm pa
placed in lands all what comes against body thy, receives he what is in the house

śāt-k 21. *neter āā ḥetem-tu em ȧru-k* 22. *em ḥeru*
of books thy. O god, great, shut up art thou in attributes thy, not go away

er pa-k Ȧusar 23. *iu-k em ḥetep er ȧuset-k nebt neràu*
from house thy Osiris. Come thou in peace to place thy every, victorious one

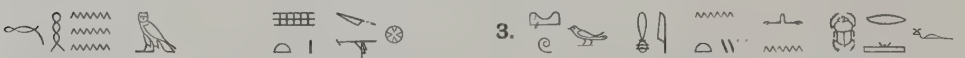
ānnu em χeperu-f 24. *pa ka ur nebt nt'emt'em*
beautiful in becoming his, the bull, great, lord of love.

25. *apṭ-k senȧ-k Ȧuset* 26. *χersek sati ȧri*
Duck thy (is) sister thy Isis removing the impurity which (is)

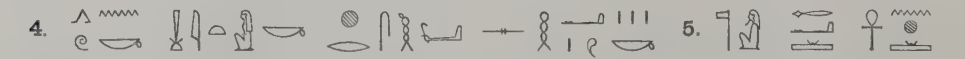
ȧm-k 27. *ḥapt - s - tu ȧn ḥeru-k er-n neb-n*
in thee. Embraces she thee, not depart thou from us lord our.

Column VI.

1. *Ṭ'ā-k ānχ em ḥāt em śeb* (?) 2. *ȧhai χuu-k*
Gavest thou life from the beginning ..... Hail, protectest thou



meḥ em sept Tes 3. *ṭu mȧ enti ȧn χeper-f*
(what) flows from the nome of Aphroditopolis, evil as if never became it.



4. *iu-nek senȧt-k χersek-s ḥāu-k* 5. *neter āā ānχ*
Comes to thee sister thy, cleanses she limbs thy. God, great, living one,

6. *ur mertu rertu su er ḥer en ḥetep qemā meḥit* 7. *χaker-tu*

great of love, dandled (is) he in the presence of Qemā Mehit Decorated art thou

nebt χakeru 8. *t'a ur ḥer neferu* 9. *iu-k en*

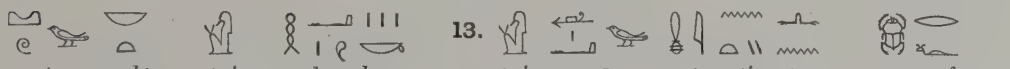
the lord of decorated things, male, mighty one, chief of beauties. Comes to thee

mut-k Nut peś-s ḥer-k em iu-k nes 10. *māket-s*

mother thy Nut, spreads out she herself over thee in coming thy to her. Protects she

ḥāu-k eṛ ṭu nebt 11. *śem-s ten* (sic) *em χennu-s* 12. *seḥeràu-s*

limbs thy against evil all, advances she ..... within her, drives away she

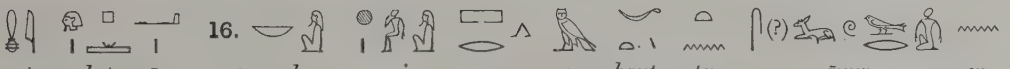


ṭu nebt àri ḥāu-k 13. *àri uā mà enti àn χeper-f*

evil all which is in limbs thy, the guardian solitary, as if never had happened it,

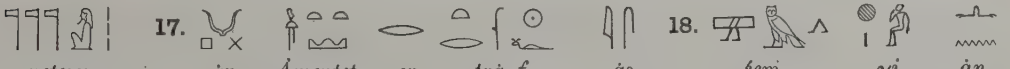
14. *set χi neb per em Nut* 15. *àri nef ta pen*

clothing the baby, the lord, coming forth from Nut. Makes he land this



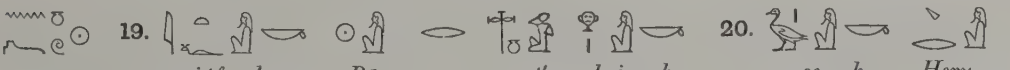
mà ḥetep-ā 16. *neb χi per em kaut ten āuur en*

as in olden time, the lord, the baby, coming forth from womb this, heir, mighty one of



neteru 17. *àp Àmentet er trà-f às* 18. *śem χi àn*

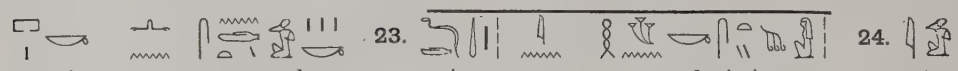
the gods, opener of Amenti at season his. Behold, advances the baby not



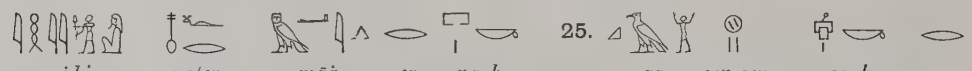
ennu 19. *àtf - k Rā er net' ḥrà - k* 20. *se - k Ḥeru*

seeing. Father thy Rā is for avenging thee, son thy Horus is

ḥer nubàu - tuk 21. *sut em ṭu nebt àri nef* 22. *iu-k er*
for protecting thee (against) Sut in evil all (which) done has he. Come thou to



pa-k àn seṇṭ - k 23. *t'ettu àn ḥenksti* 24. *à*
house thy without fear thou." Say the women with flowing hair: "O



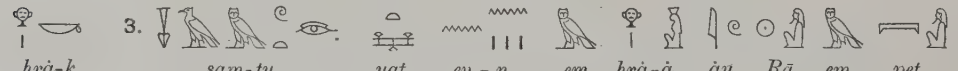
àḥi nefer māà er pa-k 25. *qa sep sen sa-k er*
boy, beautiful, come to house thy. Exalted twice, let side thy be to

pa-k 26. *àu neteru ḥer àuset - sen* 27. *nuk set χut en*
house thy, towards the gods upon seat their. I am a person the defender of

senà-s 28. *ḥemt-k senà en mut-k*
brother her, wife thy, the sister of mother thy,

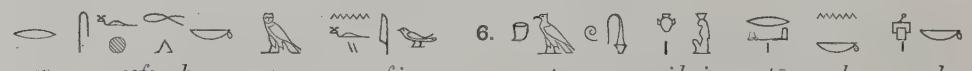
Column VII.

1. *iu-k nà em χeχ* 2. *t'er-àb maa ḥrà-k àu sa àn maa-à*
come thou to me running. Firm of heart, let be seen face thy, because (?) not see I



ḥrà-k 3. *sam-tu uat en - n em ḥrà-à àu Rā em pet*
face thy. Make clear thou the way for us before face my to Rā in heaven.

4. *sam pet ta àri χebit em ta màn* 5. *tau àb - à*
Unites heaven (with) earth making shade on the earth daily. Burns heart my



er sefeχ-k em nefià 6. *tau àb-à erṭā - nek sa-k*
at escape thy from the evil one. Burns heart my, give thou side thy

er-ȧ *ȧu* *ȧn* *sep* *qem* *nek* *su* *er-ȧ* *ȧṭi* *ȧat*

to me, for not ever remove thou it from me. Making firm the two domains

tenemem *uat* *ȧu-ȧ* *ḥeḥ* *en* *mertu* *maa-k* *un-ȧ*

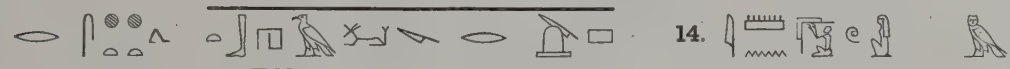
turning back the roads, am I seeking of love to see thee. Am I

em *nut* *āat* *nehat - s* *meḫt - ȧ* *en* *mertu-k*

in the town mighty (are) fortifications its. Overcome am I by love thy

er-ȧ *māȧ* *em* *uā* *em* *ḥeru* *māk* *se-k*

for me, come alone do not depart. Verily son thy (is)

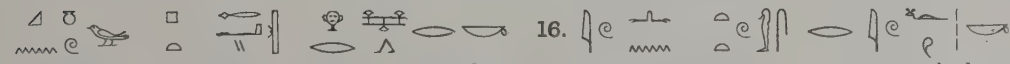


er *seχetχet* *Tebha* *er* *nemmat* *ȧmen - uȧ* *em*

for repulsing Tebha at the block. Concealed have I myself in

bȧa *er* *seḥapu* *se-k* *er* *uśebt-k* *ḥer* *sep*

the bushes to hide son thy for answering thee, for the time



qennu *pu* *āāi* *ḥer* *er-k* *ȧu* *ȧn* *tut-s* *er* *ȧuf - k*

of distress to wit great departing from thee. Is not gathering she for limbs thy?

śem-ȧ *em* *uā* *rer-ȧ* *em* *bȧa* *ȧu* *tennu* *em*

Advance I alone, go round I among the bushes. Is a very great

aṭ *er* *se - k* *set* *em* *ḥrȧu* *ȧu* *t'a* *pu*

crocodile after son thy, a female with faces (?) against the male to wit.

20.

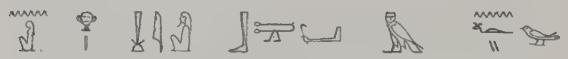
nuk às reχ-kuà ḥnā Ánpu

I but know I in conjunction with Anubis.

21.

rer-nà uat tenemem

Go round I the ways, turn back



nà ḥer senà bati em neſi

I after brother [my] leaping from the evil one.

22.

tau àbu en

Burning (are) the hearts of

ḥefnu ḥrâu

myriads of faces.

23.

maut āāi em neteru

Splendour great among the gods,

24.

bef - n neb

may see (?) we the lord.

25.

àn uśer en mertu-k ḥer ḥrà-n

Not may there be lack of love thy upon faces our,

26.

pa sam

the phallus,

nebt net'emt'em

lord of love,

27.

net nebt ḥeḥ

king, lord of eternity,

Column VIII.

1.

āχ em ānχ ḥeq t'etta

flying as he lives, ruler of everlasting,

2.

ḳau àn reχ

destroyer of Àn-reχ

3.

suten net neb ut'a er Tasertet

king of north and south, the lord going forth from Tasertet.

àu àn sep-

May there never be a time

k meḥ-nà àb-à àm-f

to thee fill I heart my with it.

4.

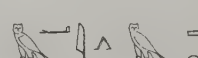
senà neb ut'a er sept Àqertet

Brother, lord, going forth from the nome of Aqertet.

5.

iu-k nà em àru - k

Come thou to me in attribute thy,

6. 

māà em ḥetep sep sen

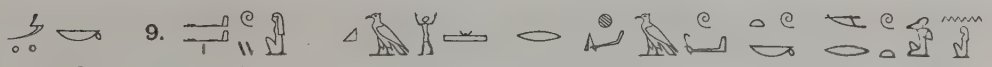
come in peace twice.

7.

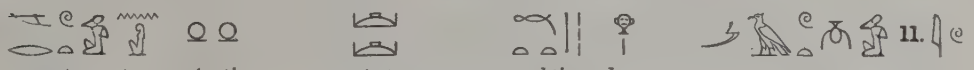
net ser

King, great one,

māà em ḥetep ḥa maa-n ḥrà-k mà χent mà mertu - nà
come in peace. Again may see we face thy as before according as love I



maa-k āāui-à qa er χau - tuk mertu - nà
to see thee. Two hands my (are) exalted to protect thee, love I,



mertu - nà śenti àat meḫtiu ḥer maatu àu
love I the circuits of the two regions, the northern ones (are) in recollection. Is

seśep - nek ṭep art àm sen χemu-k em ānti
received by thee a head of hair (?) from them, breezes thy (are) of incense.

hai senà nebt mertu iu-k em ḥetep er àuset-k à
Husband, brother, lord of love, come thou in peace to seat thy. O

àḥi nefer māà er pa-k t'er-ā sep sen àuk em àb
boy, beautiful, come to house thy at once, twice. Art thou coming.

śeta χet-k em ka Àmentiu àuset śeta àuf-k χent
Secret (are) things thy as bull of the Amentiu, place of secrecy (is) flesh thy in

pa ḥennu hai em ren-k en ḥeq t'etta
the house of Ḥennu. Hail in name thy of prince of eternity.

iu - nek Ḥeru em neχt χersek-f ḥāu-k seqā - f
Comes to thee Horus with strength, delivers he limbs thy, collects he

nek *erṭuu* *per* *ȧm-k* 20. *ȧb* *t'et-k* *neter*

for thee emanations coming forth from thee. Approaches body thy the god

ȧȧi *ḥetem - tu* *em* *ȧru-k* 21. *iu-k* *em ḥetep* *neb-n*

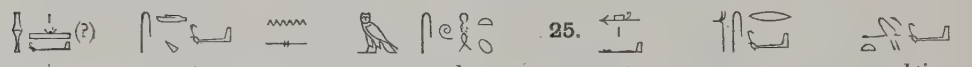
great, O closed up thou in attribute thy. Come thou in peace lord our

renp *em* *nem* 22. *se-k* *Ḥeru* *net' ḥra-k* 23. *mȧȧ*

rejuvenescent a second time. Son thy Horus avenges thee. Come

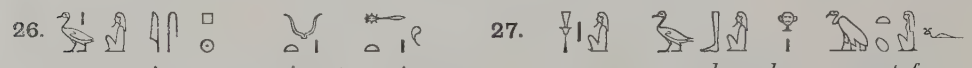
χent *pa-k* *bāḥu* *neter* *ḥet-k* *em* *mertu-k* 24. *ȧθi*

to house thy, inundate divine house thy with love thy. Sovereign,



χerp *seṭ* *nes* *em* *suḥt* 25. *uā* *user* *peḥti*

chief, distinguished was it in the egg, only one, strong one, powerful one,



26. *se* *ȧs* *pu* *ȧp* *χat* 27. *seχem* *seb* *ḥer* *mut-f*

son, in sooth, opener of the womb, divine power of Seb by mother his.

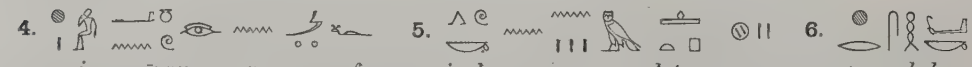
Column IX.

1. *χaker* *āāi* *mertu* 2. *ȧri* *er* *Ȧmentiu* *qennu-f* *aṭi*

Decorated one, great of love, working for the Amentiu, overthows he disaster.

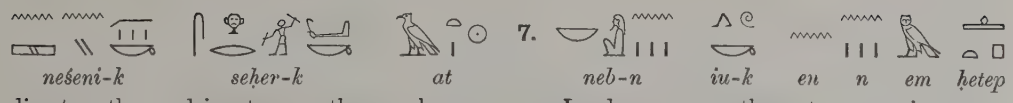
3. *nebt* *ṭūaut* *ka* *Ȧmentiu* *mestu* *en* *Rā* *Ḥeru-χuti*

Lord of the underworld, bull of the Amentiu, image of Rā and Horus of the double horizon.



4. *χi* *ānnu* *en* *maa-f* 5. *iu-k* *en* *n* *em* *ḥetep* *sep sen* 6. *χersek-k*

Baby, beautiful in sight his, come thou to us in peace, twice. Repellest thou

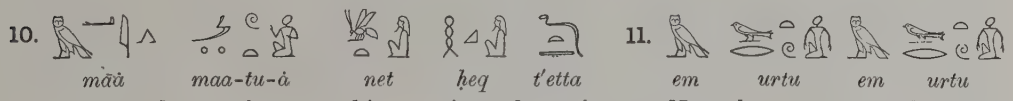


neśeni-k *seḥer-k* *at* 7. *neb-n* *iu-k* *en* *n* *em* *ḥetep*

disasters thy, drivest away thou hap. Lord our, come thou to us in peace

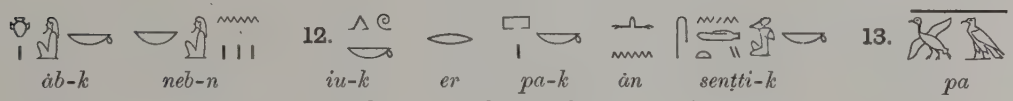
sep sen *hai* *renp* *māà* *em* *ḥetep* *hai* *senà*

twice. Hail, rejuvenescent, come in peace. Hail brother,



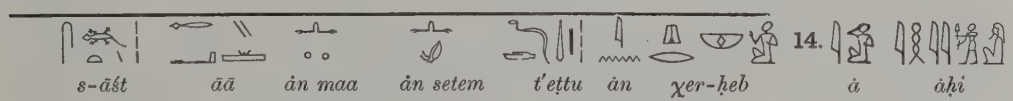
māà *maa-tu-à* *net* *ḥeq* *t'etta* *em* *urtu* *em* *urtu*

come, let see thee me, king, prince of eternity. Not let stop, not let stop



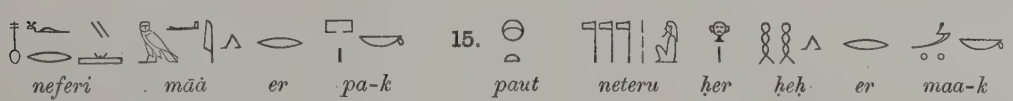
àb-k *neb-n* *iu-k* *er* *pa-k* *àn* *senṭti-k* *pa*

heart thy lord our. Come thou to house thy not fear thou, O



s-āśt *āā* *àn maa* *àn setem* *t'eṭtu* *àn* *χer-ḥeb* *à* *àḥi*

multiplying one, great, not seeing, not hearing. Says the precentor, "O boy,

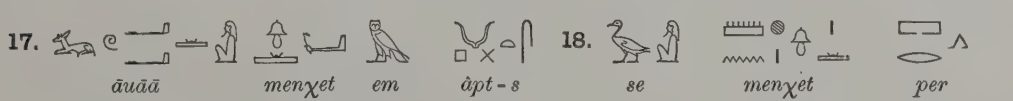


neferi *māà* *er* *pa-k* *paut* *neteru* *ḥer* *ḥeḥ* *er* *maa-k*

beautiful, come to house thy, the cycle of the gods (are) seeking to see thee.

χi *neb* *àp* *χat* *set* *mertu - k* *ḥer* *ḥrà-k*

Child, lord, opener of the womb, baby, beloved (art) thou for face thy,



āuāā *menχet* *em* *àpt - s* *se* *menχet* *per*

heir perfect, in opening it. Son perfect, coming forth

em *maa* *setem* *ḥet* *meḥt* *en* *Âuset* *ḥer - k* *em*

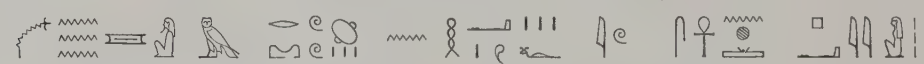
from the god of hearing and seeing. O house, grieves Isis over thee, not

ḥeru *er* *âuset-k* 20. *neḥem* *ṭep-sen* *en* *mertu-k*
go away from place thy. May be delivered head their by love thy,

21. *âkebu* - *sen* *nek* *em* *âar* *mâs* *ṭep* 22. *Un-nefer*
lament they for thee tying up the curls of the head. Un-nefer,

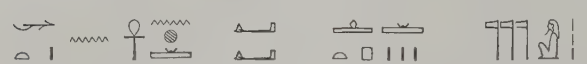
nebt *t'efau* (sic) *ser* *ur* *em* *śefi-f* 23. *neter* *ḥer*
lord of food, chief, mighty by terrors his, god, president

neteru 24. *meḥ-k* *utet* *su* 25. *entek* *heru* *âu* *neteru*
of the gods; inundatest thou, engendered are they. Art thou gentler than the gods.



26. . . . . *em* *erṭuu* *en* *ḥâu-f* *âu* *seânχ* *pâi*
The liquid of the emanations of limbs his (is) for making live the dead

reχiu 27. *nebt* (sic) *t'efau* *ḥeq* *uat'uat'* 28. *nebt* *ur*
and the living. Lord of food, prince of vegetables, the lord, great,



χet *en* *ânχ* *ṭâṭâ* *ḥetepu* *neteru*
staff of life giving offerings (to) the gods and

Column X.

1. *per* *χeru* *en* *χu* 2. *Seśeta* *nebt* *nemmât*
sepulchral meals to the beatified dead. Seśeta lord of the couch,

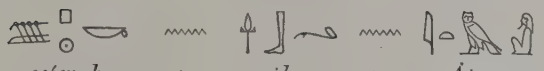
3. *nebt* *ut'au* *seśeta* *em* *χut* 4. *seśep* *er* *trâ-f*
lord of the eyes hidden in the horizon, shining at time his,

5.

uben *er* *ennu-f*
rising at period his.

6.

entek *χu* *āper* *mau*
Thou art *χu* provided with splendour.

7. 

seśep-k *en* *ȧb* *en* *Ȧtmu*
Shinest thou at the left hand of Ȧtmu,

8.

maa-k *em* *ȧuset* *Rā*
lookest thou from the seat of Rā

9.

sȧm *maaui - tuf* *sāḥu-k*
collecting splendours his (in) form thy.

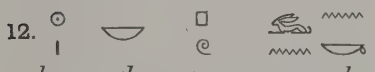
10.

āpi *ba-k*
Flies soul thy

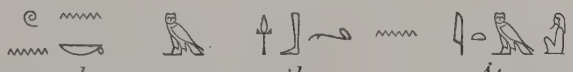
emχet *Rā*
after Rā,

11.

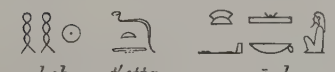
pesṯ-k *em* *ṯūau* *ḥetep-k* *em* *māśer*
shinest thou at dawn, settest thou at twilight,

12. 

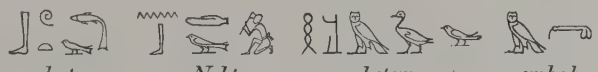
hru *neb* *pu* *un-nek*
day every to wit risest thou.

13. 

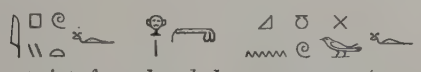
un-nek *em* *ȧb* *en* *Ȧtmu*
Risest(?) thou from the left hand of Ȧtmu



ḥeḥ *t'etta* *χā-k*
for ever and ever, risest thou.

14. 

batu *Nebṯ* *ḥetem* *embaḥ*
Accursed (is the) Lock, destroyed before

15. 

ȧpi-tuf *ḥer-baḥ* *qennu-f*
doom his, before failure his,

16.

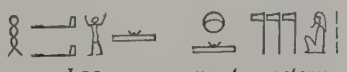
un *χer-f* *ān* *Sebȧu*
is he turning back Sebau

neken *tui* *ī* *er - f*
attacker that coming against him.

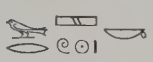
17.

Ȧmseḥti *āuāā -*
Ȧmseḥti heir

f erek *suaś* *- f* *neteru* *nebt*
is he to thee. Worship him gods all,

19. 

ḥāā *paut* *neteru*
rejoices the cycle of the gods



em *χesef-k* 20. *urśu-k* *χer* *Rā* *hru* *neb* 21. *tut* *maa-k*

in meeting thee. Occupation thy (is) with Rā day every, steadily lookest thou

em *ȧbt* 22. *tut* *mau-k* *en* *ānχiu* 23. *entek* *χu*

from the left, steadily lookest thou at the living. Thou art *χu*,

ȧtennu *en* *Rā* 24. (*sic*) *iu* *nek* *paut* *neteru* *ṭemθ* 25. *ḥer*

the vicar of Rā, comes to thee the cycle of the gods all at

ṭep-k *hen* *em* *ḥrȧ-k* 26. *peḥ* *nesert - s* *er* *χeft-k*

head thy invoking at face thy. Reaches flame its (*sic*) unto enemies thy.

27. *ḥāā* *erek* *en* *n* *ȧnq* - *nek* *qesu-k* 28. *ȧpi-tu*

Rejoicing therefore (is) to us (when) collected hast thou bones thy, reckoned up (is)

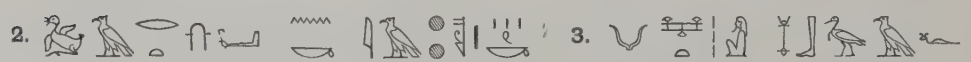
t'et-k *hru* *neb*

body thy day every.

Column XI.

1. *āq - k* *mȧ* *Ȧtmu* *er* *ennu - f* *ȧn* *ḥepḥep*

Enterest thou like Ȧtmu at hour his, without turning,



2. *t'art* - *nek* *ȧaχeχ-k* 3. *ȧp* *uat* *āba - f*

strengthened (are) for thee bones thy. Ȧp-uat presents he

nek *ṭu* *neḳa - f* *sam-ta* 4. (*sic*) *iu-nek* *nebt*

to thee a mountain, hews out he a burial place. Comes to thee the lord of

Tasertet *iu-nek* *sentiti* *seχem* *nek* *en-n* *maui*

Tasert, come to thee the two sisters. Obtained hast thou for us splendours,

tut - sen *ḥāu-k* *nek* *em* *kemtu* *ḥeḥ* *er*

collect they limbs thy for thee from the mutilations, seeking to

ennu *χa - k* *enen* *āu* *ḥer-sen* *seχent-k* *er* *śennu-n*

put together body thy. Those impurities (which are) upon them set thou upon hair our,

iu-k *en - n* *tem* *seχau - k* *iu-k* *em*

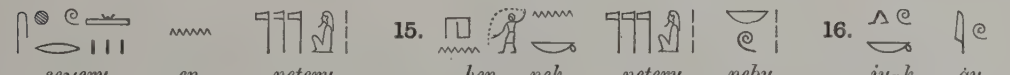
come thou to us without unpleasant recollection thy. Come thou in

āru-k *ḥer* *ḥetep* *ta* *ruāa* *tenten - k* *ḥetep-k* *en-n*

attribute thy as prince of the earth, lay aside impetuosity thy, rest thou upon us

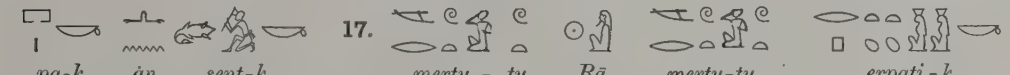
nebt *śeṭu* *āuāā* *taui* *neter* *uā* *menχet*

O lord. Be proclaimed heir of the two earths, god, only one, completing



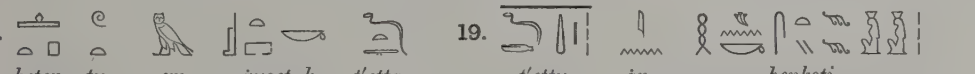
seχeru *en* *neteru* *hen - nek* *neteru* *nebu* *iu-k* *ȧu*

the designs of the gods. Invoke thee the gods all, come thou to



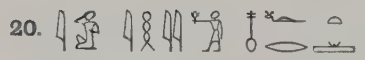
pa-k *ȧn* *senṭ-k* *mertu - tu* *Rā* *mertu-tu* *erpati - k*

house thy, not fear thou. Beloved art thou Rā, beloved art thou of Likenesses thy.



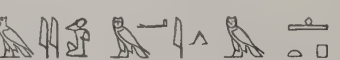
ḥetep - tu *em* *ȧuset-k* *t'etta* *t'eṭṭu* *ȧn* *ḥenksti*

Restest thou on seat thy for ever." Say the women with flowing hair,

20. 
21.

à *àḥi* *nefer* *māà* *er* *pa-k* *ḳa* *sep sen* *sa-k*

"O boy, beautiful, come to house thy, exalted, twice, back thy

22. 

er *pa-k* *àu* *neteru* *ḥer* *àuset-sen* *ḥai* *māà* *em* *ḥetep*

(is) to house thy. Are the gods upon seat their. Hail, come in peace,

23.
24.

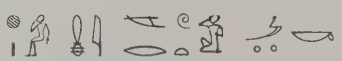
net *māà* *em* *ḥetep* *se-k* *Ḥeru* *er* *net'* *ḥrà-k*

king, come in peace. Son thy Horus (is) for avenging thee.

25.
26.

ṭā-k *āu* *ur* *er* *erpatì-k* *ḥai-n*

Give thou unpleasantness great to two Likenesses thy. Weep we

27. 
28.

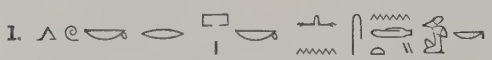
ḥer-k *em* *χentàu-k* *χi* *mà* *mertu* *maa-k* *māà*

for thee at sepulchres thy. Baby how lovely to see thee! Come,

māà *en-n* *ur* *χau-k* *mertu-n*

come to us great one, protect thou love our.

Column XII.

1. 
2.

iu-k *er* *pa-k* *àn* *senṭti-k* *à* *neteru* *àmu* *pet*

Come thou to house thy, not fear thou. O gods in heaven,

3.
4.

à *neteru* *àmu* *ta* *à* *neteru* *àmu* *ṭāaut*

O gods on earth, O gods in the underworld,

5.
6.

à *neteru* *àmu* . . . . . *à* *neteru* *àmu*

O gods in the watery deep, O gods who are among

śesu . . . . . *śes-n* *χer* *nebt* *nebt* *mertu* *senà*

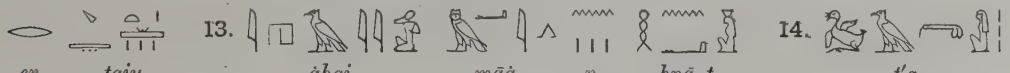
the followers of the deep, follow we after the lord, the lord of love. O Brother,

[*sam*] *neb* *net'emt'em* *àhai* *māà* *nà* *sam*

phallus, lord of love, hail! come to me, uniting

pet *er* *ta* *χeper* *χebit* *em* *ta* *màn* *hab* *pet*

heaven to the earth, becoming shadow on the earth daily. Messenger of heaven



er *taiu* *àhai* *māà* - *n* *ḥnā-t* *t'a*

to earth, hail, come we with thee (?), the impregnator

ḥemt *em* *nut* *ḥeḥ* *neb-n* *śem-à* *ta* *er* *hau*

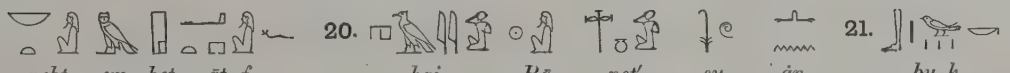
of the women in the town (who) seek lord our. Traverse I the earth towards

neb-n *māà* - *nà* *hab* *pet* *er* *taiu* *erṭā* *iu*

lord our. Come to me messenger of heaven to the earth. Is given to come

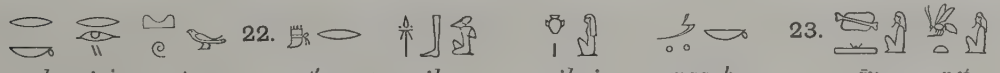
neter *er* *àuset-f* *sensen* *em* *nefu* *er* *fent-k* *àu* *nef* *em*

the god to seat his. Is breathing of winds to nose thy. Is the wind with the



nebt *em* *ḥet* - *āt-f* *hai* *Rā* *net'* *su* *àn* *bu-k*

lord in palace his. Hail, Rā avenged is he, (are) not disasters thy



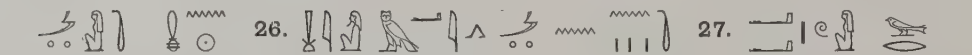
erek *àri* *ṭu* *t'er* *àb* *àb-à* *maa-k* *āu* *net*

to thee making evil. The limit of the desire of heart my is to see thee, heir, king,

24. 25.

χi *ānnu* *hai* *neb* *mertu* *māȧ* - *nȧ* *neb*

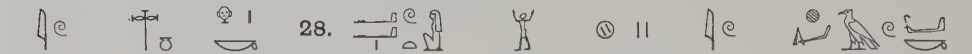
babe, beautiful! Hail, lord of love, come to me, O lord,



26. 27.

maa-ȧ-θ *mȧn* *senȧ* *māȧ* *maa* - *en* - *n* *θ* *āāui-ȧ* *ur*

may see I thee daily! Brother, come, may see we thee! Two hands my mighty



28.

ȧu *net'* *ḥrȧ-k* *āāui-ȧ* *ga* *sep sen* *ȧu* *χau-k*

(are) for avenging thee, two hands my exalted, twice, (are) for protecting thee,

Column XIII.

1. 2.

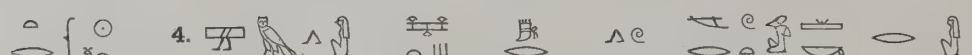
t'a *nebt* *neχen* *χi* *ȧu* *net'* *neb-n* *nuk*

male, lord, babe, child, to avenge lord our. I am

3.

set *en* *Seb* *ȧb-k* *er-ȧ* *renp* *ȧnȧs* *er*

the daughter of Seb [not] depart thou from me, increasing except at



4.

trȧ-f *śem-ȧ* *uat* *t'er* *iu* *mertu-k* *er-ȧ*

time his. Traverse I the ways because comes love thy to me.

5. 6.

χennu-ȧ *ta* *ȧn* *urṭu-ȧ* *em* *ḥeḥ-k* *ȧu* *nebȧt* *er-ȧ*

Fly over I earth, not rest I from seeking thee. Is a flame to me

7. 8.

en *mertu-k* *hai* *māȧ* *maa-ȧ-θ* *rem-ȧ* *en*

of love thy. Hail, come let see me thee. Weep I at

9.

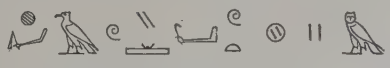
uā-k *iu-k* *nȧ* *em* *χeχ* *t'er* *ȧb-ȧ* *en* *maa-k*

loneliness thy. Come thou to me in haste for the limit of desire my is to see thee,

10.

ḥer - sa mertu-ȧ maa ḥrȧ-k ȧhai hen er

in consequence of desire my to see face thy. Hail, invocation at the

12. 

13.

re ḥet-k χuau - tu sep sen em ḥetep hai sep sen

door of temple thy. Protected art thou, twice, in peace. Hail, twice,

14.

iu neb-n er pa-f ȧȧui sen sau ḥa ḥet-f

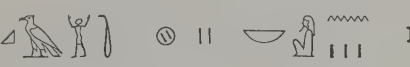
comes lord our to house his. Two hands their (are) protectors behind temple his.

15.

16.

iu neb-n em ḥetep ḥer ȧuset-f men-tu em pa-k ȧn

Comes lord our in peace upon seat his. Established (art) thou in house thy, not

17. 

18.

senṯi-k ȧ qa-θ sep sen neb - n em ka

fearest thou. O exalted (art) thou, twice, lord our. Do not cry,

19.

20.

ḥer neter ȧȧi iu-k em ḥetep mȧȧt per-k χer

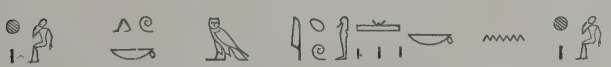
departing god great. Come thou in peace veritable. Comest forth thou to

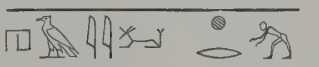
21.

22.

Rā seχem em neteru heni mȧȧ em ḥetep maa-ȧ-θ

Rā victorious among the gods. O gracious one come in peace. May see I thee,



23. 

χi iu-k em ȧru-k en χi hai χer

child, come thou in attributes thy of Baby. Hai falls down.

24.

25.

ȧu Ḥeru em ḥeq ȧu ur erek ȧn ȧri erek

Is Horus as a prince, is the great one to thee, not is there work for thee.

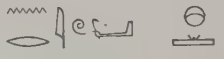
26.
θes-tu em uben iu senàti
Exalted (art) thou in circling, come (?) the two sisters.

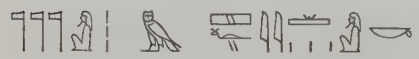
27.
pa mertu
The beloved of

àtf-f nebt θeθḥeḥtu
father his, lord of rejoicings.

28.
śa - nek àbu paut neteru
Delightest thou the hearts of the cycle of the gods;

29.
àpeś neter ḥet-k em neferu-k
illuminating divine house thy with beauties thy.

30. 
neràu paut
Fear the cycle of

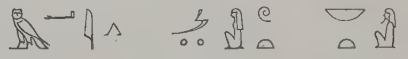

neteru em śefi-k
the gods before might thy.

Column XIV.

1.
ta setet en ḥeri-k
The earth trembles at fear thy.

2.
nuk ḥemt-k àri iu-k
I am wife thy making progress (?) thy,

3.
senàt χut en senà-s
the sister protector of brother her,

4. 
māà maa-à-tu nebt
come may see I thee lord

mertu-à qa sep sen āā àru māà maa-à-tu
of love my. Exalted twice great of attribute, come may see I thee.

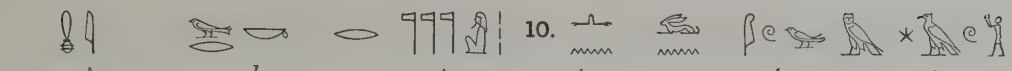
6.
nu
Baby

śem χi māà maa-à-tu
advancing, child, come, may see I thee.

7.
rerem-nek taiu taiu
Weep for thee districts and lands,

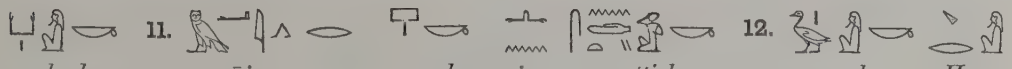
8.
ḥeteb nek àat mà entuk Seśeta
lament for thee the zones inasmuch as thou art Seśeta

9.
rerem - nek pet ta
Weep for thee heaven and earth



mȧ *ur-k* *er* *neteru* 10. *ȧn* *un* *śu* *em* *ṭȧau*

inasmuch as greater art thou than the gods. Not is there cessation in glorifying

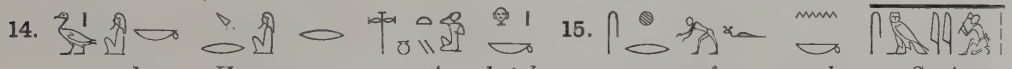


ka-k 11. *māȧ* *er* *pa-k* *ȧn* *senṭti-k* 12. *se-k* *Ḥeru*

ka thy. Come to house thy not fear thou. Son thy Horus

ȧḥi *śen* *en* *pet* 13. *seχet* *em* *sepeḥu* *ȧn* *senṭti-k*

embraces the circuit of heaven. Sovereign, repulsing not fear thou.



14. *se-k* *Ḥeru* *er* *net'* *ḥrȧ-k* 15. *seχer-f* *nek* *Semi*

Son thy Horus (is) for avenging thee. Overthrows he for thee the *Semi*

nebṭ 16. *ḥai* *nebt* *emχet-ȧ* *em* *ḥet'* 17. *maa-ȧ-θ* *mȧn*

and the Lock. Hail, lord after me illuminating, let see me thee daily.

ȧu *seti* *en* *ḥāu-k* *en* *Puntet* 18. *ṭūau-tu* *śeps-tu*

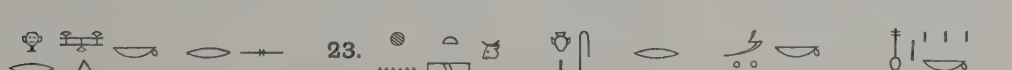
Is the smell of limbs thy of Punt. Adored art thou by the venerable women

em *ḥetep* 19. *ḥāā* *paut* *neteru* *ṭemθ* 20. *iu-k* *en* *ḥemt-k*

in peace. Rejoices the cycle of the gods entire. Come thou to wife thy

em *ḥetep* 21. *apṭ* *ȧb-s* *en* *mertu-k* 22. *ḥept-s-tu* *ȧn*

in peace Flutters heart her at love thy, embraces she thee, not



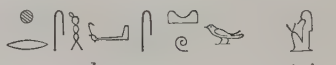
ḥeru-k *er-s* 23. *χenteś* *ȧb-s* *er* *maa-k* *neferu-k*

depart thou from her. Straitened (is) heart her to see thee and beauties thy.

24.

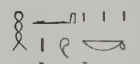
ḥeru - nek - s em pa śeta

Finished for thee has she in the house secret,

25. 

χersek-s ṭu ȧri

destroyed has she the evil which is



ḥāu-k

in limbs thy

26.

ȧuset-ā mȧ enti ȧn χeper-f

and the sickness as if never existed it.

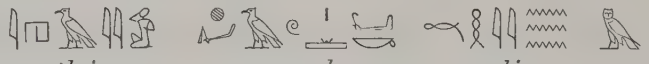
27.

ṭā-k ānχ

Art given thou life

em ḥetep ḥemt

by the best of a wife.

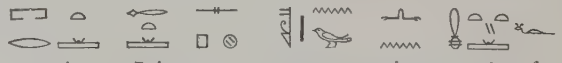
28. 

ȧhai χuau-k meḥi em

Hail protectest thou the inundation in the

seχet Ṭep-ȧḥet em hru pen

fields of Tepahet on day this,

29. 

pert āat sep qesn ȧn mȧtet-f

corn much disaster lacking without like its.

Column XV.

1.

rerem-nek aha em χeru-s

Weeps aloud for thee the cow with voice her,

2.

mertu-k t'er

love thy (is) the limit of

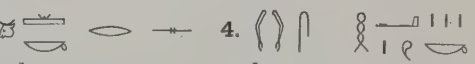
ȧb-s

desire her.

3.

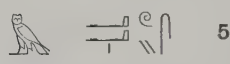
apṭ ȧb-s χent-k eres

Flutters heart her, shut up art thou from her.

4. 

ḥapt-s ḥāu-k

Embraces she limbs thy



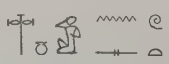
em āāiu-s

with two hands her,

5.

iu - nek em χeχ ki t'eṭ em ḥetep

coming to thee in haste, otherwise said in peace.

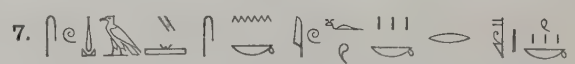
6. 

net' - nes -tu

Avenges she thee

mā ȧri er - ek

on account of what is done to thee.

7. 

sut'a - s - nek ȧuf-k er qesu-k

Makes healthy she for thee flesh thy upon bones thy.

8.

ṭes - s - nek fent-k er ḥāt-k

Attaches she for thee nose thy to face thy.

9.

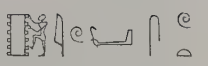
seqā - s nek qesu-k tem-tu

Collects she for thee bones thy all.

10.

mut-k *Nut* *iu-s* *nek* *em* *ḥetepet*

Mother thy Nut comes she to thee with peace offerings.

11. 

qeṭâu *-s-tu*

Builds up she thee

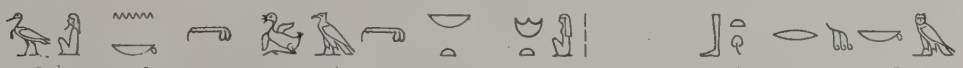
em *ânχ* *en* *χat-s*

with the life of body her.

12.

ba-tu *sep sen* *ṭeṭṭu* *sep sen*

Endowed with soul art thou, twice, established art thou, twice.

13. 

ba *nek* *sam* *t'a* *nebt* *ḥemt* *beti* *er* *śennu-k* *em*

A soul is to thee, phallus, impregnator, lord of women. (There is) unguent upon hair thy in

iu-k *en* *Neter* *tatet*

coming thy to the Divine land.

14.

beti *er* *śennu-k* *ânti* *per* *t'esef*

The unguent upon hair thy is *ânti* coming forth of itself.

15.

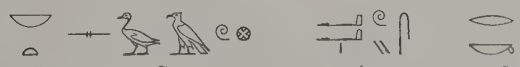
per *mâà* *em* *ḥetep* *sep sen*

O coming one, proceeding in peace, twice!

16.

net *âθi* *mâà* *em* *ḥetep*

King, sovereign, come in peace,

17. 

nebt *Sau* *ââiu-s* *erek*

lord of Sais, two hands her (are) to thee,

18.

Śenθit *âb-s* *rer* *nek*

Senthit, heart her turns to thee.

19.

âuk *em* *neter* *per* *em* *neter*

Art thou like a god coming forth like a god

20.

mâkaθâ *âu* *ân* *un* *ḥrâ*

. . . . . never has been to the face of

χi-f

baby his.

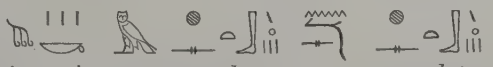
21.

śennu-k *em* *mâfek* *em* *t'et-f* *em* *iu-k* *em*

Hair thy (is) of emerald upon body his (*sic*) in coming thy into

seχet *mâfek*

the fields of emerald.

22. 

śennu-k *em* *χesbet* *nes* *χesbet*

Hair thy (is) of blue appertaining to lapis lazuli,

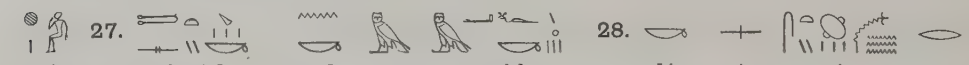
23.

âs-k

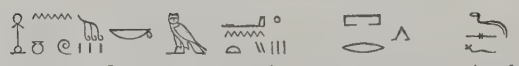
for thou art

χesbet *àu* *ḥer* *śennu-k* 24. *ànememu-k* *ḥāu-k* *nek*
blue above hair thy. Skin thy and limbs thy (are) to thee

em *bàa* *qemāt* *qesu-k* 25. *nubàu* *em* *ḥet'* 26. *mà* *nuk* *em*
of steel southern. Bones thy (are) moulded of silver, as I am from

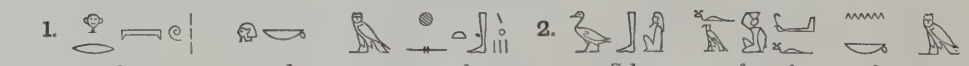


χi 27. *θesti-k* *nek* *em* *māfek* 28. *ki* *t'eṭ* *sti* *er*
a babe. Teeth thy (are) to thee of emerald, otherwise said, the unguent from



śennu-k *em* *ānti* *per* *t'esef*
hair thy (is) of *ānti* coming forth of itself.

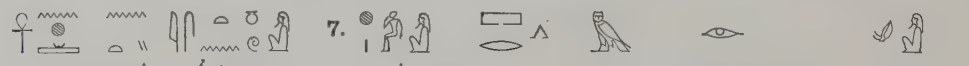
Column XVI.



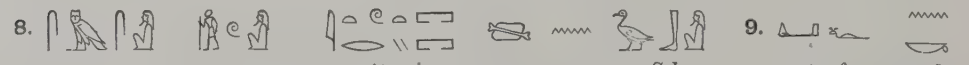
1. *ḥeru* *ṭep-k* *em* *χesbet* 2. *Seb* *fa - f* *nek* *em*
The top of head thy (is) of lapis lazuli. Seb loaded (is) he for thee with

ḥetepu 3. *seχenti-f* *neter* *per* *em* *fent-f* 4. *āuāā*
peace offerings. Conveys he the god coming forth from nose his. Heir

ur *per* *em* *Rā* 5. *sems* *seru* *nefer* *ḥrà* 6. *ba*
mighty coming forth from Rā. Eldest one, prince, beautiful of face. Soul



ānχ *enti* *Ástennu* 7. *χi* *per* *em* *maa* *setem*
living of Ástennu. Babe coming forth from the god of seeing and hearing.



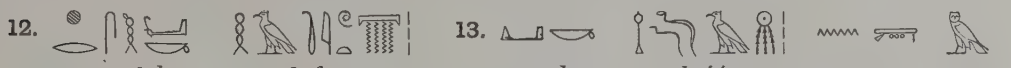
8. *sems* *seru* *àturti* *āu* *en* *Seb* 9. *ṭā-f* *nek*
Eldest one, prince of the two regions, heir of Seb. Gives he to thee

śen *nebt* *en* *ȧten* 10. *māȧ* *er* *pa-k* *Ȧusar* *ȧp*

circuiting, O lord of the disk. Come to house thy Osiris messenger of

neteru 11. *un - nek* *maa-k* *maa-k* *ȧm-sen*

the gods. Are opened for thee two eyes thy (that) mayest see thou with them.



12. *χersek-k* *ḥaθȧtu* 13. *ṭā-k* *ḥet'ṭ'au* *en* *ta* *em*

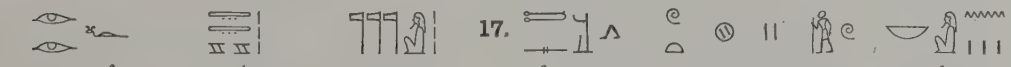
Drivest off thou rain storms, grantest thou to be lightened the earth by the

sati *qerḥ* 14. *māȧ* *er* *pa-k* *Ȧusar* *χent* *Ȧmentiu* *māȧ*

radiance of night. Come to house thy Osiris at the head of the Amentiu, come

er *pa-k* 15. *per* *em* *χat* *ārāt* *em* *ṭep-f* 16. *seḥeṭ'*

to house thy, coming forth from the belly of the uræus upon head his. Light up



maa-f *taiu* *neteru* 17. *θes-* *tu* *sep* *sen* *seru* *neb-n*

two eyes his the two earths and the gods. Exalted art thou, twice, prince lord our.

18. *sebȧu-k* *er* *nemmȧt* *ȧn* *un-nef* 19. *ṭeṭṭeṭ* *sep* *sen* *em*

Sebau thy (is) upon the block, not may rise up he. Established twice in

ren-k *Ṭeṭ* 20. *ḥāu-k* *nek* *Un-nefer* *ānχ* *uṭ'a* *senb*

name thy Tat. Limbs thy (are) to thee Un-nefer, life, strength, health!

21. *ȧuf-k* *nek* *urṭu - ȧb* 22. *Ȧusar* *nefer* *tu* *per*

Flesh thy (is) to thee, O still heart. Osiris, beautiful is that coming forth

ȧm-k *Ḥu* *pu* *ṭep-re-k* *Tatanen* *ȧtf-k*

from thee. Hu to wit (is) utterance thy. Tatanen father thy (is)

ḥer *uθes* *pet* *er* *χenṭ-k* *ḥer* *ftu-s* *āpi*

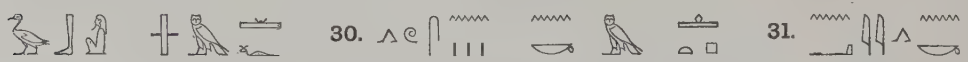
for bearing up heaven for walking thy over four (quarters) its. Flies

bȧ-k *em* *ȧbt* *un-nek* *em* *senen* *en* *Rā*

soul thy on the left hand, risest thou in the image of Rā.

seśep-tu *ȧmu* *ṭūaut* *em* *ḥāā* *neḳa-nek*

Receive thee those who are in the underworld with exultation. Opens a passage for thee



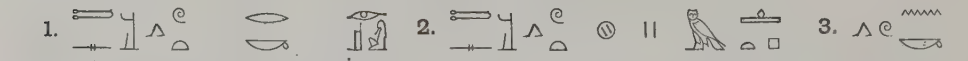
Seb *ȧm-f* *iu-sen* *nek* *em* *ḥetep* *māi - nek*

Seb through it. Come they to thee in peace, comest thou

em *ḥetep* *er* *Ṭ'eṭṭu*

in peace to Tattu.

Column XVII.



θes - tu *erek* *Ȧusar* *θes - tu* *sep sen* *em* *ḥetep* *iu-nek*

Exalted art thou therefore Osiris. Exalted art thou, twice, in peace. Comes to thee

Ȧuset *nebt* *χut* *mȧ* *utet-s* *uā* *sem* *neteru* *ȧu-s*

Isis lady of the horizon as engendered has she the ONE, the guide of the gods. Is she

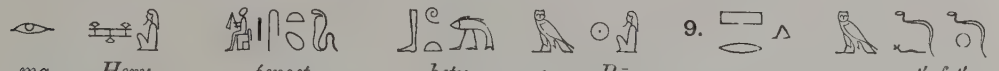
ȧu *net'ti-k* *ȧu-s* *ȧu* *net'* *ḥrȧ-k* *net'ti-s* *ḥrȧ* *en* *Heru*

for avenging thee, is she for avenging thee. Avenges she Horus,

7.
8.

set *ȧri* *t'a* *en* *ȧtf-s* *Nebert'er* *per* *em*

the woman acting as engenderer of father her, Nebert'er coming forth from



ma *Ḥeru* *śepset* *betu* *em* *Rā* *per* *em* *t'efet'*

the eye of Horus. The venerable one advancing like Rā, coming forth from the pupil

em *mat* *Ȧtmu* *t'er* *uben* *Rā* *em* *sep* *ḥetepi* *iu-f* *pu*

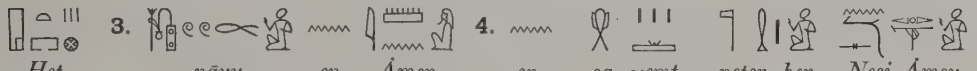
of the eye of Ȧtmu when rose Rā for time first. Gone out has it.

COLOPHON.

1.
2.

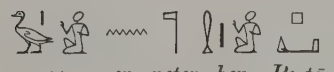
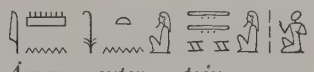
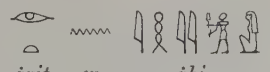
. . . . . *ȧu* *em* . . . . . *m* . . . . . *u* *neter* *ḥen* *en* *neter* *ḥet* *en*

. . . . . prophet of the temple of



Ḥet *nāuu* *en* *Ȧmen* *en* *sa χemt* *neter* *ḥen* *Nesi-Ȧmsu*

Het, the scribe of Ȧmen of the order third, prophet Nesi-Ȧmsu

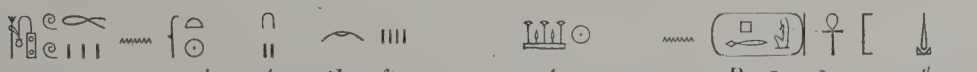
5. 
6. 
7. 

se *en* *neter* *ḥen* *Pe-ṭā - Ȧmen - suten - taiu* *ȧrit* *en* *ȧḥi*

son of the prophet Pe-ta - Ȧmen - suten - taiu, born of the sistrum bearer

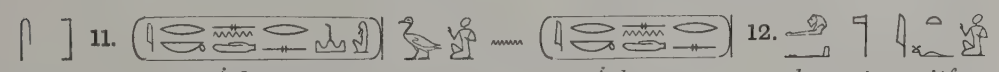
en *Ȧmen - Rā* *Ta - śere* *en* *ta* *mut - set* *Nesti - tuurā*

of Ȧmen - Rā, Ta - śere, mother her was Nesti - tuurā.

10. 

nāuu *en* *renpit* *met' sen* *ȧbeṭ* *fṭu* *śe* *en* *P - āa* *ānχ* *ut'a*

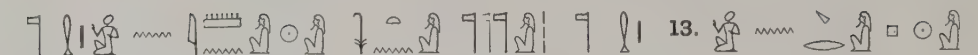
Written in year twelve month four of the sowing season of the King, life, [strength,



senb *Ȧrksanṭrs* *se* *en* *Ȧrksanṭrs* *ḥā* *neter* *ȧtf*

health,] Alexander the son of Alexander. First divine father,

[a] The transcription of this line is very doubtful.



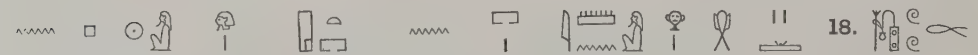
neter ḥen en Ȧmen-Rā suten neteru neter ḥen 13. *en Ḥeru p Rā*
prophet of Ȧmen-Rā king of the gods, prophet of Horus the Sun,

pa śere āaī ur ḥetep en Ȧmen neter ḥen 14. *en Ȧmen*
the child great very first of Ȧmen, prophet of Ȧmen

sepṭ ābu neter ḥen en χensu ḥer ȧb Benent 15. *neter ḥen*
provided with two horns, prophet of Chonsu within Benenet, prophet

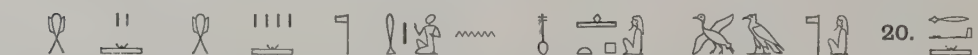
en Ȧusar ur pa ȧśta neter ḥen en Ȧusar ḥer ȧb
of Osiris, great one of the persea trees, prophet of Osiris within

16. *Ȧśer neter ḥen en Ȧmen-qa-ȧuset ḥer ȧb Ȧpi* 17. *āb*
Ȧśer, prophet of Amen exalted of throne within the Apts, priest



en p Rā ḥeṭep ḥet en pa Ȧmen ḥer sa sen 18. *nāuu*
of the Sun, first one of the temple of the house of Amen in order two, scribe,

neter net en Ȧmen ḥer sa sen ȧtennu 19. *en Ȧmen en*
inspector of Ȧmen of order two, vicar of Ȧmen in



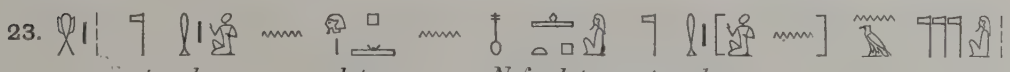
sa sen sa ftu neter ḥen en Nefer-ḥetep pa neter āaā 20.
order two and order four, prophet of Nefer-ḥetep the god great,

neter ḥen en Nefer-ḥetep pa śere neter ḥen en Ȧusar Ḥeru
prophet of Nefer-ḥetep the child, prophet of Osiris, Horus,

21.

Áuset Nebt-ḥet en neter ḥet en Ḥet neter ḥen en Ámsu
Isis, Nephthys of the temple of Het, prophet of Ámsu,

neter ḥen en Átmu nebt Ḥet-seχem ȧtennu en Nefer-ḥetep en pa ftu
prophet of Atmu, lord of Ḥet-sechem, vicar of Nefer-ḥetep of the four

23. 

sa neter ḥen en ḥetep en Nefer-ḥetep neter ḥen en na neteru
orders, prophet first of Nefer-ḥetep, prophet of the gods.

THE LITANIES OF SEKER.

Column XVIII.

1.

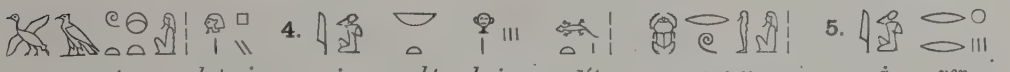
entāu en ȧn en Seker er ḥer śetai t'ettu
The litanies which brought in Seker in addition to the mysteries recited.

2.

ȧ seṭennu per em χat
Hail prince coming forth from the womb.

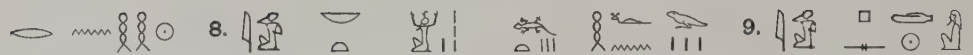
3.

ȧ se semsu nu
Hail son eldest of the



paut ḥetepi ȧ nebt ḥrȧu āśt χeperu ȧ rer
cycles first. Hail lord of faces many and becomings. Hail circle

en nub em er - pau ȧ nebt āḥā ṭāt renpit ȧ nebt ānχ
of gold in the temples. Hail lord of time, giver of years. Hail lord of life



er *neḥeḥ* 8. *ȧ* *nebt* *ḥeḥ* *āśt* *ḥefnu* 9. *ȧ* *pesṯ*

for ever. Hail lord of millions many and myriads. Hail shining

ḥer *uben* *ḥetep* 10. *ȧ* *senet'em* *nef* *ȧḥeti* 11. *ȧ* *pa*

in rising and setting. Hail makes pleasant he throats. Hail the

nebt *senṯet* *āāi* *setet* 12. *ȧ* *nebt* *ḥrȧu* *āśt* *ārāt* 13. *ȧ*

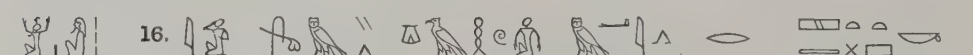
lord of terror, great of trembling. Hail lord of faces many and uraei. Hail

χā *em* *ḥeṯ'* *nebt* *urerer* 14. *ȧ* *pa* *sefi*

crowned with the white crown, lord of the *urerer* crown. Hail the baby

śeps *nu* *Ḥeru* *ḥekennu* 15. *ȧ* *se* *en* *Rā* *em* *uȧa*

venerable of Horus, praise. Hail son of Rā in the boat



ḥeḥ 16. *ȧ* *semi* *ḳaḥu* *māȧ* *er* *śetatet-k*

of millions. Hail guide of rest, come to secret places thy.

17. *ȧ* *pa* *nebt* *senṯeti* *χeper* *t'esef* 18. *ȧ* *urṯu - ȧb*

Hail the lord of fear self - produced. Hail still heart,

māȧ *er* *nut-k* 19. *ȧ* *ȧri* *hai* *māȧ* *er* *nut-k*

come to town thy. Hail making acclamation, come to town thy.

20. *ȧ* *pa* *meriti* *en* *na* *neteru* *neterit* 21. *ȧ* *s-*

O the Loved One of the gods and goddesses, O making

meḥ - f *māā* *er* *ḥet-k* 22. *ȧ* *ȧm* *ṭuaut*

to plunge himself, come to temple thy. Hail thou who art in the under world,

māā *er* *ābtu - k* 23. *ȧ* *māket* *su* *māā* *er*

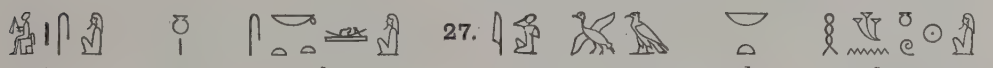
come to offerings thy. O protector of them come to

ḥet-k 24. *ȧ* *ruṭ* *kenkenememti* *er* *seśep* *ȧten*

temple thy. Hail growing moon-god for illuminating the disc.

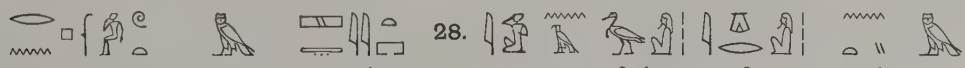
25. *ȧ* *kektu* *śeps* *nu* *ḥet āat* 26. *ȧ* *nāi* *ennuḥ*

Hail flowers venerable of the temple great. Hail bringing the cordage



śeps *nu* *sektet* 27. *ȧ* *pa* *nebt* *ḥennu*

venerable of the Sekti boat. Hail the lord of the *ḥennu* boat,



renp - tu *em* *śetait* 28. *ȧ* *na* *baiu* *ȧḳer* *enti* *em*

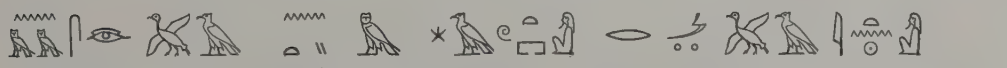
becomest young thou in the secret place. Hail the souls perfect who are in

neter χertet 29. *ȧ* *pa* *sȧp* *śeps* *nu* *qemāt meḥit*

Neter - χert. Hail the visitor venerable of the south and north.

30. *ȧ* *pa* *ȧmen* *ȧn* *reχ* *su* *reχit* 31. *ȧ*

Hail the hidden one, not known (is) he to mankind. Hail



nememes *pa* *enti* *em* *ṭuaut* *er* *maa* *pa* *ȧten*

lightener of him who is in the under world to see the disc.

Column XIX.

1.

ȧ *pa* *nebt* *atf* *ur* *em* *Ḥet - suten - ḥenen*
Hail the lord of the *atf* crown, great one in Ḥet - suten - ḥenen.

2.

ȧ *āā* *śefi* *ermā* *nārt*
Hail great of might near Nārt.

3.

ȧ *un* *em* *Uast*
Hail rising in Thebes,

aχaχ *er* *neḥeḥ*
flourishing for ever.

4.

ȧ *Ȧmen* *Rā* *suten* *neteru* *sruṭ*
Hail Ȧmen - Rā king of the gods, making

ḥāu-f *em* *uben* *ḥetep*
to grow limbs his in rising and setting.

5.

ȧ ḥetep . . . . mennu ḥetepu em Re-stau
Hail . . . . . oblations offerings in Ru-stau.

6.

ȧ *ṭāt* *ȧārāt* *ḥer* *ṭep* *neb-s*
Hail placing the uræus upon the head of lord its.

7.

ȧ *smen* *ta*
Hail stablisher of the earth

ḥer *ȧuset-f*
upon seat its.

8.

ȧ *un* *re* *en* *pa* *ftu* *neteru* *āā* *enti* *em*
Hail opener of the mouth of the four gods great who (are) in

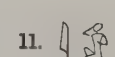
neter *χertet*
Neter - χert.

9.

ȧ *ba* *ānχ* *en* *Ȧusar* *χā - f* *en* *Ȧāḥ*
Hail soul living of Osiris, crowner (is) he of the moon.

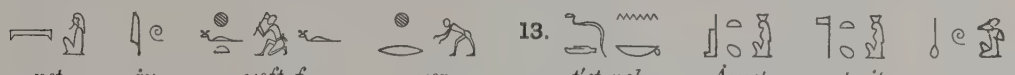
10.

ȧ *ȧmen* *t'et-f* *em* *śetaït* *āat* *em* *Ȧnnu*
Hail hiding body his in the coffin great in Heliopolis.

11. 

ȧ
Hail

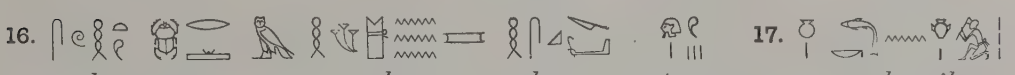
netrȧ *ȧmen* *Ȧusar* *em* *neter χertet* 12. *ȧ* *ḥetep* *ba - f* *en*
powerful one, hidden one, Osiris in Neter-χert. Hail uniting soul his to



pet *ȧu* *χeft-f* *χer* 13. *t'et-nek* *Ȧuset* *neterit* *χeru*
heaven, is enemy his fallen. Says to thee Isis goddess crying,

ḥȧi *em* *ȧtur* 14. *peχχa* *ȧbṭ* *ȧb* *em* *ḥāt*
"Hail from the river separating the *ȧbṭu* fish pure from the front

15. *uȧa* *en* *Rā* *nebt* *ȧp* *χeper* *em* *θeḥḥutu*
of the boat of Rā, lord of excretion turning into the rejoicing gods.



16. *suḫt* *χeper* *em* *ḥen* *ḥesq* *ṭepu* *nu* 17. *χak-en-ȧbu*
The egg becoming Ḥen, cutting off the heads of the rebels

em *ren-s* *pui* *nebt* *Ṭep-ȧḥet* 18. *nebt* *ȧp* *ī-tu* *em*
in name her that of lady of Tep-ȧḥet. Lady of excretion, comest thou in

ḥat *ṭepu* *em* *ren-s* *pui* *en* *Ḥet-ḥert* *nebt* *māfek*
front of the heads in name her that of Hathor lady of emerald,

nebt *Uast* 20. *ī-tu* *em* *ḥetep* *em* *ren-s* *pui* *en* *Ḥet-ḥert*
lady of Thebes. Comest thou in peace in name her that of Hathor

nebt *Uast* 21. *ī - tu* *em* *ḥetep* *Tait* *em* *ren-s* *pfi* *en*
lady of Thebes. Comest thou in peace Tait in name her that of

22.

nebt ḥetep i-tu em ḫāt er seχer χeft-s

lady of peace. Comest thou in front to overthrow enemy her

23.

em ren-s

in name her

pfi en Ḥet-ḥert nebt Ḥet-suten-ḥenen

that of Hathor lady of Ḥet-suten-ḥenen.

24.

Nub ī - tu em

Golden one, comest thou in

ḥetep em ren-s pfi en Ḥet-ḥert

peace in name her that of Hathor

25.

nebt Ȧneb

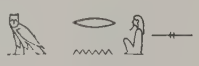
lady of Memphis. . . . . .

ḥetep-tu ermā Neb-er-t'er em rent pui en Ḥet-ḥert nebt

restest thou near Neb-er-t'er in name thy that of Hathor lady of

śet ṭeśer uben nub ermā ȧtf-s

water red. Rises the golden one near father her,

26. 

em ren-s

in name her

pui Bast śem em ḫeru

that of Bast, advancing above

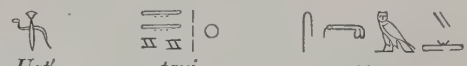
27.

pau ermā pau ur em

the houses near the great double house in

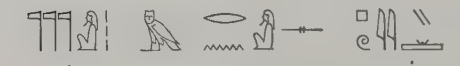
ren-s pui en Sati

name her that of Sati.

28. 

Uat' tawi sem

Verdifier of the two lands, leader



neteru em ren-s pui Uat'it

of the gods in name her that of Uat'it.

29.

seχem Ḥet-ḥert

Gains the mastery Hathor

em Sebȧu en ȧtf - s em ren-s pfi en Seχet

over the Sebau of father her in name her that of Seχet.

30.

seχem

Gains the mastery

Uat'it *em* *neferi* *em* *ren-s* *pfi* *en* *nebt* *Ámmu*
Uat'it over the fire in name her that of lady of Ammu.

31.

ānti *em* *ṭep* *samu-s* *em* *ren-s* *pfi* *en* *Nit*
Perfume (is) upon head and hair her in name her that of Neith.

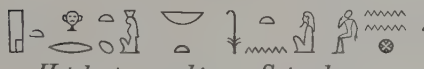
Column XX.

1.

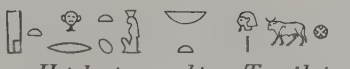
Ánet' ḥrâ *neteru* *ḥer* *māket - f*
Hail gods on account of virtues his!

2.

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Uast*
Hathor lady of Thebes.

3. 

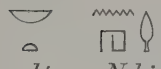
Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Suten-ḥenen*
Hathor lady of Suten-ḥenen.

4. 

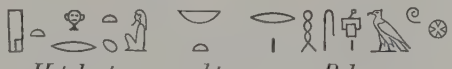
Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Ṭep-âḥet*
Hathor lady of Ṭep-âḥet.

5.

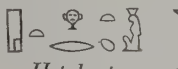
Ḥet-ḥert
Hathor



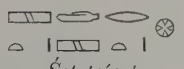
nebt *Nehâu*
lady of Nehau.

6. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Reḥsau*
Hathor lady of Reḥsau.

7. 

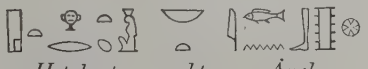
Ḥet-ḥert *nebt*
Hathor lady of



Śet-ṭeśert
Śet-Ṭeśert.

8.

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Mâfek*
Hathor lady of Emerald.

9. 

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Áneb*
Hathor lady of Memphis.

10.

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Uaua*
Hathor lady of Uaua.

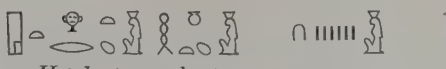
11.

Ḥet-ḥert *nebt* *Ámmu*
Hathor lady of Ammu.

12.

Ḥet-ḥert
Hathor

nebt *Ámem*
lady of Amem.

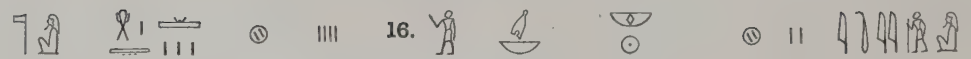
13. 

Ḥet-ḥert *ḥent* XVI
Hathor lady of Sixteen (Lycopolis).

14.

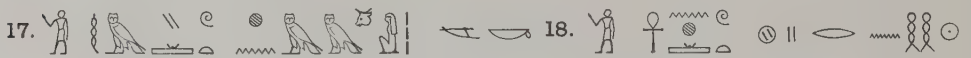
pa *paut*
O ye nine

smeri *māi - [t]en* *āāui - ten* *χer* *âtef - ten* *Áusar* *ī*
smeri come ye two hands your bearing father your Osiris, come with



neter *sa - ta* *sep* *fṭu* 16. *ȧ* *seχet* *ḥeb* *sep sen* *ȧθi*

divine adorations. Times four. Hail crown of the festival, twice, sovereign.



17. *ȧ* *net'em-tu* *χenemem* *mer-k* 18. *ȧ* *ānχ tu* *sep sen* *er* *neḥeḥ*

Hail rejoicest thou the nurses whom lovest thou. Hail livest thou, twice, for ever.

19. *ȧ* *ḥeb - k* *en* *t'etta* 20. *ȧ* *senȧ* *ta* *ābba*

Hail makest festival thou for ever. Hail smeller of the earth advancing along

uat 21. *ȧ* *ṭeṭṭeṭ-θ* *em* *Ṭeṭṭeṭ* *ḥert* 22. *ȧ* *neter* *setem-k*

the ways. Hail established art thou in Tattu upper. Hail god hearest thou

sa-ta *hai* *setem-k* *sa-ta* *em* *re* *en* *neter* *septu*

adoration, hail hearest thou adoration from the mouth of the divine nomes.

23. *ȧ* *bes* *em* *maatu-f* *se* *neter* *ḥen* 24. *ȧ* *setep*

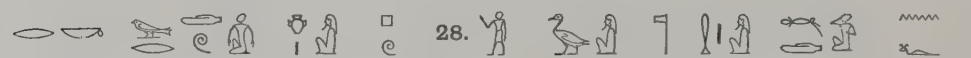
Hail coming forth from two eyes his, son of the prophet. Hail protected

sa *χeft* *t'eṭ-k* 25. *ȧ* *māku - ȧ* *P-āa* *ḥer* *ȧri* *mer-k*

by amulets when speakest thou. Hail protect me O king to do pleasure thy.

26. *ȧ* *māku-ȧ* *P-āa* *ḥer* *ȧri* *ḥesu-k* 27. *ȧ* *ḥems* *māȧ*

Hail protect me O king to do will thy. Hail rester comes

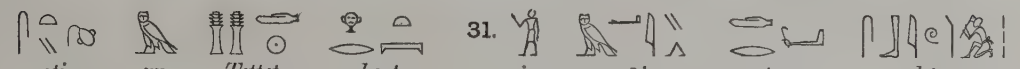


erek *urṭu* - *ȧb* *pu* 28. *ȧ* *se* *neter* *ḥen* *śeṭ* *nef*

to thee the resting of heart to wit. Hail son of the prophet, recited is for him

ḥeb *ȧ* *ṭeṭṭeṭ ren* *em* *Ṭeṭṭeṭ* *ḥert* *ȧ* *net'emi*

the festal ritual. Hail established is (thy) name in Tattu upper. Hail pleasant



sti *em* *Ṭeṭṭeṭ* *ḥert* *ȧ* *māȧ* *ṭer* *sebȧu*

of odour in Tattu upper. Hail coming to destroy Sebau.

ȧ *māȧ* *ṭūau* *neχen*

Hail coming to extol the Baby.

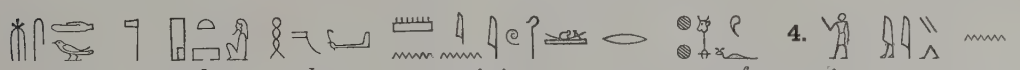
Column XXI.

ȧ *ṭāt* *senṭet - f* *em* *χakȧbu* *ȧ* *ȧr* *bakȧu*

Hail giving of terror his in the evil-minded. Hail (thou) who art at work

śes *neb-f* *ȧn* *neter* *ḥen* *Bast* *ȧm-f* *ȧ* *χakȧbu*

following lord his, not a prophet of Bast in him (*sic*). Hail evil-minded



meṣṭ *neter* *ḥet* *ḥu* *menânȧu* *er* *χeχ-f* *ȧ* *ī* *en*

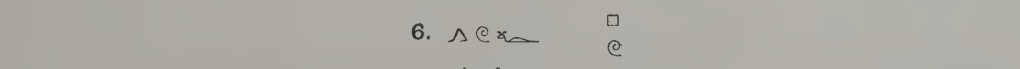
hating the temple striking death from throat his. Hail cometh the

nebt *Ṭeṭṭeṭ* *ḥert* *ḥu - nef* *χakȧbu* *t'eṭṭu* *sep* *met' sas*

lord of Tattu upper, repulsed has he the evil-minded. Said times sixteen

seśep *ṭeχenu*

(by) players on tambourines.

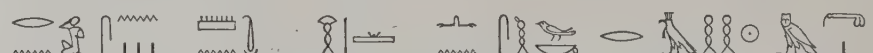


iu-f *pu*

Gone out (is) it to wit.

COLOPHON (*continued from page* 491).

The following fifteen lines are written in the same hand as the part of the colophon which gives the date, and appear to have been added some time after the other parts of the work were written.

1. 

ȧu ren - sen men uaḥ ȧn sek er neḥeḥ embaḥ

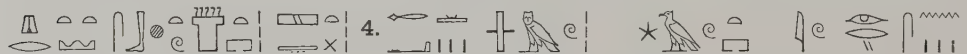
Are names their established and increased, not destroyed for ever before

Ȧusar Ḥeru Ȧuset Nebt-ḥet neteru neterit ȧpu enti ḥer śāt

Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys, the gods and goddesses these who are upon book

pen embaḥ neteru neterit er āu sen enti em neter

this in presence of the gods and goddesses whosoever are they who are in Neter



χertet, sebχetu śetet āā ȧmu ṭūaut ȧu ȧri sen

χert, and the pylons secret great which are in the Nether-world. Are made they

ha ren ȧpu ȧm ṭūaut ȧqert nȧs-tu er sen

to come forth names these in the Nether-world mighty. Proclaimed art thou by them

em uȧa en Rā ȧu erṭā en sen per χeru ḥer āb en

in the boat of Rā, are given by them sacrificial meals upon the table of the

neter āā em χertu ent ḥru neb ȧu erṭā en sen qebḥ

god great in the course of day every. Are given by them fresh water

sentrȧ mȧ suteniu net ȧqert ȧmu

and incense as to the kings of north and south mighty who are in the

neter χertet ȧu erṭā sen per hi em χer ḥesiu

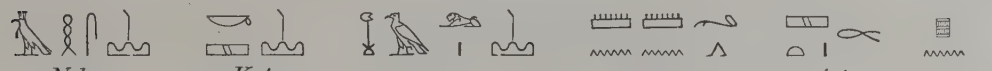
Neter χert. Is given by them coming forth and advancing among the obedient ones

ent Ȧusar χent Ȧmentiu ȧu erṭā sen hi sati ȧten

of Osiris at the head of the Ȧmentiu. Is given by them the falling of the rays of the disc

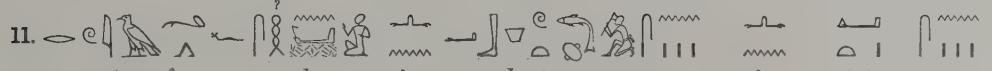
ḥer χat - sen hru neb ȧr se nebt en set nebt en

upon body their day every. Should person any of foreign land any whether



Neḥes Kaś χar menmen śāt pen

Black, Ethiopian, Syrian, remove book this, (or)

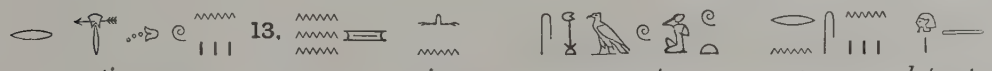


ruȧa - f seḥen ȧn āb - tu χat - sen ȧn ṭāt - sen

carry off it a thief, not may approach body their, not may they give themselves

em qebḥ ȧn seseni-tu nefu ȧn āḥā-un (sic) se set

in the cool, not may breathe they breezes, not may arise for them a son or a daughter



er sati - un ȧn seχau-tu ren-sen ḥetep ta

for seed their, not may be remembered for them name their upon earth

ȧu mesu ȧn maa-u sati ȧten ȧr se nebt maa

for children, not may see they beams of the disc! Should person any see

śāt pen ȧri nef men ka ren - ȧ χer

book this, and should work he that may be established *ka* my and name my among

15.

ḥesiu *ȧri* – *nef* *mȧtet* *emχet* *menȧnȧu* (sic) - *f* *em*

the favoured ones, may there be done for him likewise after death his in

ṭebu *ȧru* *ȧri* - *nef* *nȧ*

retribution for what done has he for me.

THE OVERTHROWING OF ĀPEPI.

Column XXII.

1.

ḥā *em* *śāt* *ent* *seχer* *Āpepi* *χeft* *nu Rā* *χeft*

Beginning of the book of overthrowing Apepi the enemy of Rā, the enemy

nu *Un-nefer* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb* *māt-χeru* *ȧrit* *en* (sic) *pa* *Ámen - Rā*

of Un-nefer, life strength, health, triumphant, made for the temple of Amen-Rā

neb *nest* *taiu* *χent* *Ápit* *em* *χert*

lord of the thrones of the two lands, at the head of the Apts in the course

ent *hru* *neb*

of day every.

2.

Re *en* *peḳas* *er* *Āpepi* *t'eṭṭu* *ṭep-k* *Āpepi*

Chapter of spitting upon Apepi. Say, "Be spit upon thou Apepi.

sep *ftu* *ȧn* *enen* *en* *Rā* *ḥnā* *ka - f* *ȧu* *enen* *P-āa* *ḥnā*

Times four. Is resting Rā with *ka* his, is resting P-aa with

ka-f *ī* *en* *Rā* *user* *ī* *en* *Rā* 3. *neχt* *ī* *en*

ka his. Cometh Rā mighty, cometh Rā victorious, cometh

Rā *qa* *ī* *en* *Rā* *sept* *ī* *en* *Rā* *em* *ḥāā*

Rā exalted, cometh Rā dowered, cometh Rā with acclamation.

ī *en* *Rā* *em* *nefer* *ī* *en* *Rā* *em* *suten* *ī* *en*

cometh Rā in beauty, cometh Rā as king of the north, cometh

Rā *em* *net* *ī* *en* *Rā* *em* *neteru* 4. *ḥetepu* *ī* *en* *Rā*

Rā as king of the south, cometh Rā with divine oblations, cometh Rā

em *mātχeru* *māȧ* *ȧrek* *en* *P-āa* *ānχ* *uṭ'a* *senb* *ṭer-k*

with triumph, cometh then P-āa life, strength, health. Destroyed hast thou

nef *χefti-f* *neb* *mȧ* *seχer-f* *nek* *Āpepi* *beḥen-f* *nek*

for him enemies his all as overthrows he for thee Apepi, slays he for thee

Qeṭṭu *ṭā-f* *ȧau* *en* *peḥti-k* 5. *suaś-tu-f* *em*

Qettu, gives he adoration to might thy. Adores thee he at

χāu-k *neb* *uben-k* *nef* *ȧm-sen* *mȧ* *seχer-f* *nek*

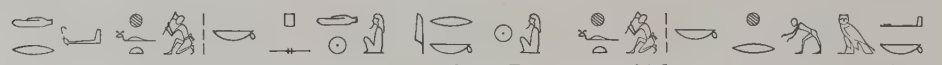
risings thy all, risest thou for him in them as overthrows he for thee

χefti-k *neb* *em* *χert* *ent* *hru* *neb*

enemies thy all in the course of day every."

Re en sȧn Ā pepi em ret ȧb t'eṭtu θes - tu ȧrek Rā

Chapter of defiling Apepi with the foot left. Say, "Exalted art thou therefore Rā,

6. 

ṭer χefti-k pesṭ ȧrek Rā χefti-k χer māk

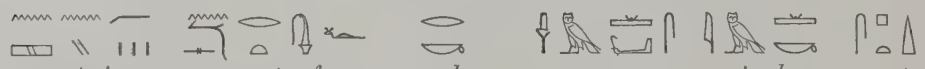
destroyed are enemies thy, shine therefore Rā, enemies thy (are) fallen. Verily has

ṭer nek P-āa ānχ ut'a senb χefti-k neb Rā ṭer-k

destroyed for thee P-āa, life, strength, health, enemies thy all Rā, destroyed for thee are

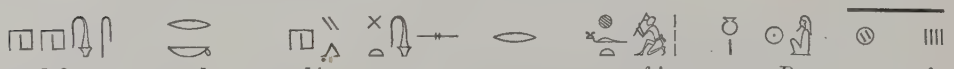
χefti-k nebt em mit em ānχ māk Rā seχem-f ȧm-k Ā pepi

enemies thy all in death in life. Verily Rā prevails he over thee Apepi,

7. 

neśeni nesert - f erek seχem-s ȧm-k sept

bristles flame his against thee, prevails it over thee turning



heh-s erek ḥi set-s er χefti nu Rā sep fṭu

flame its against thee; falls flame its against the enemies of Rā. Times four.

ḥi set er χefti neb nu P-āa ānχ ut'a senb seχem

Falls the flame against enemies all of P-aa life, strength, health! Prevails

8.

erek Rā ȧu χefti-k stutu er-k Rā em χut-k

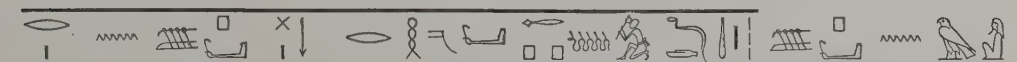
then Rā, is enemy thy trampled upon by thee, O Rā, in horizon thy.

ṭūau-tu ȧmu sekti rer - nek ȧḫiti uȧa - k

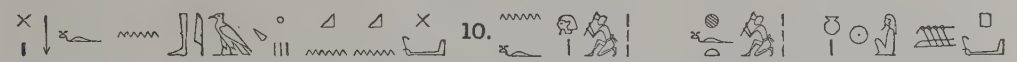
Adore thee those who are in the *sekti* boat, go round thee the *ȧḫiti* and boat thy

em ḥāā nem-k χā em neteru - ȧbu em χennu
with acclamation, renewest thou festival in the valiant hearted within the

māāti 9. *ȧaut - nek Rā Ḥeru-χuti sep ftu*
māāt boat. Adoration to thee Rā Harmachis"! Times four.



Re en seśep māb er ḥu Āpepi t'eṭṭu seśep en Ḥeru
Chapter of taking a lance to smite Apepi. Say, "Receives Horus



māb-f en bȧa qenqen - nef ṭepu χefti nu Rā seśep
lance his of steel, shatters he the heads of the enemies of Rā. Receives

en Ḥeru māb - f en bȧa qenqen - nef ṭepu χefti nu P-āa
Horus lance his of steel, shatters he the heads of enemies of P-āa

ānχ ut'a senb māk Ḥeru seśep nef māb-f en bȧa ḥu -
life, strength, health. Verily Horus takes he lance his of steel, smites

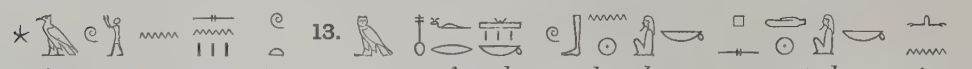
nef ṭepu Sebȧu em-baḥ uȧa-f θes-tu erek Rā
he the heads of Sebȧu in front of boat his. Exalted art thou then, Rā,

sesunnu Sebȧu - k ȧru śāiṭ em Āpepi χer
hooked is Sebȧu thy; is made a slaughter of Apepi, fallen has

sami ent Qeṭṭu θes - tu P-āa sesunnu
the devil of the Fiend. Exalted art thou P-āa, hooked is

Sebâu-k *âri* *śāṭ* *em* *χefti-k* *χer* *Semi - f*
Sebau thy, is made a slaughter of foes thy, fallen has Fiend his.

mââ *ârek* *Rā* *em* *χut-k* *śes-tu* *ent* *em* *kerâut - sen*
Come then Rā in splendours thy, follow thee those who are in shrines their,



ṭāau *en* *sen* *tu* 13. *em* *neferu - k* *uben - k* *pesṭ - k* *ân*
adore they thee in beauties thy, risest thou, shinest thou without

χefti-k *ḥekau-k* *em* *sa* *ḥāu-k* *P-āa* *ṭāau-f*
foes thy; words of power thy are as protectors of limbs thy. P-aa adores he

Rā *ṭāt-f* *māb-f* *er* *Âpepi* *seśep-f* *besu* *ṭā-f* *set*
Rā, gives he lance his against Apepi, takes he flame, gives he flame

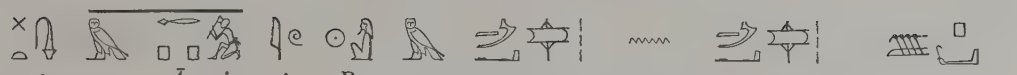
âm-f 14. *sesunnu - f* *χat* *ent* *χefti-k* *set* *âm-k*
upon him, hooks he the accursed body of enemies thy; fire upon thee,

nesert *âm-k* *set* *en* *âm-ten* *χefti* *nu* *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb*
flame upon thee, fire upon you enemies of P-aa life, strength, health,

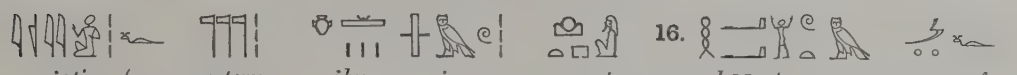
âm - s - ten *θes - tu* *ârek* *Rā* *sesunnu* *Sebâu-k* *erṭā* *set*
devours it you. Exalted art thou then Rā, hooked are *Sebau* thy, given is fire

15. *em* *Âpepi* *peshu - f* *em* *qeb* *ent* *pest - f* *âhai*
upon Apepi, bites it into the bend of backbone his. Hail

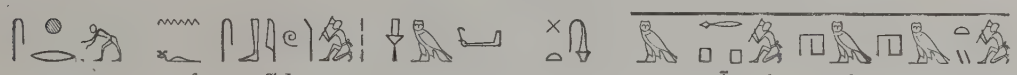
[a] The signs in the cartouche are omitted on the papyrus.



set em Āpepi ȧu Rā em māu en māu seśep
fire upon Apepi! Is Rā in the breezes of the north winds, receive them



ȧqṭiu - f neteru ȧbu ȧmu χut 16. *ḥāā - tu em maa - f*
punters his the valiant hearted who are in the horizon and who exult at the sight of him.

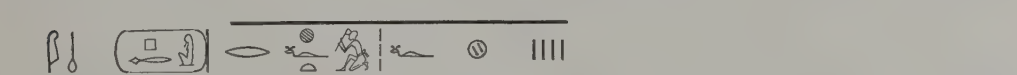


seχer nef Sebȧu seχem set em Āpepi ḥemḥemti
Overthrows he Sebau, prevails the flame over Apepi, roars

Qeṭṭu ben set em ḥetep sep sen Rā Ḥeru-χuti ȧmmā ḥrȧ-k
Qettu, not are they in peace. Twice. O Rā - Harmachis give face thy

nefer en P-āa ānχ uṭ'a senb 17. *ṭer-k nef χefti-f*
beautiful to P-aa life, strength, health! Destroy thou for him enemies his

neb ṭīau - f Rā em un māt māṭχeru Rā er Āpepi sep fṭu
all, adores he Rā in very truth. Triumphs Rā over Apepi, times four,



māṭχeru P-āa er χefti-f sep fṭu
triumphs P-aa over enemies his, times four."

Re en qaȧs Āpepi ṭ'eṭṭu qaȧs qaȧsu
Chapter of binding Apepi. Say, "Fetter O fetterers,

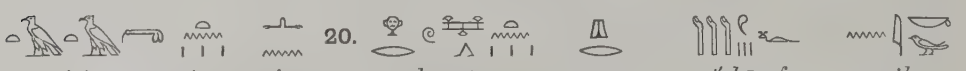
qaȧs Āpepi χeft pfi en Rā ȧm-k reχ ȧri nek Āpepi
fetter Apepi enemy that of Rā, not do thou know what is done to thee Apepi,

χesef *ȧrek* *meter* *ȧm-k* *ȧ* *ḥem* *em* *at-f* *neken-*
meets therefore justice thee. O going back at season his, destroys

19.

f *su* *t'esef* *serq* *ȧḥetit - f* *sau* *qaȧs* *qaȧs*
he him himself opening throat his holding firm the fetter. Fettering

ten *ȧn* *Ḥeru* *netet - ten* *ȧn* *Rā* *ȧn* *benben - ten* *ȧn*
to you cries Horus, tying to you cries Rā, not emission to you, not

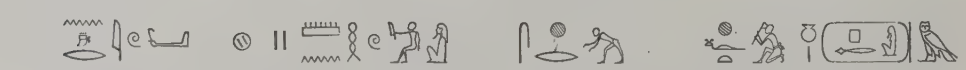


tata - ten *ȧn* 20. *ḥeru-ten* *χer* *t'ebāu-f* *nȧk-*
erection to you, not depart ye from under fingers his; be damned

ten *ȧn* *Rā* *netet - ten* *ȧn* *Ḥeru* *ȧm* *χent ȧn maa*
to you cries Rā, tying to you cries Horus in invisibility."

Re *en* *seśep* *ṭes* *ȧu* *ḥu* *Āpepi* *t'eṭṭu* *net'erȧu*
Chapter of taking a knife to smite Apepi. Say, "May have the mastery

sep sen *menḥu* 21. *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *Rā* *em* *ṭes-k*
twice the slaughterer and the overthrowing of the enemy of Rā with knife thy;



net'erȧu *sep sen* *menḥu* *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *P-āa* *em*
may have the mastery twice the slaughterer and the overthrowing of the enemy of P-āa with

ṭes - k *ṭepu - ten* *enen* *Sebȧu* *t'at'anut - k* *pfi* *enen* *Āpepi*
knife thy, heads of yours those O Sebau, and head thy that that of Apepi

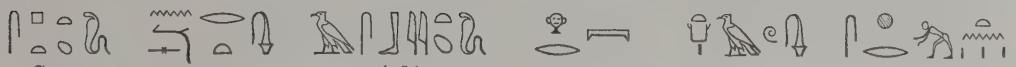
em *śāiṭ*

with slaughtering and

22.

ābau *ā* *em* *ṭes - f* *seḳt*

fighting the hand with knife his. O providing



Septet *nesert* *Asbit* *ḥer* *tekau* *seχer - ten*

Septet flame; and Asbit presiding over the spark, overthrow ye

Qeṭṭu *em* *ṭes - ten* *beḥen - ten* *Unuti* 23. *em* *ṭes - ten*

Qettu with knife your, slay ye Unuti with knife your,

śāiṭ - ten *ḥer* *ṭu - ten* *beḥen - ten* *ḥer* *ȧrit* *en*

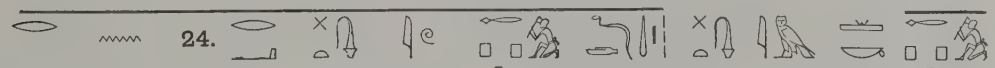
slay ye because of injury your, slay ye because of what has been done

ten *meter* *en* *ȧm - ten* *ȧri - ten* *ḥer* *buṭu* *ȧru - en - ten*

to you; be there justice from you, do ye (it) because of the evil done to you.

māt χeru - Rā *er - ten* *Ḥeru* *beḥen - f - ten*

Triumphs Rā over you, Horus hacks in pieces he you."



Re *en* 24. *erṭā* *set* *ȧu* *Āpepi* *t'eṭṭu* *set* *ȧm - k* *Āpepi*

Chapter of placing fire against Apepi. Say, "Fire upon thee Apepi

χeft *pfi* *en* *Rā* *seχem* *ȧrek* *maa* *Ḥeru* *em* *ba* *em*

enemy that of Rā, prevails then the eye of Horus over the accursed soul and

χebit *en* *Āpepi* *qaqa* *χut* *maa* *Ḥeru* *em* *χeft*

shade of Apepi, gnaws the flame of the eye of Horus into enemy

Column XXIII.

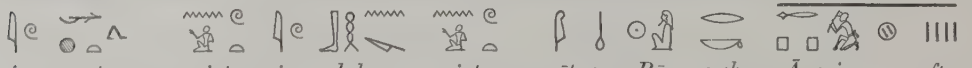
1.

pfi en Rā ȧm χut maa Ḥeru em χefti nebt nu
that of Rā, eats the flame of the eye of Horus into enemies all of

P-āa ānχ ut'a senb em mit em ānχ t'eṭ-ten em ḥekau χeft
P-āa, life, strength, health, in death in life." Speak ye with [these] words of power when

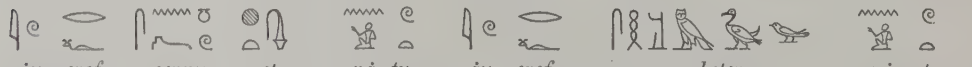
erṭā Āpepi ȧu set t'eṭṭu tep-k tem-tu Āpepi 2. *χet*
is given Apepi to the flame, and say, "Be tasted thou, death to thee Apepi, going back,

ḥem χeft en Rā χer senb ḥem ḥa-k
retreating, enemy of Rā falling down, being repulsed, going back retreatest thou;

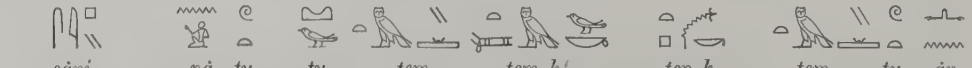


ȧu χet-nȧ-tu ȧu beḥen-nȧ-tu mātχeru Rā erek Āpepi sep fṭu
driven back have I thee, cut asunder have I thee, triumphs Rā over thee Apepi. Times four.

tep-k Āpepi sep·· fṭu 3. *ḥa-k Sebȧu tem erek*
Be tasted thou Apepi. Times four. Back thou Sebȧu, an end to thee



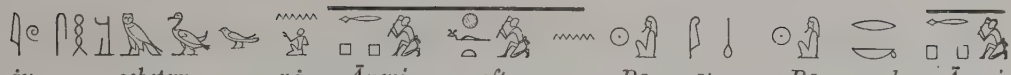
ȧu eref sennu-χet-nȧ-tu ȧu eref seḥetem-nȧ-tu
is therefore, driven flame have I at thee therefore, made to be destroyed have I thee,



sȧpi-nȧ-tu ṭu tem tem-k tep-k tem-tu ȧn
reckoned up have I thee for evil; an end, an end to thee, be tasted thou, an end to thee, not

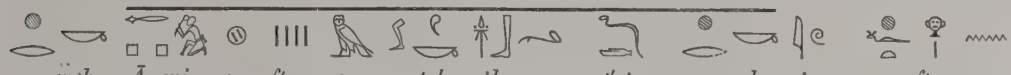
un-nek 4. *tem tem-k tem erek tep-k tem*
rise thou. An end, an end to thee, an end to thee, be tasted thou, come to an end.

[a] The signs in the cartouche are omitted on the papyrus.



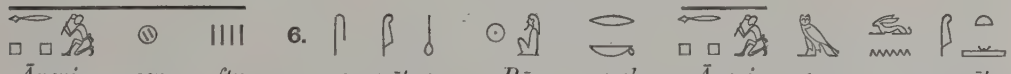
ȧu seḥetem - nȧ Āpepi χeft en Rā mātχeru Rā erek Āpepi
Destroyed have I Apepi the enemy of Rā. Triumphs Rā over thee Apepi.

sep fṭu mātχeru P-āa er χefti - f sep fṭu 5. ȧr emχet sȧn
Times four. Triumphs P-āa over enemies his. Times four." And afterwards shall be defiled



χer-k Āpepi sep fṭu em reṭ-k ȧb ṭ'eṭ χer-k ȧu χeft en
by thee Apepi times four with foot thy left. Shall be said by thee when the countenance of

Rā er āāiu-k χabu emχet uben - f mātχeru Rā erek
Rā is upon both sides thy bending after rises he, "Triumphs Rā over thee

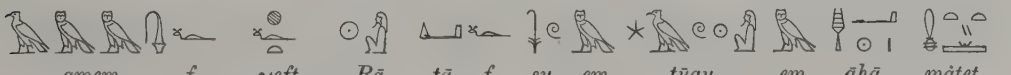


Āpepi sep fṭu 6. s - mātχeru Rā erek Āpepi em un māt
Apepi. Times four. Triumphs Rā over thee Apepi in very truth."

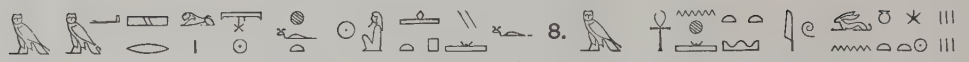
seḥetem Āpepi ṭ'eṭṭu re pen ḥer Āpepi nāuu ḥer śuu
To cause the destruction of Apepi, say chapter this over Apepi written upon papyrus

nemau em rei uaṭ' ḥnā ȧru Āpepi em menḥ 7. χat
new with colour green, together with figure of Apepi in wax cut

mātennu ren - f ḥer - f em rei uaṭ' erṭāt ȧu set
and inscribed accursed name his upon it in colour green, lay it upon the fire (that)

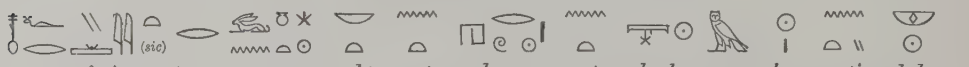


amem - f χeft Rā ṭā - f su em ṭūau em āḥā mȧtet
may devour him the enemy of Rā. Puts one it at dawn, at noon, likewise



em māśer χeft Rā ḥetep - f 8. *em ānχtet ȧu unnut sas*
at eventide when Rā sets he in the land of life, at hour six

ent ḳerḥ ȧu unnut χemennu ent ḥru er peḥ ruhau
of the night, at hour eight of the day, at the arrival of evening



neferit er unnut nebt ent ḥru ent ḳerḥ em ḥru enti ḥeb
up to hour every of the day and of the night, on the day of festival,

9. *em ḥru em ȧbṭu em sas enti ḥeb met' ṭua enti ḥeb mȧtet*
by day by month, by sixth day of festival, fifteenth day of festival likewise

ḥru neb seχer Āpepi χeft nu Rā em χat-pet χer pesṭ
day every. Overthrown is Apepi the enemy of Rā in the shower, for shines

Rā seχer Āpepi em un māt 10. *sennu-χet pu em χet ent*
Rā and overthrown is Apepi in very truth, burnt to wit in a fire of

χessau erṭāt sepu-f er χāā χer useś smen em
dried grass. (?) Are placed remains its to be mixed with excrement and set in

χet uā ȧru χer - k mȧtet enen ȧu unnut sas ent ḳerḥ
fire one. Is to be done by thee the like of this at hour six of the night,

11. *ȧu ḥet' met' ṭua ent ḥru erṭāt Āpepi er set peḳaȧs*
at daybreak of fifteen of day, is given Apepi to the flame, spits (one)

ḥer - f *āšt* *sep* *sen* *em* *ḥāṭ* *unnut* *nebt* *ent* *hru* *neferit*
upon him many times, twice, at the beginning of hour every of the day until

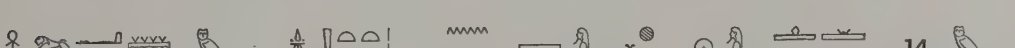
er *rer* *χebit* *ȧr* *emχet* *enen* *ḥet'* *sas* 12. *ent* *hru* *erṭāt*
turns round the shadow. After this at daybreak of six of day is given

χer - k *Āpepi* *ȧu* *set* *peḳȧs* *ḥer - f* *sȧnt* *em* *reṭ - k* *ȧb*
by thee Apepi to the fire, spit upon him defiling with foot thy left,

χesef *hemhemti* *ent* *ḥau - ḥrȧ* *ȧrit* *en* *χer - k*
repulsed are the roarings of the 'backward face.' Done is by thee

mȧtet *enen* 13. *ȧu* *ḥet'* *met'-ṭuau* *ent* *hru* *χesef* *Āpepi* *ȧm - f*
the like of this at daybreak fifteen of day, repulsed is Apepi by it

ṭebṭeb *er* *sekti - k* *ȧru* *χer - k* *mȧtet* *enen* *χeft* *pesȧu*
and slain before *sekti* boat thy. Is done by thee the like of this when boil



śenreā *em* *ȧbtet* *ent* *pet* *χeft* *Rā* *ḥetep-f* 14. *em*
tempests in the eastern parts of the sky when Rā sets he in the

ānχtet *er* *tem* *erṭāt* *χeper* *ṭešertu* *em* *ȧbtet* *ent*
land of life, so as not to let become threatening red in the eastern parts of the

[a] *erṭāt* is written in the text, and *ȧru* just above it.

pet *ȧri* *χer-k* *mȧtet* *enen* *āśt* *sep* *sen* *ȧu* *tem* *erṭāt*
sky. Is done by thee the like of this many times, twice, so as neither to let

χeper *χaθ* *em* *pet* *tem* *erṭāt* *χeper* 15. *qerȧu*
become a shower in the sky, nor to let become a rain storm

em *pet* *ȧri* *χer-k* *mȧtet* *enen* *āśt* *sep* *sen* *er* *χa-pet*
in the sky. Is done by thee the like of this many times, twice, against the shower

er *pesṭ* *ȧtennu* *seχer* *Ȧpepi* *em* *un* *māt* *χut* *en*
for the shining of the sun's disk. Overthrown is Apepi in very truth. Good is it to

ȧri-s *ḥer ḥetep* *ta* *χut* 16. *nef* *em* *neter* *χertet* *erṭāt* *peḥti* *en*
do it upon earth, good for one in the nether world, is given power to

se *pen* *er* *ȧaut* *ent* *ḥer-f* *neḥem-f* *pu* *mā*
person this for dignities which are above him, delivered is he to wit from

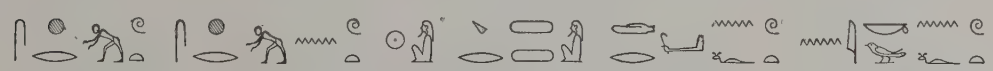
χet *nebt* *bu-ṭu* *em* *un* *māt* *ȧu* *maa - nȧ* *χeper* *mā - ȧ*
things all evil in very truth. "May see I it happen to me."

śāt 17. *ḥetep* *ent* *seχer* *Ȧpepi* *χeft* *nu* *Rā*
Book first of overthrowing Apepi the enemy of Rā.

t'eṭṭu *χer* *ḥer* *ḥrȧ-k* *Ȧpepi* *χeft* *pfi* *en* *Rā* *ḥem* *ḥa - k*
Say, "Down upon face thy Apepi enemy that of Rā, go back, retreat thou

χeri *Sebȧu* *ȧt* *āāiu - f* *ȧt* 18. *reṭṭu - f*
enemy, Sebau without arms his and without legs his,

śāiṭ *χenti - k* *ȧu* *χet* *ḥer - k* *ȧuk* *χer - tu*
split up is snout thy, are things upon thee. Art thou fallen thou,

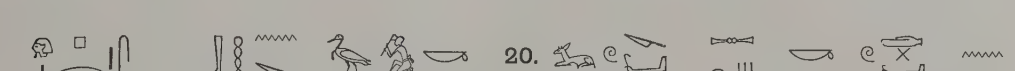


seχer-tu *seχer en tu* *Rā Ḥeru - χuti* *ṭer-nef-tu* *nȧk-nef-tu*
overthrown thou, overthrows thee Rā - Harmachis, destroys he thee, damns he thee,

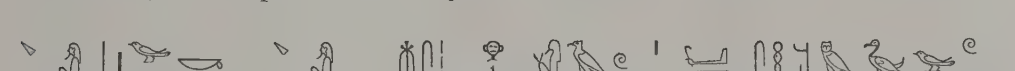
sesunnu - tu *ȧrit - f* *en* 19. *t'et - f* *ȧuk* *χer - tu* *en* *set*
hook thee does he body his. Art thou thrown down thou by the flame,

per *ȧm - s* *nesert* *per* *em* *heh - s* *per* *em* *at - s*
comes forth from it fire proceeding from flame its, comes forth at moment its

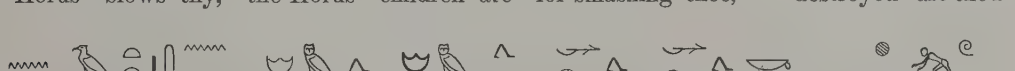
heh - s *erek* *χesef* *at - k* *ȧn* *Ȧuset* *em* *χu*
flame its against thee. Repulsed is crocodile thy, says Isis with the strength of



ṭep - re - s *beḥen* *ba - k* 20. *āu* *θest - k* *uṭ* *en*
utterance her, is cut in pieces soul thy, severed are vertebræ thy, inflicts



Ḥeru set'ebu - k *Ḥeru* *mesu ḥer* *sau - k* *seḥetem - tu*
Horus blows thy, the Horus children are for smashing thee, destroyed art thou



en *at - sen* *ḥem* *ḥem - k* *χet* *χet - k* *χer - tu*
at season their. Back, back thou, retreat, retreat thou, fallen art thou,

χet *ḥem - tu* *Āpepi*
retreating, going back thou Apepi.

21.

seχetχet - tu *paut* *neteru* *āat*
Makes to turn back thee the cycle of the gods great

ȧmu *Ánnu* *seḥem* *en* *Ḥeru* *at - k* *sȧaṭ* *en*
who are in Heliopolis, makes to go back Horus crocodile thy, paralyses

Sut *at - k* *χesef - tu* *Ȧuset* *beḥen - tu* *Nebt - ḥet* *seχetχet - tu*
Sut moment thy. Repulses thee Isis, cuts asunder thee Nephthys, makes to go back thee

paut *neteru* *āat* *ȧmu* *ḥāt* *uȧa* *en* *Rā* *māta*
the cycle of the gods great who are in the front of the boat of Rā. The chain

en *Sut* *ḥer* *neḥbt - k* *ṭāt* *Ḥeru* *mesu* *māb - sen* *ȧm - k*
of Sut is upon neck thy, give the Horus children spears their into thee,

χesef - tu *neteru* *ȧpu* *saa* *nu* *sebeχtu* *śetaut*
repulse thee gods those the guardians of the portals secret.

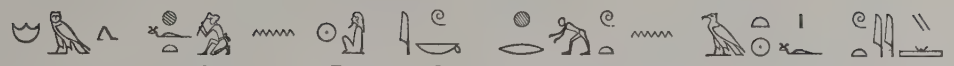
23.

per *heḥ - sen* *er - ek* *em* *set* *ȧ* *χet* *ḥem* *en*
Comes forth flame their against thee from the fire. O going back, retreating from

heḥ - sen *em* *nesert* *per* *em* *re - sen* *ȧ* *χer* *senb*
flames their of fire coming forth from mouths their! O falling one, wriggler,

Āpepi *ȧ* *χet*
Apepi, O going back,

Column XXIV.

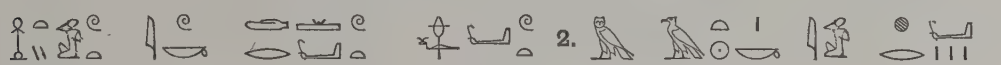
1. 

ḥem *χeft* *en* *Rā* *ȧuk* *χer - tu* *en* *at - f* *tui*

retreating, enemy of Rā, art thou fallen thou at moment his this!

seχer - tu *ȧmu* *uȧa - f* *ḥa - k* *er - ek* *ȧuk*

Have overthrown thee those who are in boat his, back thou for thee. Art thou



śenti - tu *ȧuk* *ṭer - tu* *χesef - tu* 2. *em* *at - k* *ȧ* *χer*

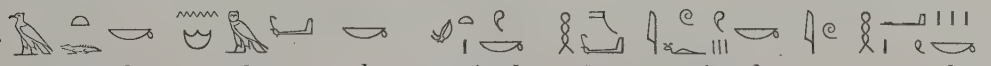
cursed thou, art thou destroyed thou, repulsed thou at moment thy. O trippings up

erek *ȧuk* *ḥem - tu* *ba - k* *ḥem - tu* *ṭeṭ* *ȧuf - k*

to thee! Art thou turned back thou and soul thy, turned back art thou, carried off is flesh thy,

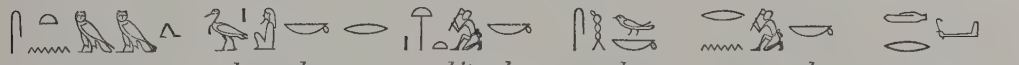
uṭ *set'ebu - k* *ȧru* *āṭ - k* *śāiṭ - k* *ṭer*

inflicted are blows thy, is made cutting thy and slaughter thy, destroyed is

3. 

at - k *neḥem - k* *mest'er-k* *ḥu* *ȧuf - k* *ȧu* *ḥāu - k*

crocodile thy, deprived art thou of ear thy, struck is flesh thy from limbs thy,



setenemem *ba - k* *er* *χebit - k* *sek* *ren - k* *ṭer*

turned back is soul thy from shade thy, destroyed is name thy, made nothing

ḥekau - k 4. *seḥetem - tu* *χer* *seχer - tu* *ȧn*

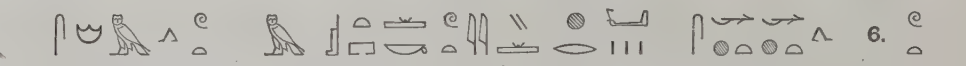
are enchantments thy, destroyed art thou, pierced, overthrown art thou, not

per - k *em* *χebt - k* *tui* *er* *neḥeḥ* *ḥnā t'etta* *ṭāt* *set'ebu - k*

mayest come forth thou from cavern thy that for ever and ever. Given are blows thy

nem *qaàs - k* *sau - tu* *em* *sau* *mertu*
a second time, fettered art thou and beaten by the beaters cruel,

χesef *at - k* *neḥem* *at - k* *neḥem* *Rā* *mest'er-k*
is repulsed moment thy, is turned back crocodile thy, seizes Rā ear thy,



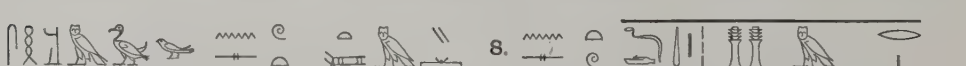
seḥem - tu *em* *àuset-k* *tui* *χer* *seχetχet - tu*
making to go back thee upon seat thy that, upset and made to go back art thou,

sàp - tu *en* *ṭu* *sau* *sau - tu - f* *àn* *per*
condemned art thou for crime, beating, beats thee he, not coming forth

sep - f *tem* *ba - k* *seḥetem* *χebit - k* *sàp - tu* *en*
luck his. Damned is soul thy, destroyed is shade thy, condemned thee has

maa *Ḥeru* *seχem - s* *àm - k* *àm - s* *àm - k* *er* *t'er*
the eye of Horus, prevails it over thee, eats it into thee to the fulness

en *ḥrà - s* *à* *tem* *erek* *Āpepi* *sati - nes-tu* *ḥem - nes-tu*
of face its. O an end to thee Apepi, shoots it thee, turns back it thee,

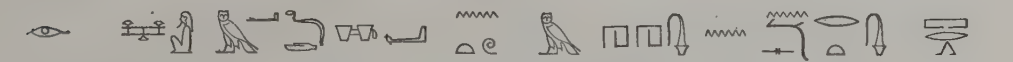


seḥetem - nes-tu *tem - nes - tu* *t'eṭtu* *ṭeṭṭeṭ* *em* *re*
destroys it thee, makes an end it of thee." Say firmly with the mouth,

χer *ḥer* *ḥrà - k* *Āpepi* *χeft* *en* *Rā* *per* *set* *er - ek*
"Down upon face thy Apepi enemy of Rā! Comes forth the flame against thee

per em maa Ḥeru per nebât ur 9. *er - ek per em*

coming forth from the eye of Horus, comes forth fire great against thee, coming forth from



maa Ḥeru māt'eṭ - en - tu em heh en nesert per

the eye of Horus. Thrust down art thou into the flame of fire, comes forth

χet erek mer nesert - s âu ba - k χu - k

the flame against thee, deadly is flame its to soul thy, χu thy,

10. *ḥekau - k χat - k χebit - k nebt amem*

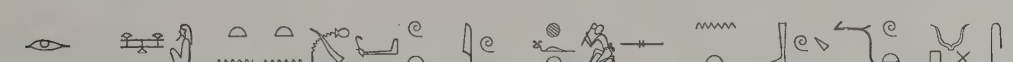
words of power thy, body thy, shade thy. The mistress of fire

seχem - s âm - k sesunnu heh - s em ba - k tem - s

prevails it over thee, hooks flame it into soul thy, makes an end it

âru-k sesunnu - s 11. *χeperu - k âuk χer - tu en*

of what is to thee, hooks it forms thy. Art thou fallen through



maa Ḥeru tenten - tu âu χeft - s ent bu - nes - tu âp - s

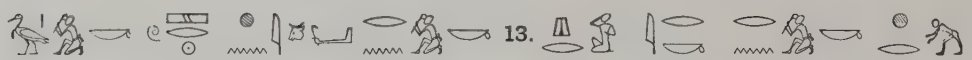
the eye of Horus, powerful against enemy its, which devours thee, leads it

set ur seχem maa Rā 12. *âm - k âm - tu âmi*

the fire mighty, prevails the eye of Rā over thee, devours thee the flame,

ât sepi en χer mā - s ḥem erek âuk beḥen - tu

not remains what falls from it. Back to thee, art thou cut asunder,



ba - k uśer χenȧ ren - k 13. *χer ȧrek ren - k χer*

soul thy is parched, buried is name thy, silence therefore is to name thy, fallen

ȧrek ren - k χem - tu χesef - tu χem - k

therefore is name thy, finished art thou, repulsed art thou, forgotten, forgotten, forgotten art thou.

χet erek ḥem erek ȧuk beḥen-tu ḥerȧu - tu ȧu 14.

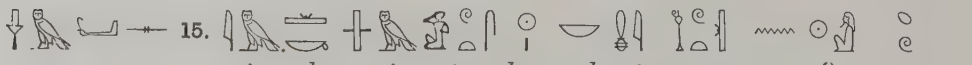
Retreat to thee, back to thee, art thou cut in pieces, removed art thou from

ȧmu kerȧut - f ȧ sek sek tem tem - ḳ Ȧpepi

those in shrine his. O ground up, ground up, end, end to thee, Apepi,

χeft en Rā ȧn un - nek ȧn un ba - k ȧuk maa Ḥeru

enemy of Rā! Not rising to thee, not rising to soul thy, thou the eye of Horus



seχem - s ȧm - k ȧm - tu-s ḥru neb mȧ utu en Rā ȧru 15.

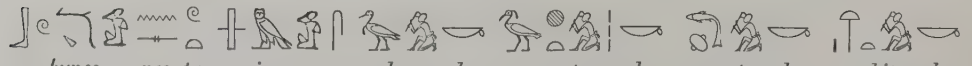
prevails it over thee, eats thee it day every as decreed Rā to be done

erek Ȧpepi ȧuk χer - tu en set χet qeqa uaua

to thee Apepi. Art thou fallen thou into fire and flame, feeds the flame

ȧm - k sȧp - tu ent ȧmit maa Ḥeru χut ent 16.

upon thee, condemned art thou to the fire of the eye of Horus, the fire which



bunes - nes-tu ȧm - s ba - k χut - k χat - k χebit - k

eats it thee, eats it soul thy, χu thy, body thy, shade thy;

ȧn benben - k ȧn tata - k 17. *en t'et t'etta mātχeru Rā*

not erections to thee, not emissions to thee of body for ever and ever. Triumphs Rā

erek Āpepi sep fṭu mātχeru Ḥeru er χefti sep fṭu mātχeru

against thee Apepi. Times four. Triumphs Horus over the Enemy. Times four. Triumphs

P-āa er χefti - f sep fṭu χet erek ḥem erek en

P-āa over enemies his. Times four. Back to thee, retreat to thee at

18. *ḥekau pen per em re-ȧ ḥer P-āa t'etta*

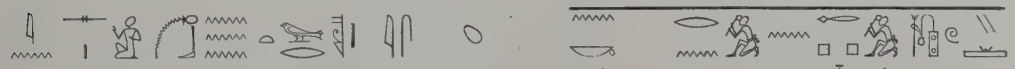
word of power this coming forth from mouth my on behalf of P-āa for ever.

ṭer - k ḥekau pen ȧn ī - k sep - f t'etta Āpepi

Destroys thee word of power this, not comes to thee fate his for ever. O Apepi

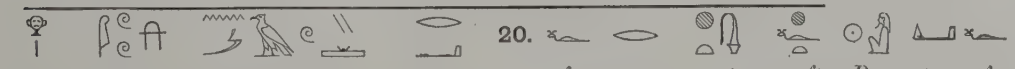
χeft en Rā ṭep-k 19. *χeri Sebȧu sep fṭu t'eṭtu*

enemy of Rā, taste thou enemy, Sebau. Times four. To be said



ȧn sa āb tur ȧs ȧru nek ren en Āpepi nāu

by a person clean, purified. Now may be made by thee the name of Apepi written



ḥer śuu nemau erṭā - f er χet χeft Rā ṭā - f

upon papyrus new, and place it upon the fire when Rā gives he

su χeft Rā em āḥā χeft Rā ḥetep - f em ānχ-tet em

himself, when Rā is in culmination, when Rā sets he in the land of life, on

seχef hru em hru em unnut nebt ent hru neb em ȧbṭu em sas enti
seven of day, by day, at hour every of day every, by month, on sixth day

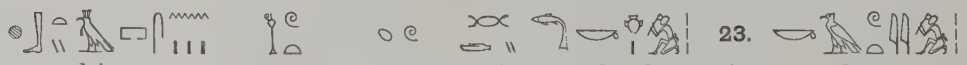
ḥeb em met' ṭua enti ḥeb mȧtet hru nebt en seχer χeft
festival, on fifteenth day festival, likewise day every for overthrowing enemies

nu Rā Ḥeru-χuti
of Rā - Harmachis.

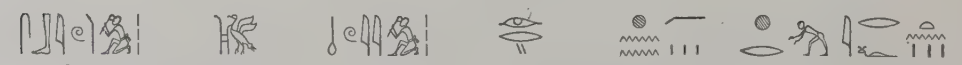
ḥet meḥt sen ent seχer Āpepi χeft nu Rā
Book second of overthrowing Apepi the enemy of Rā.

χer ḥer ḥrȧ-ten χeft nu Rā Sebȧu nebt χeft mesu
Fall upon faces your, enemies of Rā, Sebau every, enemies, children

beteś χak-ȧbu ȧpu Sebȧu ȧt ren-sen χebti ȧri
of inertness, rebels these, Sebau, without name (are) they, sinners. Are made



χebti - sen utut ȧru ȧṭi χak - ȧbu kauti
caverns their as decreed to be made, tied fast are the rebels, the katui,



Sebȧu tennu χeriu ȧri χenen χer ȧref-ten
and the Sebau; how many are the enemies! Is made your overthrowing, fall therefore ye,

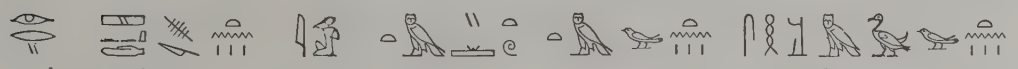
χer-ten em at ent Rā tem - ten χer-f-ten
fall ye at the moment of Rā, an end to you, throws down he you.

Column XXV.

1.

χer - f *ṭepu - ten* *ḥer ḥrā - ten* *às pu* *ḥetem - f* *ten su*

Casts down he heads your upon faces your, and so destroys he you, is he



àri *śāṭ - ten* *à* *tem - tu* *tem - ten* *seḥetem - ten*

making slaughter your. Oh destruction an end to you. Be destroyed you,

àt - ten *àntu - ten* *àn* *χeper - ten* *àn* *un-ten* *ṭer*

annihilated you, eclipsed you. Not may become you, not may exist you, be destroyed

ṭepu-ten *senàt* *ḥāt - ten* *ḥesq* *θesu - ten* *uṭ* *set'ebu*

heads your, be cut throats your, be severed vertebræ your, be inflicted blows

àri *śāṭ - ten* *χer en maa Ḥeru* *sepṭ* *nesert - s* *er-ten*

making slaughter your. Falls the eye of Horus dowered with flame its against you,

seχem *heh - s* *àm-ten* *χāt maa Rā* *er ten* *ḥu*

obtains the mastery flame its over you. Rises the eye of Rā against you, smites

user - f *en* *àm - ten* *seχem* *maat - f* *en* *àm - ten*

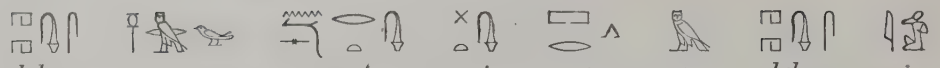
power his at you, obtains the mastery eye his over you,

àm - s - ten *sesunnu - s - ten* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *àmi*

eats it you, hooks it you in name its that of Àmi (eater),

seχem - s *en* *àm - ten* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *Seχet* *χer - ten* *en*

obtains the mastery it over you in name its that of Seχet. Overthrow you

4. 

heh-s *mer* *nesert* *set* *per* *em* *heh-s* *à*

flame its cruel, and the flame and burning coming forth from fire its. O

seksek-s - *ten* *à* *sek* *sep sen* *per* *set* *er* *ten* *χeft*

destroys it you, O destroying, comes forth the fire against you enemy

nu *Rā* *Sebàu* *nu* *Ḥeru* *àu* *ba-ten* *χat-ten* *χebit-ten*

of Rā and Sebau of Horus, against souls your, bodies your and shades your.

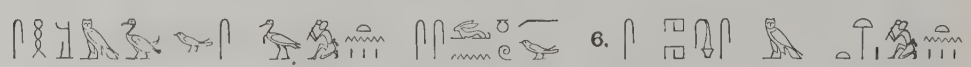
5.

per *set* *peses-ten* *χenfi* *χenfi-s-ten* *ubti*

Comes forth fire roasting you, frizzling frizzles it you, scorching

ubti-s-ten *Àp-s-ur* *àp-s-ten* *àm-s-ten* ..... *nesbu-s-ten*

scorches it you. Àp-s-ur judges she you, devours she you, consumes she you,



seḥetem-s *ba-ten* *sesunnu-* *s* *heh-s* *em* *χebit-ten*

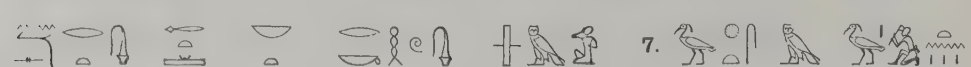
destroys she souls your, hooks she fire her into shades your.

à *tem* *tem-ten* *àu-ten* *ṭer-tu* *sep sen* *useḥ-ten*

O an end, an end to you. Are ye destroyed, twice, cut asunder are you,

mātes-ten *àri* *āṭi-ten* *sàpi-ten* *en* *uaua*

hacked in pieces are you, is made slaughter your, judged are you by the fire and



nesert *āat* *nebt* *rekeḥu* *àm* *χut-s* *em* *ba-ten*

the flame great lord of blazing. Eats fire its into souls your,

sesunnu *heḥ-s* *em* *χat-ten* *māt'eṭ-s* - *ten* *em* *nebâṭ-s*
hooks flame its into bodies your, binds it you with fire its,

ur *ṭes-s-ten* *em* *ṭes-s* *ṭenṭennu-s-ten* *em* *ṭenṭennu-s*
the fire cuts it you with cutting its, pierces it you with piercing its,

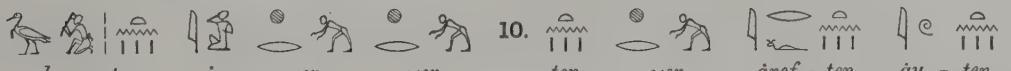
qaqâ-s *em* *nebâṭ-s* *nesert-s-ten* *em* *nesert-s* *haut-s-*
consumes it with fire its, burns up it you with burning its, parches it

ten *em* *haut-s* *rekeḥu-s-ten* *em* *rekeḥu-s* *amem-s-ten*
you with heat its, consumes it you with burning its, devours it you

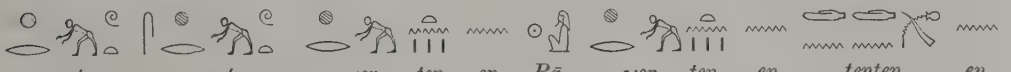
em *amem-s* *set-s-ten* *en* *ren-s* *pfi* *en* *set*
with devouring flame its, bites it into you in name its that of "Set" (Fire),

âpt-s-ten *em* *ren-s* *pui* *en* *âpt-s-ur* *χer-ten* *en*
judges it you in name its that of 'Âpt-s-ur.' Overthrows you

nebâṭ-s *sept* *nesert* *ur* *âm* *heḥ-s* *âm-s* *χut-s* *em*
fire its provided with flame great in fire its, eats it fire its into



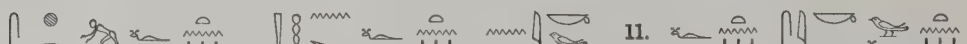
ba-ten *â* *χer* *χer* - *ten* *χer* *âref-ten* *âu-ten*
souls your. O fall, fall ye, fall therefore ye! Are ye



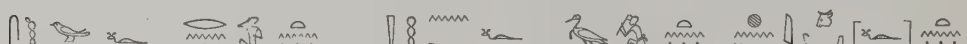
χer-tu *seχertu* *χer-ten* *en* *Rā* *χer-ten* *en* *ṭenṭen* *en*
fallen, overthrown. Overthrows you Rā, fall ye by the impact of

[a] This word is written twice in the papyrus.

at - f *tem - ten - nef* *tem - ten* *seḥetem - f - ten*
moment his. Makes an end to you he, come to nought ye, destroys he you,



seχer - f - ten *beḥen - f - ten* *nȧk - f - ten* 11. *sȧken - f - ten*
overthrows he you, cuts asunder he you, annihilates he you, ruins he you.



sek - f *ren - ten* *beḥen - f* *ba - ten* *χenfȧ - f - ten*
Destroys he name your, hacks in pieces he souls your, roasts he you,

ḥetem - f - ten *reṭḥu - f - ten* *sesunnu - f - ten*
finishes he you, hooks he you, hooks he you,

χer - f - ten *χer - ten en* *ȧmi - s* *ḥetem - s - ten ȧm* 12.
overthrows he you. Fall ye by flame its, destroys it you, be not

ten un ȧ tem tem - ten sep sen tem ȧref - ten
to you existence. O an end, an end to you, twice! An end therefore to you,

tem - ten *tem* *ba - ten* *tem - ten* *tem* *χat - ten*
an end to you. An end to soul your, an end to you. An end to body your,

tem - ten *tem* *χebit - ten* *tem - ten* *ȧn* *un - ten* *ȧn*
an end to you. An end to shade your an end to you. Be not existence to you, be not

un 13. *ba - ten* *ȧn* *un - ten* *ȧn* *un* *χat - ten*
existence to soul your. Be not existence to you, be not existence to body your.

ȧn un - ten ȧn un χebit - ten ȧn un - ten ȧn

Be not existence to you, be not existence to shades your. Be not existence to you, be not

un ānχ - ten ȧn un ten ȧn un nehep - ten ȧn

existence to life your. Be not existence to you, be not existence to defence your. Be not

θes ṭep - ten em ḥāu - ten 14. *χet ȧref - ten nef ḥem*

fastened heads your upon limbs your. Retreat therefore ye before him, go back

ȧref - ten Sebȧu ȧm - ten un-un en Teḥuti ȧref - ten em

therefore ye Sebau. Be not ye waking up Thoth therefore ye with

ḥekau - f neter āa user - f er ten reṯhu - nef - ten

magic words his. The god great victorious is he over you, hooks he you,

ṭā - f ȧritu mest - ten per set ṭep - re - f 15. *er - ten*

gives he to be done to you what hate ye. Comes forth the fire of utterance his against you,

amem ȧref - ten Sebȧu ȧm unun en Teḥuti ȧref - ten

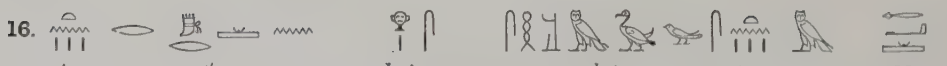
be consumed therefore ye Sebau; be not waking up Thoth therefore ye

em ḥekau - f seχer - f - ten beḥen - f - ten seḥetem - f - ten

with magic words his. Overthrows he you, hacks in pieces he you, destroys he you,

sȧpi-f - ten en maa Ḥeru per em maa Ḥeru qaqa - s -

judges it you the Horus fire coming forth from the eye of Ḥorus, devours it

16. 

ten er t'er en ḥrâ-s seḥetem - s-ten em āā

you to the whole of face its (*i.e.*, entirely). Destroys it you with the might

afit - s ân χesef - tu-s em at mertu âb-s em

of flame its, not repulsed is it at the moment wished by heart its in

ren - s pfi en Mert tem âref - ten nes ḥem âref - ten

name its that of Mert. An end therefore to you before it, retreat therefore ye

nes ḥem âref - ten nes 17. *neχt âref - ten nes χeft nebt*

before it, go back therefore ye before it, withdraw therefore ye before it, enemy every

nu Rā χeft nebt nu Ḥeru sati - s âref - ten ḥem - s - ten

of Rā, and enemy every of Horus. Shoots it therefore you, drives back it you,

seḥetem - s-ten tem âref - ten - nes sek âref - ten nes

destroys it you, an end therefore to you before it; destruction therefore to you before it

âm - ten ben ben âm - ten 18. *tata en t'et t'etta*

be not to you erections, be not to you emissions of body for ever!

âu Rā semāt χeru - f māāt âref - ten Āpepi mesu beteś

Rā makes to triumph over him justice, therefore you, O Apepi and children of inertness,

uru beteś māt χeru Rā er χefti - f sep ftu māt χeru Ḥeru

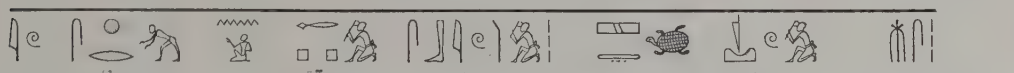
great ones of inertness. Triumphs Rā over enemies his. Times four. Triumphs Horus

er *χefti - f* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru* *Ausar* 19. *χent* *Amentiu* *er* *χefti - f*

over enemies his, times four; triumphs Osiris at the head of the Amentiu over enemies his.

sep *fṭu* *mātχeru* *P-āa*[a] *ānχ* *uṭ'a* *senb* *er* *χefti - f* *sep* *fṭu*

Times four. Triumphs P-āa, life, strength, health, over enemies his. Times four.

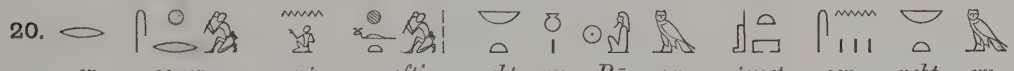


au *seχer - nā* *Āpepi* *Sebau* *śeta* *Qeṭṭu* *mesu*

Overthrown have I Apepi, the Sebau, the Tortoise, Qeṭṭu and the children

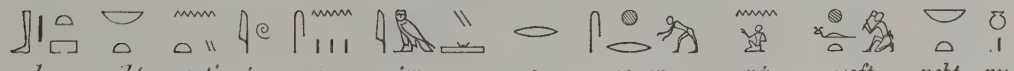
beteś *em* *auset - sen* *nebt* *em* *bu* *nebt* *enti* *au - sen* *am*

of inertness in station their every, in place every which are they there.



20. *er* *seχer - nā* *χefti* *nebt* *nu* *Rā* *em* *auset - sen* *nebt* *em*

Overthrown have I enemies all of Rā in station their every, in



bu *nebt* *enti* *au - sen* *am* *er* *seχer - nā* *χeft* *nebt* *nu*

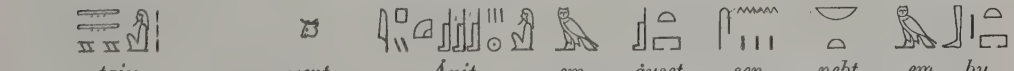
place every which are they there. Overthrown have I enemy every of

Heru *em* *auset - sen* *nebt* *em* *bu* *nebt* *enti* *au - sen* *am*

Horus in seat their every in place every which are they there.

au *seχer - nā* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Amen - Rā* *neb* *nest*

Overthrown have I enemy every of Amen - Rā lord of the thrones



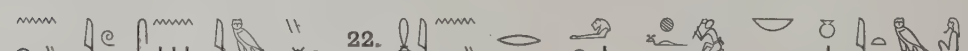
taiu *χent* *Apit* *em* *auset - sen* *nebt* *em* *bu*

of the two countries at the head of the Apts, in station their every and in place

[a] In the papyrus the cartouche is empty.

nebt enti ȧu - sen ȧm ȧu seχer - nȧ χeft nebt nu Ptaḥ
every which are they there. Overthrown have I enemy every of Ptah

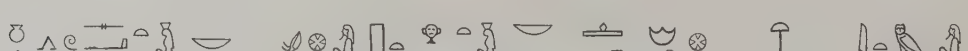
Qemā Ȧnbu-f nebt taiu em ȧuset - sen nebt em bu nebt
of Memphis, lord of the two countries, in station their every in place every



22.

enti ȧu - sen ȧm mȧ enti er hāt χeft nebt nu Ȧtmu
which are they there: likewise before enemy every of Ȧtmu,

mȧtet χeft nebt nu Teḥuti nebt χemennu mȧtet χeft nebt
likewise enemy every of Thoth lord of Chemennu, likewise enemy every



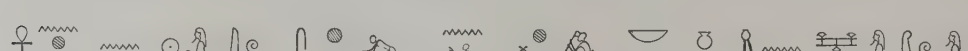
nu Iusāset neb Ȧnnu Ḥet-ḥert nebt Ḥetep-Ḥemet χebit Ȧtmu
of Iusaset lady of Heliopolis, Hathor lady of Ḥetep-Ḥemet and the shade of Atmu;

χeft nebt nu Ḥeru χeut χaṭθȧ nebt Ka-kamit χeft nebt
enemy every of Horus prince of Chatta, lord of Ka-Kamit; enemy every

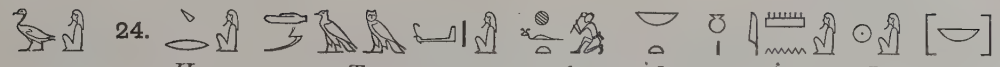
23.

nu χuaut neter śes (?) χeft nebt nu Bast āat nebt Bast χeft
of χuaut ..... enemy every of Bast, great one, lady of Bast; enemy

nebt nu Ȧusar nebt Ṭettuṭ χeft nebt nu Bȧ nebt Ṭettu neter āa
every of Osiris lord of Tettut; and enemy every of the ram lord of Tettut, god great,



ānχ en Rā ȧu seχer - nȧ χeft nebt nu Ȧn - ḥer Śu
the life of Rā Overthrown have I enemy every of Ȧn - ḥer - Shu



24.

se *Ḥeru* - *Ṭemam* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ámen* - *Rā* *neb*

the son of Horus the concealed; enemy every of Amen - Rā lord of

Sam - *beḥutet* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ánpu* *nebt* *Sauti* *χeft* *nebt* *nu*

Sam - beḥutet, enemy every of Ánubis lord of Siut, enemy every of

Ḥeru *nebt* *ábtiu* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* *maa* *nebt* *Śeṭennu*

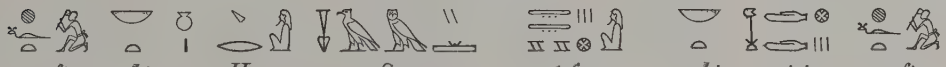
Horus lord of the easterns; enemy every of "Horus the Double-eyed," lord of Śeṭennu;

χeft *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* *ám*

enemy every of Horus in .....

Column XXVI.

1.



χeft *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* *Sam* *taîu* *nebt* *χaṭeṭ* *χeft*

enemy every of Horus the Pilot of the two earths, lord of χatet; enemy

nebt *nu* *Ḥeru* *em* *Pe* *Uat'it* *em* *Ṭep* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* *uru*

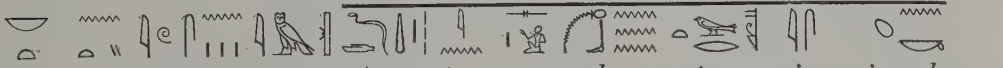
every of Horus in Pe and Uat'it in Tep; enemy every of Horus, the aged,

nebt *Qemāt* *em* *âuset* - *sen* *nebt* *em* *bu* *nebt* *entí* *âu* - *sen* *ám*

lord of Qemā in station their every, in place every which are they there.

âu *seχer* - *nà* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Seb* *em* *âuset* - *sen* *nebt* *em* *bu*

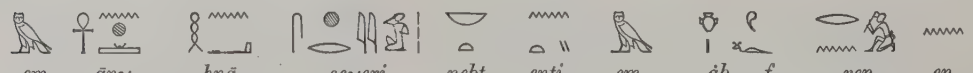
Overthrown have I enemy every of Seb in station their every, in place



nebt *entí* *âu* - *sen* *ám* *t'ettu* *ân* *sa* *āb* *tur* *âs* *âru-nek*

every which are they there. Said by a person washed and clean, "Now art done for thou

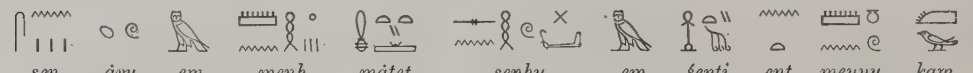
χeft nebt nu Rā χeft nebt nu P-āa ānχ ut'a senb em mit
enemy every of Rā, enemy every of P-āa life, strength, health, in death



em ānχ ḥnā seχeri nebt enti em ȧb - f ren en
in life together with designs all which are in heart his. The name of

ȧtf - sen mut - sen mesu - sen em ȧbt nebt nāu em
father their, mother their, children their upon (leg) left every shall be written with

rii uat' ḥer śuu nemau māṭennu ren - sen her śenbt-
colour green upon papyrus new; inscribed shall be names their upon bodies



sen ȧru em menḥ mȧtet senḥu em śenti ent mennu kam
their made of wax and likewise tied up with hair of colour dark;

peḳaȧs ḥer sen sȧn em ret ȧbt seχer em māb
spit upon them and spurn (them) with the foot left; pierce with a lance

em ṭes- erṭāt ḥer χet em ment ent māḥti (?) ḥer sa
of stone; put (them) upon the flame of fire of the burners (?) upon the

ren en Āpepi sennu χet em χet ent χessau χeft Rā
name of Apepi. Kindle a fire with the flame of *χessau* grass when Rā

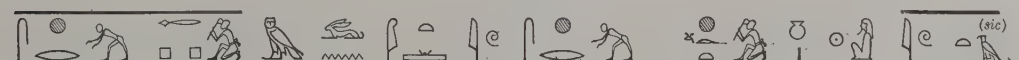
ṭā - f su χeft Rā. em āḥā χeft Rā ḥetep - f em
gives he himself; when Rā (is) in culmination; when Rā sets he in

ānχtet *unnut* *ḥetepi* *ent* *ḥru* *ent* *ḳerḥ* *em* *unnut* *sen* *ent* *ḳerḥ*
the land of life; hour first of day of night; at hour (?) second of night

neferit *er* *unnut* *χemet* *enti* *ḳerḥ* *ȧu* *ḥet'* *ta* *mâtet* *unnut*
until hour three of night until lightens the earth; likewise hour

nebt *enti* *ḳerḥ* *unnut* *nebt* *ent* *ḥru* *em* *pautta* *em* *sas* *enti* *ḥeb*
every of the night; hour every of the day of the new moon feast; on sixth of festival;

em *met' ṭua* *enti* *ḥeb* *mâtet* *ȧbṭu* *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *Rā*
on fifteenth of festival; likewise of the month. Overthrown is the enemy of Rā,



seχer *Āpepi* *em* *un* *mât* *ȧu* *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *Rā* *ȧu* *ta* (sic)
overthrown is Apepi in very truth, overthrown is the enemy of Rā." Is

ȧrutu *śāt* *ten* *em* *sem* *pen* *enti* *em* *nāuu* *χeft* *t'at*
made book this after copy this which (is) in writing when goes forth

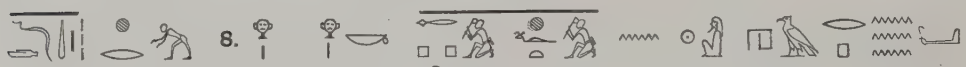
ȧṭep *er* *seχer* *χeft* *nu* *Rā* *χeft* *nebt* *nu* *Ḥeru* - *maa*
the boat to overthrow enemy of Rā, enemy every of Horus of two eyes

em *Âat* - *peḳa* *χut* *en* *se* - *śenti* - *nef* *śāt* *ten* *embaḥ*
in Aat - Peḳa. Good (it is) for a person (when) recites he book this before

neter *pen* *śeps* *em* *śes* *mâât* *ḥeḥ* *en* *sep*
god this venerable with rope of law, (*i.e.*, regularly,) thousands of times.

śāt ent seχer χeft nu Rā em χerti ent hru neḏ

The book of overthrowing the enemy of Rā in the course of day every.

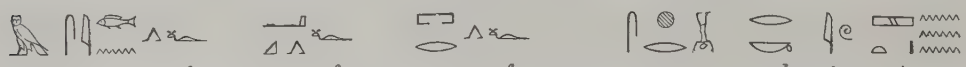


ṯ'eṭṭu χer ḥer ḥrå - k Āpepi χeft en Rā harp

Say, "Down upon face thy Apepi enemy of Rā! plunge,

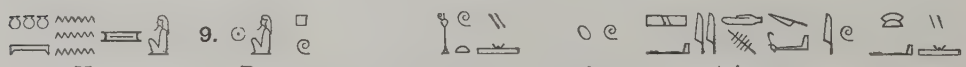
sep sen per em χemt senb sep sen sån - tu sån

twice, coming out from unknown place. Turn back, twice, quickly, quickening



em sån - f āq - f per - f seχer erek åu śet

as hastens he (when) enters he and comes forth he. Overthrowing to thee at the sea

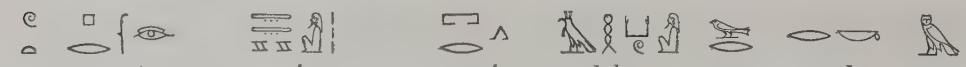


Nu Rā pu utut åru śāiṭ åu χā

of Nu! Rā it is (who) has commanded to perform slaughter. Rises

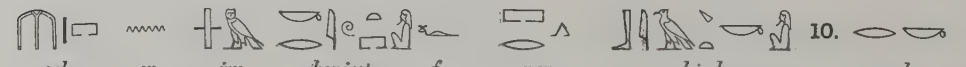
nesert ur erek septˌ per em Åpt-ḥekau un maa

the flame great against thee, provided coming forth from Åpt-ḥekau, open of two eyes



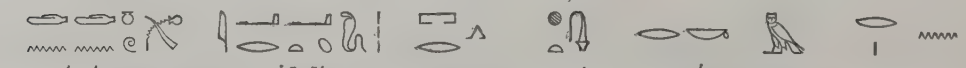
tu petrå taiu perti ḥekau ur erek em

thou looking upon the two earths, comes forth the spell great against thee from



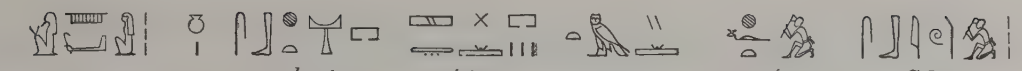
seḥ en åm ker̊åut - f per båak erek

the closet which is in shrine his. Comes forth the hawk against thee,



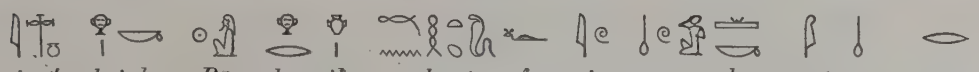
ṭenṭennu åārāt per χet erek em re en

present themselves the uræi, comes forth flame against thee from the mouth of



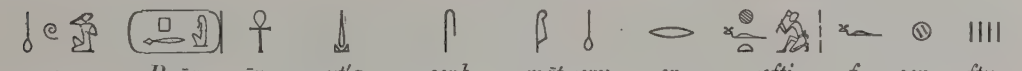
sau *nu* *śebχet* *śeta* *tem* *χeft* *Sebâu*
the guardians of the pylons secret. An end [to thee] enemy, Sebâu,

taâr *Âpepi* *ḥetep* *Rā* *ḥer* *âa* - *f* *em* *χennu* *kerâut* - *f*
be fettered Apepi, rests Rā upon station his within shrine his.

11. 

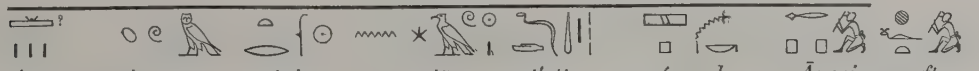
ânet' *ḥrâ-k* *Rā* *ḥer âb* *meḥenet* - *f* *âu* *χeru* - *k* *mātχeru* *er*
Hail to thee Rā within diadem his! Is voice thy triumphant over

Âpepi *sep* *fṭu* *âu* *χeru* - *k* *māt* *er* *χefti* - *k* *sep* *fṭu* *âu*
Apepi. Times four. Is voice thy law against enemies thy. Times four. Is

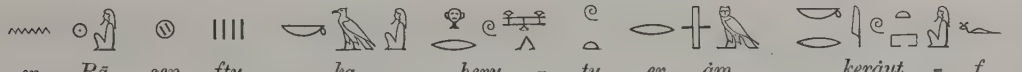


χeru *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb* *mātχeru* *er* *χefti* - *f* *sep* *fṭu*
the voice of P-āa, life, strength, health, triumphant over enemies his. Times four.

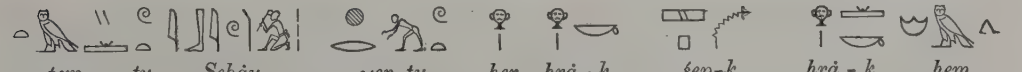
śep - *k* *Âpepi* *sep* *fṭu* *śāt* *ent* 12. *seḥem* *Âpepi* *χeft* *ur*
Be spit upon thou Apepi. Times four." The book of turning back Apepi enemy great.



śāt *âru* *em* *trâ* *en* *ṭūau* *t'eṭṭu* *śep* - *k* *Âpepi* *χeft*
Recitation (?) made at the season of dawn. Say "Be spit upon thou Apepi enemy



en *Rā* *sep* *fṭu* *ka* *ḥeru* - *tu* *er* *âm* *kerâut* - *f*
of Rā. Times four! O turned back from (him that is) in shrine his,



tem - *tu* *Sebâu* *χer-tu* *ḥer* *ḥrâ* - *k* *śep-k* *ḥrâ* - *k* *ḥem*
an end to thee Sebâu, fallen art thou upon face thy. Be spit upon face thy, retreat

13.

tu em áuset - k ṭebu ẖnṯennu - k śerâu uat - k

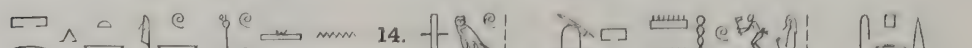
thou into place thy, be impeded roads thy, be stopped paths thy,

mas - k em áuset - k ent sef án peḥti - k áahau

be confined thou in place thy of yesterday. Not strength to thee, feeble

áb - k ḫâu - k em qemtu áuk sáati - tu án un

heart thy, limbs thy in torpidity, art thou annihilated, not be

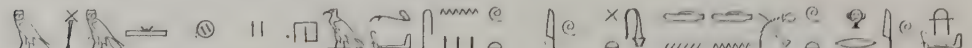


pert - k áuk utut en 14. *ámu nemmat menḫu seṗt*

exit thy. Art thou decreed to those at the block and the slaughterers provided with

ṭes senâ - sen ṭep - k âu - sen neḥeb - k ári - sen tu

knives; cut off they head thy; chop they neck thy, do for they thee

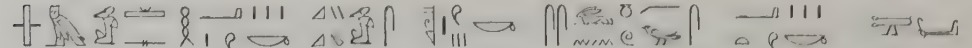


em nem sep sen ha - sen - tu áu set ṭenṭen - tu ḫerâu -

a second time, twice; throw they thee to the flame; goading thee terrify

sen tu er nesert em at - s 15. *seχem - s âm - k*

they thee more than the flame at moment its. Gains the mastery it over thee;

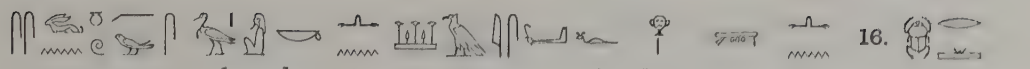


âm - s ḫâu - k qeq - s ḳesu - k sesunnu - s ât - k tet

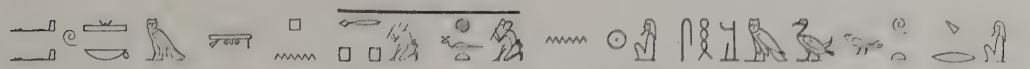
eats it limbs thy; devours it bones thy; hooks it members thy; carries off

χnum mesu - k er nemmat - f ḫâu - k em sebu en set

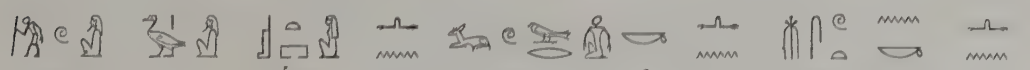
Chnumis children thy to block his. Limbs thy are transferred to the flame;



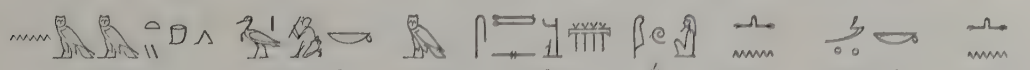
sesunnu - s ba - k ân śaâs - f ḥer ta ân 16. *χeper*
hooks it soul thy; not may pass it over earth; not may become



ââu - k em ta pen Âpepi χeft en Rā sekḥetem - tu Ḥeru
arms thy on earth this, Apepi enemy of Rā. Destroys thee Horus



uru se Âuset ân âuur - k ân mestu - nek ân
the aged son of Isis; not be conception to thee; not birth to thee; not

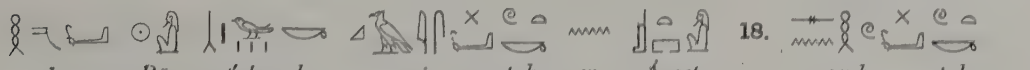


nememti ba - k em s-θes Śu ân maa - k ân
may reach out soul thy to (what) supports Shu; not mayest see thou; not

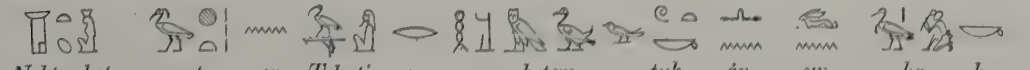
ḳa - k âuk sekḥetem - tu 17. *ân un χebit - k Âpepi χeft*
mayest look thou; art destroyed thou; not may be shade thy Apepi enemy

en Rā śep-k Sebâu tem ren - k ân seχau - tuk
of Rā. Be spit upon thou Sebâu; an end to name thy; not be remembrance to thee;

âri net'erâu - k peḳas - tu ḥer - k tennu seχau - tuk
be made mastery thy; be sick thou over thyself at each remembrance of thine;



ḥu Rā set'ebu - k qaâs - tuk en Âuset 18. *senḥu - tuk*
inflicts Rā blows thy; tied up art thou by Isis; bound art thou (by)



Nebt - ḥet χut en Teḥuti er ḥetem - tuk ân un ba - k
Nephthys; the virtues of Thoth are for destroying thee. Not may exist soul thy

mā *baiu* *ȧn* *un* *χat - k* *χenti* *χatu* *pesḥu - tuk*
among the souls; not may be body thy with carcases; may bite thee

χet *ȧm - tu* *nesert* *ȧri* *uaua* *ḥetep-s* *ḥer - k* 19. *Āpepi*
the fire; may devour thee the flame making burning; may rest it upon thee, Apepi

χeft *en* *Rā* *ȧu* *Rā* *em* *ḥāā* *Ȧtmu* *em* *āu* *ȧbu*
enemy of Rā. Is Rā rejoicing, Is Tmu in heart pulsings of delight,

Ḥeru *uru* *ȧb-f* *net'em* *Āpepi* *mes* *en* *set*
Horus the elder heart his (is) glad; Apepi is transferred to the flame

nekȧu *mes* *en* *χet* *ȧn* *un* *res* *ȧn* *un*
and Nekau is transferred to the fire. Not may exist at all, not may exist

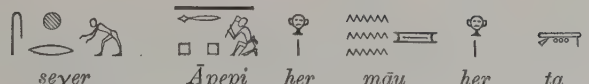
χebit - f *em* *pet* *em* *ta* *Āpepi* 20. *χeft* *en* *Rā* *śep - k*
shade his in heaven, or in earth. Apepi enemy of Rā, be spit upon thou,

tem *Āpepi* *sep* *fṭu* *t'eṭṭu* *ḥer* *Āpepi* *ȧru* *em* *menḥ* *χa*
an end to Apepi. Times four." Say over Apepi made of wax, inscribed

mȧtet *nāu* *ḥer* *śuu* *nemau* *ṭā* *er* *χet* *ȧu* *χeft*
likewise written upon papyrus new, and put upon the fire in the presence

en *Rā* *ḥru* *neb* *mȧtet* *ḥru* *uā* *ȧbṭu* *ḥru* *sas* *enti* *ḥeb*
of Rā day every, likewise day first of the months, and day sixth of festival

met' ṭua *enti* *ḥeb*
and fifteenth of festival.

21. 

seχer *Āpepi* *ḥer* *māu* *ḥer* *ta*
Overthrown is Apepi by water, by land,

ḥer *ȧχemu*
by the stars.

śāt *enti* *reχ* *χeperu* *nu* *Rā* *seχer* *Āpepi*
Book of knowing the evolutions of Rā and overthrowing Apepi.

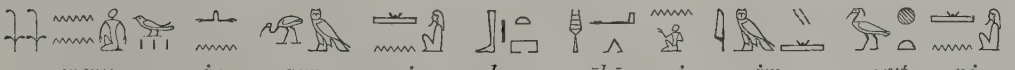
t'ettu *Neb-er-t'er* *t'eṭ - f* *emχet* *χeper - f* *nuk* *pu* *χeper* *em*
Words of Neb-er-t'er. Says he after became he, "I am to wit the becomer as

χeperȧ *χeper-nȧ* *χeper* *χeperu* *χeper* *χeperu* *neb* *emχet*
χeperȧ. Became I the becoming of becomings, the becoming of becomings all after

χeper - ȧ *āśt* *χeperu* *em* *per* *em* *re - ȧ* *ȧn* *χeper*
becomings my many, and the evolutions coming forth from mouth my. Not had become

pet *ȧn* *χeper* *ta* *ȧn* *qemam* *seta* *t'eṭfet* *em*
heaven, not had become earth, not were created ground objects and reptiles in

bu *pui* *θes - nȧ* *ȧm - sen* *em* *nu* *em*
place that. Raised I them out of the watery mass from



enenu *ȧn* *qem - nȧ* *bu* *āḥā - nȧ* *ȧm* *χut - nȧ*
inertness. Not found I a place could stand I there. Strong was I

em ȧb - ȧ senti - nȧ em ś̈u ȧri - nȧ ȧru nebt uȧ - ḳ[uȧ] ȧn
in heart my, founded I Shu, made I attributes all. Alone was I, not

ȧśeś - nȧ em Ś̈u ȧn tef - nȧ em Tefnut ȧn χeper ki
evacuated had I Shu, not had spit up I Tefnut. Not became other

24.

ȧri - nef ḥnā - ȧ senti - nȧ em ȧb - ȧ t'es - ȧ χeper ȧśt
worked he with me. Laid foundation I in heart my own, became many

χeperu nu χeperu em χeperu nu mesu em χeperu nu
the becomings of the becomings out of the becomings of births from the becomings of

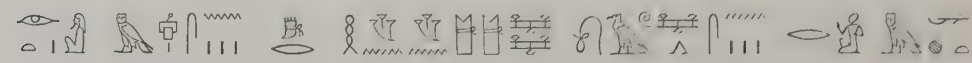
mesu - sen ȧnuḳ pu ḥat - ȧ em χefā - ȧ tataȧt - nȧ
births their. I to wit cohabited I with fist my, copulated I

Column XXVII.

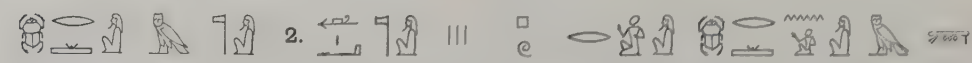
1.

em χebit - ȧ χer - nȧ em re - a t'es - ȧ ȧśeś - nȧ em Ś̈u
with shade my, poured liquid I into mouth my own, evacuated I Shu,

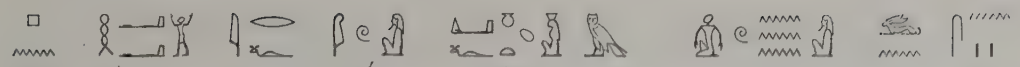
tefnut - nȧ em Tefnut ȧn ȧtf - ȧ Nu s - atet - sen
spit up I Tefnut." Says father my Nu, "Eclipse they



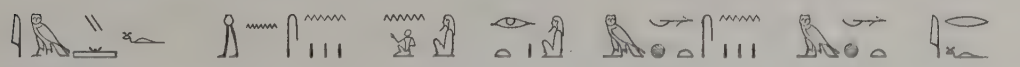
mat - ȧ em sa - sen t'er ḥenḥen uau - sen er - ȧ emχet
eye my behind them, since for centuries proceeded they from me after



χeper - ȧ em neter uā neter χemet pu er - ȧ χeper - nȧ em ta
became I from god one gods three to wit from me, became I in land

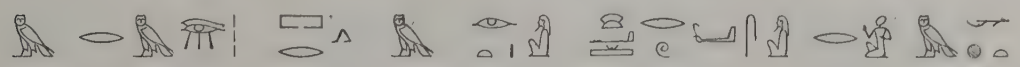


pen *ḥāā* *ȧref* *Śu* *Tefnut* *em* *enenu* *un - sen*
this. Rejoiced therefore Shu and Tefnut in the inert watery mass were they

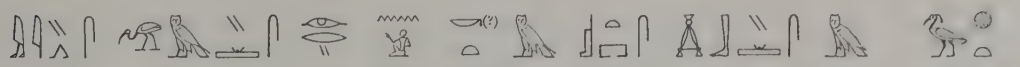


ȧm - f *ȧn - sen* *nȧ* *mat - ȧ* *emχet - sen* *emχet* *ȧref*
in it, and bring they to me eye my after them. After therefore

sam - nȧ *ȧt - ȧ* *rem - nȧ* *ḥer - sen* *χeper* *reθ* *pu*
gather up I limbs my, weep I over them, become men and women to wit



em *remu* *per* *em* *mat - ȧ* *χāru - s* *er - ȧ* *emχet*
from the tears coming out from eye my, growls it at me as

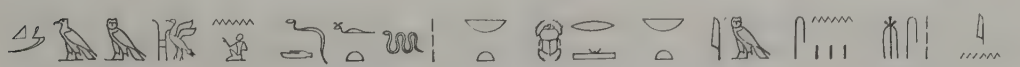


ī - s *qem - s* *ȧri - nȧ* *ket* *em* *ȧuset - s* *ṭebi - s* *em* *χut*
comes it finds it made have I another in place its restoring it with splendour

ȧru - nȧ s - χenti *ȧref* *ȧuset - s* *em* *ḥrȧ - ȧ* *emχet* *ȧref* *ḥeq - s*
made have I approaching therefore place its in face my, afterwards therefore rules it

ta *pen* *er* *t'er - f* *χer* *en* *at - sen* *ȧu* *uabu - sen*
earth this whole of it. Fall destinies their upon plants their,

ṭebu - nȧ *tet - s* *ȧm - s* *per - nȧ* *em* *uabu*
restore I (what) carries away it from it. Come forth I from the plants,



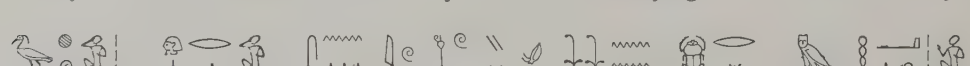
qemam - nȧ *t'eṭfet* *nebt* *χeper* *nebt* *ȧm - sen* *mesu* *ȧn*
create I reptiles all becomes all from them. Give birth

Śu *Tefnut* *ḥnā* *Nut* *mesu* *ȧn* *Seb* *Nut* *Ȧusar* *Ḥeru*
Shu and Tefnut to Nut, giving birth to Seb and Nut Osiris, Horus

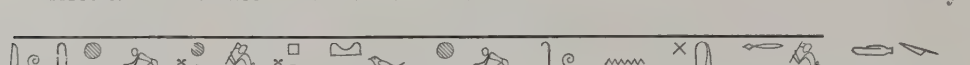
χent-ȧn-maa *Sut* *Ȧuset* *Nebt-ḥet* *em* *χat* *uā* *em - sa* *uā* *ȧm - sen*
χent-an-maa, Sut, Isis, Nephthys at birth, one after the other of them,

mesu - sen *āšt - sen* *em* *ta* *pen* *t'eṭṭu* *urt - ḥekau* *ka*
children their multiply they upon earth this. Says *Urt - ḥekau* the genius

pu *ḥekau* *utut - sen* *er* *ḥetem* *χefti* *em*
namely of enchantments, fated are they for destroying the enemies by



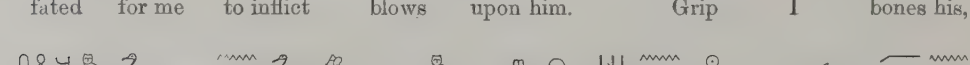
χut *ṭep - re - sen* *ȧu* *utut* *enen* *χeper* *em* *ḥāu - ȧ*
the force of utterance their. Is fated what become has of limbs my.



ȧu *seχer* *χeft* *pui* *ṭu* *χer* *su* *en* *set* *Ȧpepi* *ṭes*
Is fallen enemy that evil, fallen has he into flame Apepi, a knife (is)

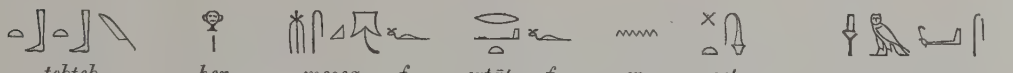
ḥer *ṭep - f* *beḥen* *mest'er-f* *ȧn* *un* *ren - f* *em* *ta* *pen* *ȧu*
on head his, cut off (is) ear his, not exists name his upon earth this. Is

utut - nȧ *ḥu* *set'ebu* *er - ef* *sesunnu - nȧ* *ḳesu - f*
fated for me to inflict blows upon him. Grip I bones his,

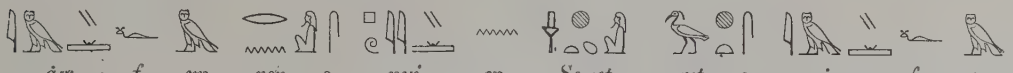


seḥetem - nȧ *ba - f* *em* *χerti* *ent hru neb* *āuu - nȧ*
destroy I soul his in the course of day every, sever I

θesu - f *er* *neḥeb - f* *set* *em* *ṭes* 8. *āṭ* *ȧuf - f*
vertebræ his from neck his cutting with flint cuttings from flesh his,



tebteb *ḥer* *meseq - f* *erṭāt - f* *en* *set* *seχem - s*
stabbing through hide his. Given is he to the fire, obtains mastery it



ȧm - f *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *Seχet* *χut - s* *ȧm - f* *em*
over him in name its that of 'Seχet,' has power it over him in

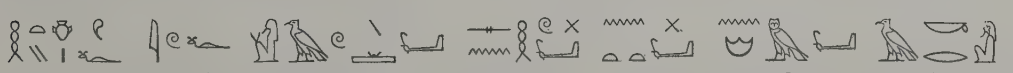
ren - s *pui* *en* *χut - ubti - χeft* *sesunnu - k* *ba - f*
name her that of 'Eye burning the enemy,' grippest thou soul his,

9. *sennu* *χet* *ḳesu - f* *āt - f* *mes* *en* *set* *ȧu* *utut* *iu* *en*
burnt are bones his, flesh his (is) transferred to the fire. Has decreed [him] to come

Ḥeru *ȧref* *āā* *peḥti* *em* *ḥāt* *uȧa* *en* *Rā* *māta -*
Horus therefore, great of strength in front of the boat of Rā. Ties up

nef *su* *māta - f* *en* *bȧa* *ȧru - f* *ḥāu - f* *em* *tem* *un*
he him [with] bond his of steel, makes he limbs his not to rise up,

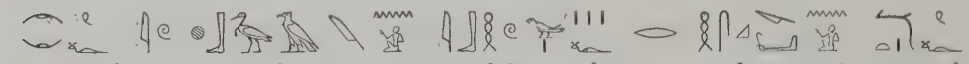
χesef *at - f* *emχet* 10. *aṭ - f* *ṭāt - f* *ḳāu - f* *em*
stopping opportunity his, following eclipse his, gives he vomit his from



ḥati - f *ȧuf* *sau* *senḥu* *netet* *neḥem* *Aker*
stomach his. Is he fettering, binding, tying, taking away Aker

peḥti - f er āuu - nȧ ḥāu - f er ḳesu - f er sau - nȧ
strength his that may sever I flesh his from bones his, that may fetter I

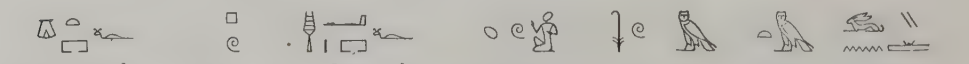
ret - f ȧu śāiṭ - nȧ āāui - f ȧu 11. *χetem - nȧ re - f*
feet his, that may cut off I two hands his, that may shut up I mouth his



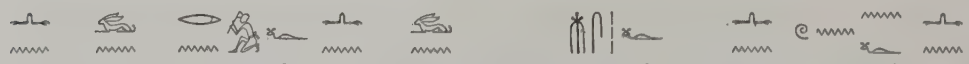
septu - f ȧu χeba - nȧ ȧbeḥu - f er ḥesq - nȧ nest - f
and lips his, that may break I teeth his, that may cut out I tongue his

er ḥenḳeḳ - f er tet - nȧ t'eṭṭu - f ȧu śep - nȧ maa - f ȧu
from throat his, that may seize I words his, that may block up I eyes his, that

neḥem - nȧ mest'er ȧref ȧu śeṭ - nȧ 12. *ḥāti - f en ȧuset - f*
may carry off I the ear therefore, that may tear out I heart his from place its

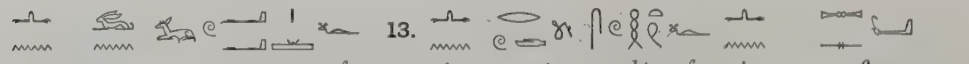


nest - f pu āḥā - f ȧru-ȧ su em tem un
and throne its, that is to say, station its, that may make I him in condition of non-existence

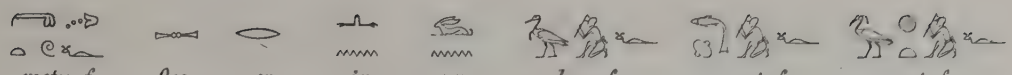


ȧn un ren - f ȧn un mesu - f ȧn un - nef ȧn
Not may exist name his; not may exist what is born to him, not may exist he, not

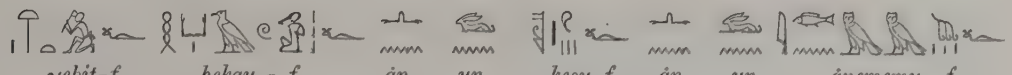
un hennu - f ȧn un - nef ȧn un rei - f ȧn un - nef
may exist kinsfolk his, not may exist he, not may exist neighbour his, not may exist he;



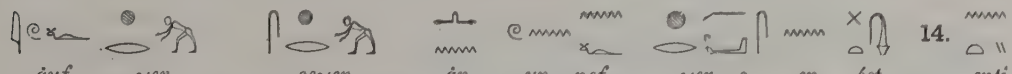
ȧn un āuāā - f 13. *ȧn ruṭ suḳt - f ȧn θes*
not may exist heir his. Not may grow egg his, not may be established



metu-f *θes* *rer* *ân* *un* *ba - f* *χat-f* *χut-f*
seed his, on the other hand, not may exist soul his, body his, χ^{u} his,



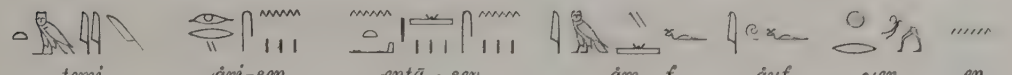
χebit-f *ḥekau - f* *ân* *un* *ḳesu-f* *ân* *un* *ânememu - f*
shade his, words of power his. Not may exist bones his, not may exist skin his,



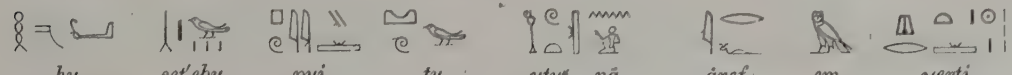
14.

âuf *χer* *seχer* *ân* *un - nef* *χer - s* *en* *śet* *enti*
let him fall and be overthrown; not may be he. Let grip it the flame of

maa *Ḥeru* *en* *ḥenti* *en* *âmenḥui* *χer* *ṭes*
the eye of Horus, and of the striker, and of the sacrificers having the knife;

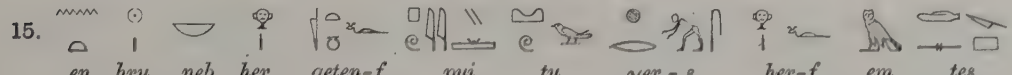


temi *âri-sen* *entā - sen* *âm - f* *âuf* *χer* *en*
the cutting perform they, knives (?) their are in him, he falls by the

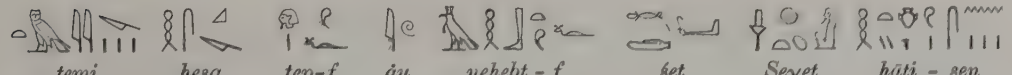


ḥu *set'ebu* *pui* *ṭu* *utut - nâ* *âref* *em* *χerti*
inflicting of blows those evil. Decreed have I therefore in the course

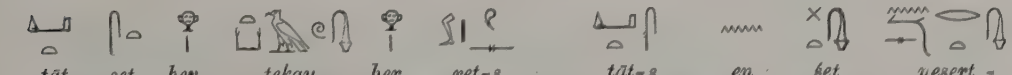
15.



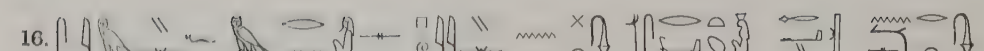
en *ḥru* *neb* *ḥer* *qeten-f* *pui* *ṭu* *χer - s* *ḥer-f* *em* *ṭes*
of day every upon form his that evil. Falls it upon him with a knife



temi *ḥesq* *ṭep-f* *âu* *neḥebt - f* *śeṭ* *Seχet* *ḥâti - sen*
cutting, hacking head his from neck his, tears out Seχet hearts their



ṭât *set* *ḥer* *tekau* *her* *ret-s* *ṭât-s* *en* *śet* *nesert -*
placing them upon the fire with leg her, places she [them] on the fire, burns

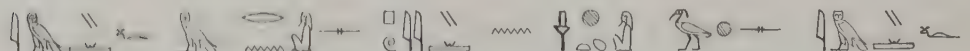
16. 

s *ȧm - f* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *śet - usert - āā* *nesert -*

she into him in name her that of "Fire powerful, great one," burns

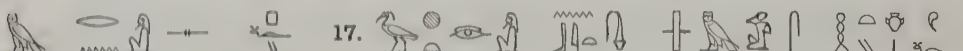
s *ȧm - f* *setenemem - s* *ba - f* *ȧu* *χat - f* *seχem - s*

she into him, drives back she soul his from body his. Obtains mastery she



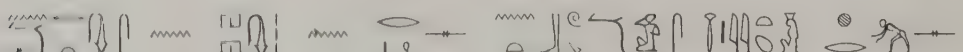
ȧm - f *em* *ren-s* *pui* *en* *Seχet* *χu-s* *ȧm - f*

over him in name her that of Seχet, overpowers she him



em *ren - s* *pfi* 17. *χut - Nebȧt* *ȧm - s* *ḥāti - f*

in name her that of "Eye flaming," eats she heart his,

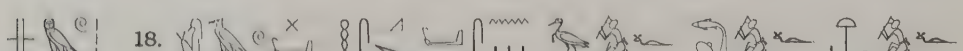


nesert - s *en* *heh* *en* *re-s* *netebu - s* *Uat'it* *χer-s*

burns she with flames of mouth her. Devours she Uat'it, falls she

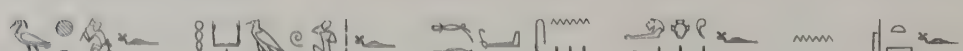
er *χebt - f* *ȧn* *per-f* *ȧm-s* *er* *neḥeḥ* *ḥnā t'eṭta* *sau - s*

upon cavern his, not may come forth he from it for ever and for ever. Constrains she



ȧmu 18. *sau* *ḥesq - sen* *ba - f* *χat - f* *χebit-f*

those who have fetters, cut in pieces they soul his, body his, shade his,



χut-f *ḥekau - f* *śeṭ - sen* *ḥāti - f* *en* *ȧuset-f*

χut his, words of magic his, tear out they heart his from place its,

sȧn *ren-f* (*sic*) *ȧuf* *χer* *ȧn* *un-nef* *er* *utut-nȧ*

destroying name his. Is he fallen, not may be he, for decreed have I

uśer - f *uśer* 19. *ba - f* *ân* *un* *nest-f* *ân* *un*

annihilation his, the annihilation of soul his; not let exist throne his, not let exist

âuset-f *net'erâu - nes* *śemert* *en* *Śu* *âu* *mâk* *ent* *âm*

seat his. Seized has she the bows of Shu at the store-house of the eater

uat'etu *ṭât-s* *pexat* *en* *nest-f* *sepṭ* *seḥetem*

of limbs (?). Granted has she the splitting of tongue his, providing destruction

Sat *en* *at* *ṭenṭen - s* *ṭâ - s* *Sexet* 20. *âu* *nesert*

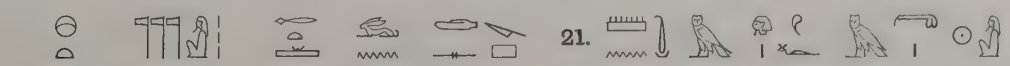
Sat at the moment of strength her. Gives she, Sexet, into the flame

ṭep-re-s *ḥâti - f* *xer* *em* *śâiṭ - s* *śep - f* *xer*

of mouth her heart his. Falls [he] by slaughter her, stopped up is eye his, gripped,

sexer *Âpepi* *sexer - s* *Râ* *t'esef* *semâtxeru* *Râ* *er* *Âpepi* *embaḥ*

overthrown is Apepi. Overthrows he Rā himself, triumphs Rā over Āpepi before



paut *neteru* *âat* *un* *ṭes* 21. *men* *em* *ṭep-f* *embaḥ* *Râ*

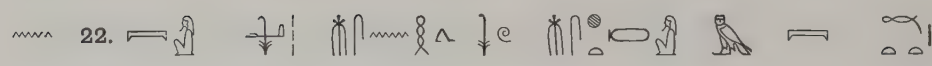
the cycle of the gods great, being a knife stuck in head his before Rā

hru *neb* *sexer-s* *neteru* *qemâu* *sexer-s* *neteru* *meḥtetu* *sexer-s*

day every. Overthrow him the gods southern, overthrow him the gods northern, overthrow him

neteru *Âmentetu* *sexer-s* *neteru* *Âbtetu* *senḫu-s* *saḫu*

the gods western, overthrow him the gods eastern; tie up him the starry gods of Orion

22. 

en pet qemāu mesenḥ su mesχet em pet meḥtetu
of the heaven southern; turns back him the Great Bear in heavens northern,

netet-s ȧmu χaabeset śenti-s χet ȧm-s nesert
tie up him those who are in the decans. Eats it flame, devours it fire,

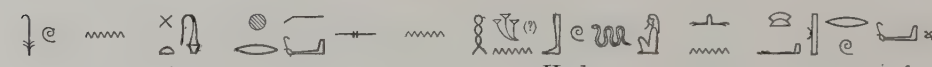
sesuınu-s ḳesḳesu-f śennu-f ses-s ḥāu-f ubti-s
grips it bones his, hair his, burns up it limbs his, shrivels up it

ȧnememu-f seχer-s ḥer āāui neteru ȧn un ren-f
skin his, overthrown is it by the hands of the gods. Not may exist name his

em re en reθ ȧn seχaut-tuf em ȧb en neteru
in the mouth of men, not may be remembered it in the heart of the gods.

peḳas-tu ḥer-f tennu seχau-tuf ḥu en Rā
May be spit upon face his each time mentioned is he! Inflicts Rā

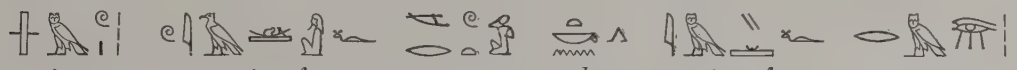
set'ebu-f tem su sep sen χer-s sep sen Āpepi χer
blows his, annihilated is he, annihilated is he, gripped is he, gripped is he, Āpepi. Grips



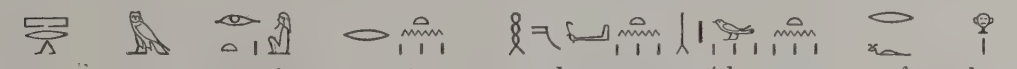
su en śet χer-s en Ḥenbu ȧn χāru-f
him the flame, grips it Ḥenbu, not let breathe him,

sep sen ȧn ṭepȧ-tuf nifu sep sen ȧuf en śet
not let breathe him; not let smell him breezes, not let smell him breezes. Is he to the fire.

heh-s en maaut-f 25. *semam χet-s ȧmtu ȧpt-f neteru*
burns it two eyes his, slays flame its eating up forehead his. The gods

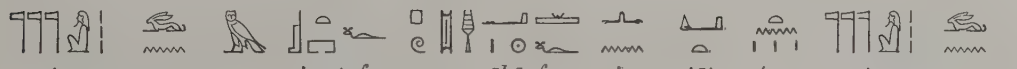


ȧmu uȧa-f mertu teken ȧm-f remu
who are in boat his desire to advance against him; the tears



per em mat-ȧ er ten ḥu-ten-set'ebu ten eref ḥer
coming forth from eye my [are] against you. Inflict ye blows your upon him upon

qeṭen-f pui ṭu maa-ten 26. *neteru ȧn ṭāt-ten*
form his that evil. Look ye gods, not grant ye,

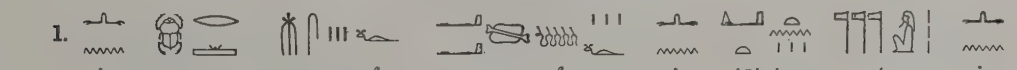


neteru un em ȧuset-f pu māḥā-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru un
O gods, existence in seat his to wit tomb his, not grant ye, O gods, to exist

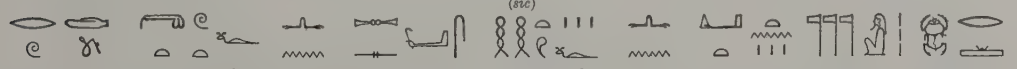
ren-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru un ba-f χu-f χebit-f
name his, not grant ye, O gods, to exist soul his, χu his, shade his,

ḳesu-f śennu-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru usexṭ āāiu-f
bones his, hair his, not grant ye, O gods, the space of two hands his.

Column XXVIII.



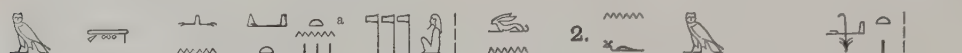
1. *ȧn χeper mesu-f āā-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru ȧn*
Not may become children his heirs his, not grant ye, O gods, not



(*sic*)
ruṭ metut-f ȧn θes-s ḥeḥet-f ȧn ṭāt-ten neteru χeper
may grow seed his, not may prick up it ears its, not grant ye, O gods, to become

ḥekau - f *ȧn* *ṭāt-ten* *neteru* *un - nef* *em* *pet* *un - nef*

words of magic his, not grant ye, O gods, that may be he in heaven or may be he



em *ta* *ȧn* *ṭāt-ten*[a] *neteru* *un* - *nef* *em* *qemāu*

upon earth. Not grant ye, O gods, to be him among the southern ones,

meḥtetu *Ámentetu* *Ábtetu* *ȧn* *ṭāt - ten* *neteru* *un - nef* *em*

northern ones, western ones, eastern ones, not grant ye, O gods, to be him among

tememu *ȧuf* *en* *śet* *en* *χut* *tui* *ent* *Ḥeru*

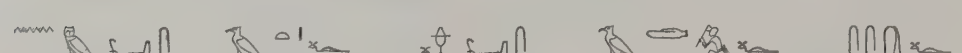
mortals. May be he in the fire of eye that of Horus,

seχem - *s* *ȧm - f* *em* *χerti* *ent hru neb* *un - nes*

may obtain mastery it over him in the course of day every. May be it

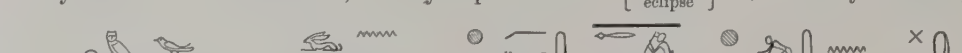
ȧm - f *ȧn* .. *āχem* - *s* *ȧn - f* *er* *neḥeḥ* *t'etta*

in him, not may be quenched it in him for ever and ever,



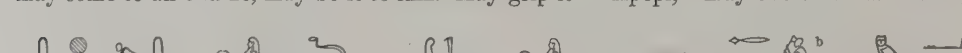
neḥem - s *at - f* *χesef-s* *at - f* *ses - f*

may seize it moment his, may repulse it {crocodile / eclipse} his, may burn he,



tem - f *un - nef* *χer - s* *Āpepi* *χer - s* *en* *śet*

may come to an end he, may be it to him. May grip it Āpepi, may overthrow it flame,

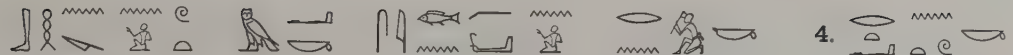


seχer - s *Rā* *t'esef* *mātχeru* *Rā* *erek* *Āpepi*[b] *māk*

may overthrow it Rā himself, triumphs Rā over thee Āpepi. Verily

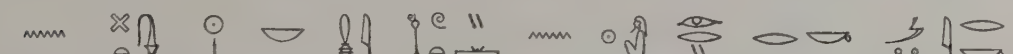
[a] Written above the line.

[b] This should be written in red in the MS.



beḥen - nȧ - tu *māk* *sȧn - nȧ* *ren - k* 4. *ertā entuk*

slain have I thee, verily erased have I name thy. Given art thou



en śet hru neb mȧ utut en Rā ȧri erek maa ȧrek

to the flame day every as decreed Rā to do to thee. Look then

Rā setem ȧrek Rā māk ṭer - nȧ χefti - k sȧn -

Rā, hear then Rā, verily destroyed have I enemies thy, wiped out

nȧ - s em ret peḳaȧs - nȧ ḥer - f semātχeru Rā erek

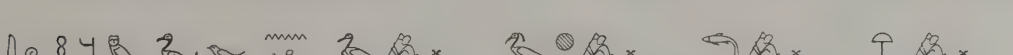
have I it with the feet, spit have I upon him. Triumphs Rā over thee,

ki t'eṭ er χefti - f nebt χer 5. *ȧn un - sen ubti*

otherwise said, over enemy his every. Falling down not may be they, burnt be

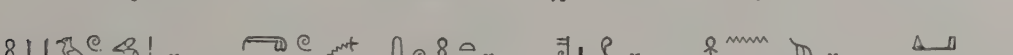
ren - f er ṭer - nȧ ȧuset - f nest - f pu māḥā - f

name his because destroyed have I seat his, throne his, to wit, sepulchre his.



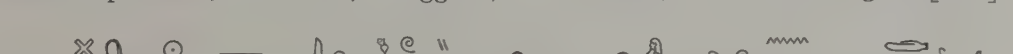
ȧu ḥetem - nȧ ba - f χut - f χat - f χebit - f

Destroyed have I soul his, χu his, body his, shade his,



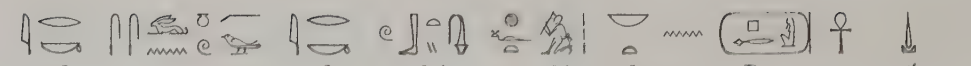
ḥekau - f mettu - f suḥt - f ḳesu - f śennu - f ṭāt

words of power his, seed his, egg his, bones his, hair his, given [is he]



en śet hru neb ȧu utut 6. *en Rā ȧru - nef ṭer*

to the flame day every. Has commanded Rā to be done to him destruction

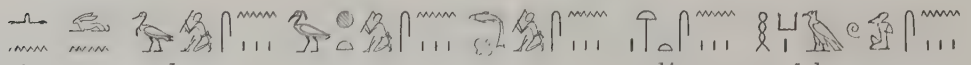


árek *sesunnu* *árek* *ubti* *χefti* *nebt* *en* *P-āa* *ānχ* *uṭ'a*
therefore, seizure therefore, and burning enemies all of P-āa, life, strength,

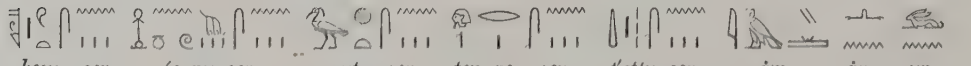
senb *em* *mit* *em* *ānχ* *ámmā* *seṭef - tu* *áuf - sen*
health, in death in life. May be cut in pieces members their,

ṭebṭeb *ḥer* *mesq - sen* *áru* *χet* *ám-sen* *nebu*
may be torn out of skin their, may make property of them the lords of

Ánnu *seḥetem* 7. *embaḥ-k* *Rā* *hru* *neb* *ses* *en* *ám-ten*
Heliopolis, destroying before thee, O Rā, day every; fire upon you.



án *un* *ba - sen* *χut - sen* *χat - sen* *χebit-sen* *ḥekau - sen*
Not may be soul their, *χut* their, body their, shade their, words of power their,



ḳesu - sen *śennu-sen* *χut - sen* *ṭep-re - sen* *t'eṭṭu-sen* *ám* *án* *un*
bones their, hair their, strength their, voice their, words their there. Not may be

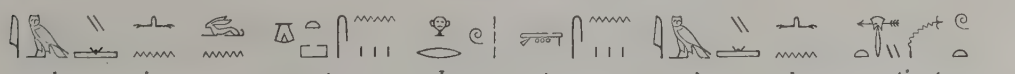
8. *ást - sen* *pa-sen* *baḳa - sen* *māḥā - sen*
graves their, house their, caverns their, sepulchre their

ám *án* *un* *seχet-sen* *neḥ - sen* *ba - sen* *án*
there. Not may be field their, sycamore their, bushes their, not

un *māu - sen* *ta - sen* *tekau - sen* *nebát - sen* *ám* *án*
may be water their, bread their, fire their, flame their there. Not

un mesu - sen hennu - sen āāut - sen uḥsȧ - sen
may be children their, posterity their, heirs their, families their,

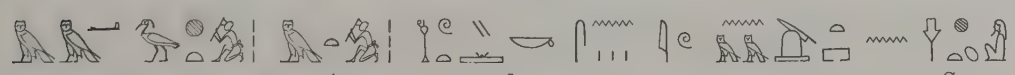
ȧm ȧn un ṭep-sen āāut-sen rettu-sen mest'er-sen mettu-sen
there. Not may be head their, hands their, feet their, ear their seed their



ȧm ȧn un nest-sen ḥeru ta - sen ȧm ȧn sati - tu
there. Not may be seat their upon land their there. Not let be poured out

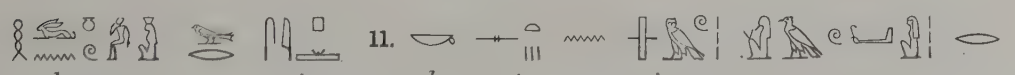
10.

en sen māu em ta pen emmā ānχiu em neter-χertet
for them water in land this, among the living in Neter-χertet,



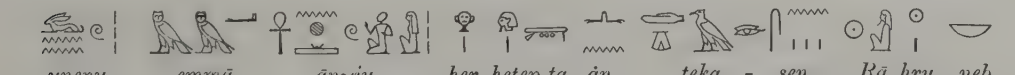
emmā χut mitu utut-k sen ȧu nemmȧt en Seχet
among the χu the damned. Decreest thou them to the block of Seχet

en Āat - nebt - Áśer seχer-k sen em at en
in Āat - nebt - Áśer. Overthrown hast thou them at the moment of



ḥunnu ur sȧp - k set en ȧmu sau er
the babe mighty, judged - hast thou those who guard before

Ámentiu ȧn ertā per ba - sen em ṭūaut ȧn
those in Ȧmenti. Not may be given coming forth to soul their from the *tūat*, not



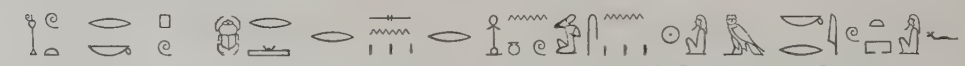
unenu emmā ānχiu ḥer ḥetep ta ȧn ṭeḳa - sen Rā ḥru neb
may be they among the living upon earth, not may see they Rā day every.

un-sen *senḥu* *netet* *em* *χebt* 12. *em* *ṭūaut* *χert* *ȧn*

May be they fettered and tied in the cavern in the *tūat* lower, not

ertā *per* *ba - sen* *ȧm - sen* *er* *neḥeḥ* *ḥnā* *t'etta*

may be granted exit to soul their among them for ever and ever.



utut *erek* *pu* *χeper* *er* *sen* *er* *śennu - sen* *Rā* *em* *kerâut - f*

Decree thy is it to happen to them for cursing their Rā in shrine his.

neteru *ȧmu - f* *meter* *er* *sen* *nes - set* *āāiu* *ent* *Ȧpepi*

The gods within it do justice to them, catch hold they the two hands of Apepi.

13.

maa Ḥeru *seχem - s* *ȧm - sen* *ubti - sen* *ḥer* *χau*

The eye of Horus obtains mastery it over them, burn they upon the altars

en *Seχet* *ḥer* *māket* *ent* *ȧm* *uat'ti* *sesunnu*

of Seχet and upon the brazier which devours limbs and seizes

embaḥ - k *Rā* *ḥru* *neb* *mȧ* *utut* *en* *neter* *āā* *ȧru* *er* *sen*

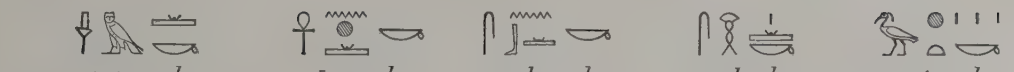
in presence of thee Rā, day every as decreed god great to be done to them,

Rā *ȧu* *neḥeḥ* *sep* *sen* *un-nek* *em* *kerâu - k* *nāi - k* *em*

O Rā, for ever and ever. Art thou in shrine thy, comest thou in

sekti *ḥetep - k* *em* *āṭi* *t'a - k* *petpet - k* *em* *ḥetep*

the *sekti* boat, restest thou in the *āṭi* boat, traversest thou two heavens thy in peace.



seχem - k *ānχ - k* *senb - k* *suaḥ - k* *χut - k*

Obtainest mastery thou, livest thou, strong art thou, increasest thou strength thy,

ṭer - k *χeft - k* *nebt em* *utut - k* *ȧu ȧru* *enen* *bu* *ṭu* *ȧu*

destroyest thou enemy thy every by decree thy. Is done that wrong to

15.

Ṗ-āa *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb* *em* *māb neb* *ṭu* *em* *se* *neb* *set neb*

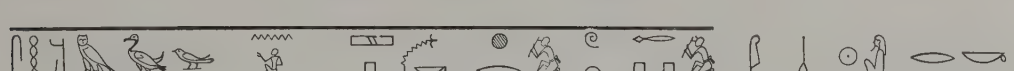
P-āa, life, strength, health, with spears all evil by man every, woman every,

mit *neb* *χu* *neb* *āb - reu* *ȧbtiu* *nu* *set* *nebt* *χeft*

damned person every, *χu* every whatsoever, easterns of countries all, enemy

neb en *Ṗ-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb em* *mit* *em* *ānχ* *ṭer - nȧ*

every of P-āa, life, strength, health, in death in life. Slain have I,



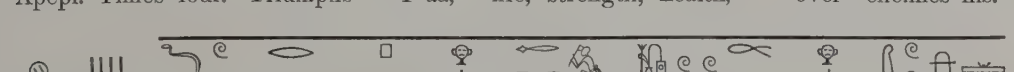
seḥetem - nȧ *śep - k* *χer - tu* *Āpepi* *mātχeru* *Rā* *erek*

destroyed have I vomit thy, fallen art thou Āpepi! Triumphs Rā over thee

16.

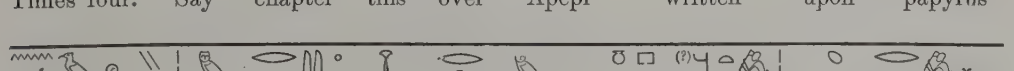
Āpepi sep fṭu *mātχeru* *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb* *er* *χefti - f*

Āpepi. Times four. Triumphs P-āa, life, strength, health, over enemies his.



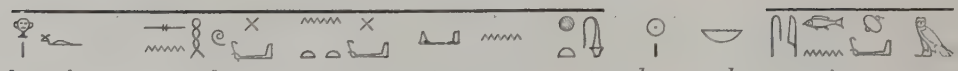
sep fṭu *t'eṭtu* *re* *pen* *ḥer* *Āpepi* *nāuu* *ḥer* *śuu*

Times four. Say chapter this over Āpepi written upon papyrus



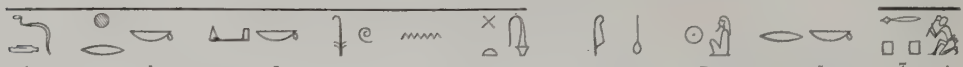
nemau *em* *rei* *uat'* *ertā* *em* *χennu en* *nest* *ȧru* *ren - f*

new with colour green, placed inside a covering (?) made name his



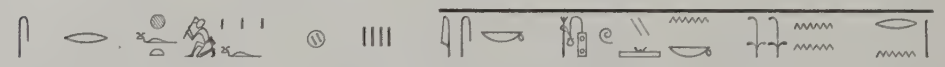
ḥer-f *senḥu* *netet* *ṭā* *en* *χet* *hru* *neb* *-sȧn* *em*
upon it [and] bind it up and tie it up, give it to the fire day every, spurning with

ret-k *ȧbt* *peḳas* 17. *ḥer-f* *sep* *fṭu* *em* *χert* *ent* *hru* *neb*
foot thy left, spit upon it times four in the course of day every.

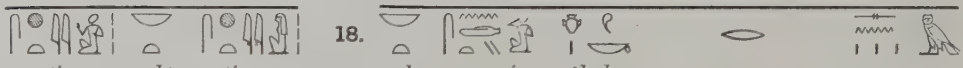


t'eṭ *χer-k* *ṭā-k* *su* *en* *śet* *mātχeru* *Rā* *erek* *Āpepi*
Said by thee placest thou it in the fire, "Triumphs Rā over thee Āpepi.

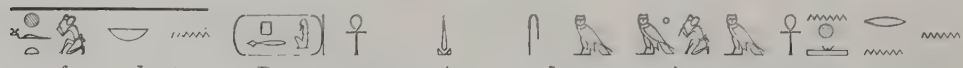
sep *fṭu* *mātχeru* *Ḥeru* *er* *χeft-f* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru* *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a*
Times four. Triumphs Horus over enemy his. Times four. Triumphs P-āa, life, strength,



senb *er* *χeśti-f* *sep* *fṭu* *ȧsk* *nāu-nek* *enen* *ren*
health over enemies his. Times four." Now thou writest thou that name of

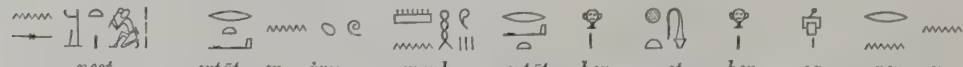


seχti *nebt* *seχti* 18. *nebt* *senṭeti* *ȧb-k* *er* *sen* *em*
seχti male all, *seχti* female all, fears heart thy with reference to them,



χeft *neb* *en* *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb* *em* *mit* *em* *ānχ* *ren* *en*
enemies all of P-āa, life, strength, health, in death in life, name of

ȧtf-sen *ren* *en* *mut-sen* *ren* *en* *mesu* *em* *χennu* *en*
father their, name of mother their, name of children [their] inside



nest *ertāt* *en* *āru* *menḥ* *erṭāt* *ḥer* *χet* *ḥer* *sa* *ren* *en*
the covering (?), place it in work of wax, place it upon the fire, in addition to name of

Āpepi *ȧm* 19. *χeft* *Rā* *ṭā-f* *su* *ka* *ki* *sep* *ḥetepi* *em*

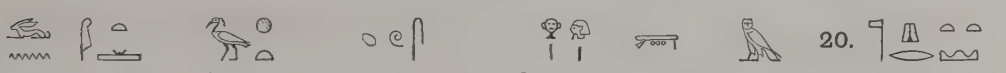
Āpepi, burn it when Rā gives he himself. Repeatest thou time first at the

āḥā *en* *ḥru* *χeft* *Rā* *ḥetep-f* *em* *ānχtet* *ȧu* *śuu* *ḥer*

noon of the day, when Rā sets he in the land of life, whilst [it is] light upon

uār *en* *ṭu* *ȧu* *χut-nek* *enen* *ȧu* *semi* *nebt* *em*

the foot on the mountain. Shalt recite thou this over picture every in



un *māt* *χut* *ȧru-s* *ḥer ḥetep* *ta* *em* 20. *neter χertet*

very truth; great power [is] the doing of it upon earth [and] in Neter-χertet.

śāt *ent* *reχ* *χeperu* *nu* *Rā* *seχer* *Āpepi*

The book of knowing the becomings of Rā [and] overthrowing Āpepi.

t'eṭṭu *Neb-er-t'er* *t'eṭ-f* *χeper-ȧ* *χeper* *χeperu* *χeper-kuȧ*

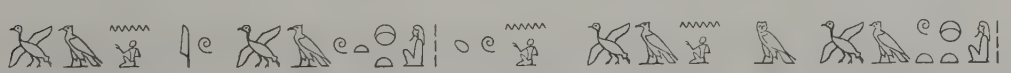
The words of Neb-er-t'er. Says he, "Became I the becoming of becomings, become have I

em *χeperu* *en* *χeperȧ* *χeper* *em* *sep* *ḥetepi* *χeper-kuȧ* *em*

in the becomings of χeperȧ, becoming at time first. Become have I in

χeperu *en* *χeperȧ* *χeper-ȧ* *χeper* *χeperu* *pu* *en*

the becomings of χeperȧ. Became I the becoming of becomings to wit



pa-nȧ *ȧu* *paut* *ȧru-nȧ* *pa-nȧ* *em* *paut*

produced myself I from the matter [which] made I. Produced myself I in the matter

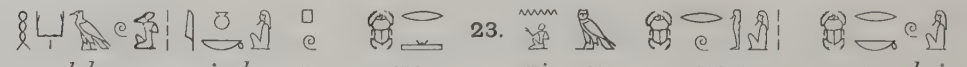
pa ren - ȧ Ȧusȧres paut pautti ȧrí - ȧ
[in] name my Ausares (Osiris?), matter of matter. Done have I

22.

mertui nebt em ta pen useχt - nȧ ȧm - f θes - nȧ
will [my] all in earth this. Spread out have I in it, raised have I

ṭet - ȧ uȧu - kuȧ ȧn mesu - sen ȧn ȧśeś - nȧ em Śu
hand my. Alone was I, not born were they; not had evacuated I Shu,

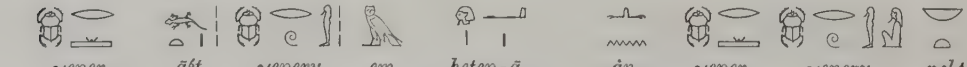
ȧn ṭȧf - nȧ em Ṭȧfnet ȧn - nȧ re - ȧ t'es - ȧ ren - ȧ pu
not had spit up I Ṭafnet. Spake I with mouth my my own name my, to wit,



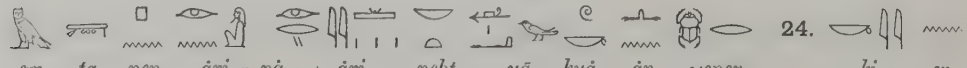
23.

ḥekau ȧnuk pu χeper - nȧ em χeperu χeper - kuȧ
word of power. I, to wit, became I in becomings. Become have I

em χeperu en χeperȧ χeper - nȧ em pautti
in the becomings of χeperȧ, became I out of the primeval matter



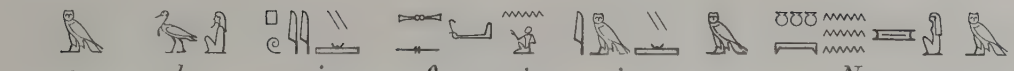
χeper ȧśt χeperu em ḥetep-ȧ ȧn χeper χeperu nebt
becoming many becomings from the beginning. Not had become becomings any



24.

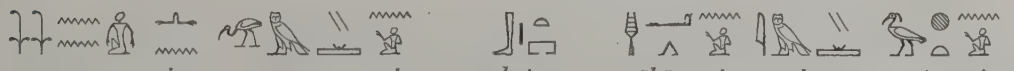
em ta pen ȧri - nȧ ȧri nebt uȧ - kuȧ ȧn χeper ki en
in land this. Made I makings all. Alone was I, not was another

ȧru-nef ḥnȧ - ȧ em bu pui ȧri-ȧ χeperu ȧm
worked he with me in place that. Made I becomings there



em *ba* *pui* *θes - nȧ* *ȧm* *em* *Nu* *em*

by means of soul that [which] raised up I there out of Nu from



enen *ȧn* *qem - nȧ* *but* *ȧḥā - nȧ* *ȧm* *χut - nȧ*

inactivity. Not found I place [where might] stand I there. Strong was I

em *ȧb-ȧ* *senti -* 25. *nȧ* *em* *ḥrȧ - ȧ* *ȧri - nȧ* *ȧri* *nebt*

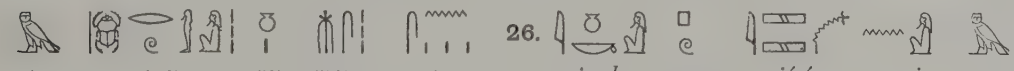
in heart my, laid foundation I for self my, made I makings all.

uāu - k[uȧ] *senti - nȧ* *em* *ȧb-ȧ* *qemam - nȧ* *ki*

Alone was I, laid foundation I for heart my. Created I other

χeperu *āšt* *χeperu* *nu* *χeperȧ* *χeper* *ȧn* *mesu - sen*

becomings numerous, the becomings of χeperȧ. Became children their



em *χeperu* *nu* *mesu - sen* *ȧnuk* *pu* *ȧśeś - nȧ* *em*

out of the becomings of children their. I, to wit, evacuated I

Śu *ṭāf - nȧ* *em* *Ṭȧfnet* *χeper - nȧ* *em* *neter* *uā* *neter* *χemet*

Shu, spat up I Ṭefnut: became I out of god one, gods three

pu *er - ȧ* *χeperitu* *em* *ta* *pen* *ḥāā* *ȧref* *Śu*

to wit from myself, becoming in land this. Rejoiced therefore Shu

Ṭāfnet *em* *Nu* *unen - sen* *ȧm* *ȧn* *maa - ȧ* *ȧn - nȧ*

and Ṭefnut in Heaven, (sky) rose they there. Says eye my, {"Brought / commanded} I

27.

sen *emχet* *ḥennu* *uau* - *sen* *er-ȧ* *sam-nȧ* *em*

them, after centuries, came they to me." Collected I

ātu-ȧ *per* - *sen* *ȧm* *t'es-ȧ* *emχet* *hat* - *nȧ* *em* *χefā-ȧ*

limbs my came forth they there from myself after had commerce I with fist my,

ī - *nȧ* *ȧb-ȧ* *em* *ṭet-ȧ* *āāaā* *χer* *em* *re-ȧ*

came to me heart my out of hand my of the seed (?) [which] fell from mouth my.

ȧśeś - *nȧ*

Evacuated I

Column XXIX.

1.

em *Śu* *tāf* - *nȧ* *em* *Ṭāfnet* *χeper* - *nȧ* *em* *neter* *uā* *neter* *χemt*

Shu, spat up I Ṭefnut, became I from god one gods three

pu *er* - *ȧ* *χeperitu* *em* *ta* *pen* *ḥāā* *ȧref* *Śu*

to wit from myself, becoming in land this. Rejoiced therefore Shu

Ṭāfnet *em* *Nu* *unen* - *sen* *ȧm* - *f* *ȧn* *mat* - *ȧ* *ȧn* - *nȧ*

and Tefnut in the watery mass rose they in it. Says eye my, {"Brought / commanded} have I

en *sen* *emχet* *ḥennu* *uau* - *sen* *er-ȧ* *sam-nȧ* *em*

them, after centuries came they to me." Collected I

āt *per* - *sen* *ȧm* *t'es-ȧ* *emχet* *ḥati* - *nȧ* *em*

limbs [my] came forth they there from myself after had commerce I with

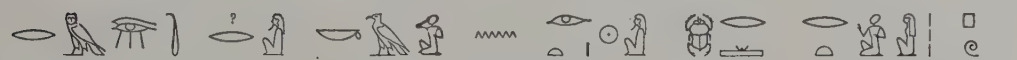
χefā - ȧ *ī - nȧ* *ȧb-ȧ* *em* *ṭet - ȧ* *āāaā* *χer* *em*
hand my. Came to me heart my out of hand my of the seed falling out of

re - ȧ *ȧśeś - nȧ* *em* *Śu* *ṭāf - nȧ* *em* *Ṭāfnet* *ȧn* *ȧtf -*
mouth my. Evacuated I Shu, spat up I Tefnut. Says father

3.

ȧ *Nu* *ati - sen* *mat - ȧ* *emsa - sen* *uabu* *sep sen*
my Nu, "Eclipse they eye my behind them, for numbers, numbers

ḥennu *uabu* *ḥefi* *em* *rem* *em*
of centuries; numbers of reptiles from Rem, from



rem - θ *er - ȧ* *ka* *em* *mat - ȧ* *χeper* *ret* *pu*
the crying ..... my." Called out eye my became men to wit.

4.

ṭebu - nȧ *su* *em* *χut* *χāru - nes* *er - ȧ* *emχet* *ī - s*
Filled I it with power, growled it against me, after came it

ket *reṭ* *em* *χennu en ȧuset* *seχer* *en* *ṭenṭen - s* *ȧu*
another growth within the place. Fell force its upon

uabu - s ḥer *uabu* *ṭebu - nȧ* *ȧm-s* *nāā*
masses (?) its, upon the masses [which] accumulated I in it, putting order

5.

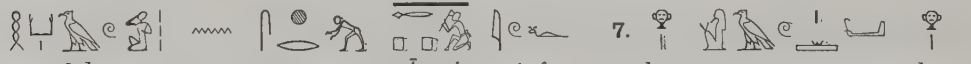
ȧm - s *χenti* *ȧref* *ȧuset - s* *ḥer - ȧ* *ḥeq - nes* *ta* *t'er - f*
in it: approaching therefore place its before me rules it earth all of it.

mes en Shu Ṭāfnet Nut Ȧusar Ḥeru χenti - ȧn - maa Sut
Give birth Shu and Tefnut to Nut, Osiris, Horus χenti - ȧn - maa, Sut,

Ȧuset Nebthet ȧn mesw - sen qemam - sen χeperu āšt
Isis, Nephthys. Behold children their create they becomings many

em ta pen em χeperu nu mesu em χeperu nu mesu -
in earth this from the becomings of children, from the becomings of children

sen śennut - sen ren - ȧ seχer - sen χefti - sen qemam - sen
their. Invoke they name my, overthrow they enemies their, create they

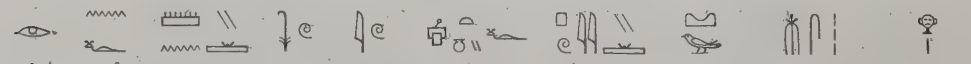


ḥekau en seχer Ȧpepi ȧuf ḥer sau ḥer
words of power for overthrowing Apepi. Is he for being bound by the

āāui en Aker ȧn un āāiu - f ȧn un ret - f
two hands of Aker, not may be two hands his, not may be legs his,

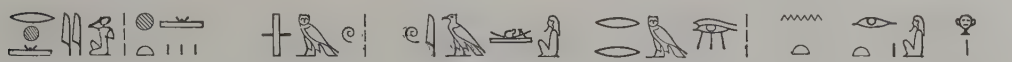
satet - f en ȧuset uā mȧ ḫu Rā set'ebu - f utut - nef
may be fastened he to place one as inflicts Rā blows his decreed for him.

ȧu seχer - tuf ḥer sati - f pui ṭu senpu ḥrȧ - f ḥer
Is overthrown he upon back his that evil, to cut face his for what



ȧri - nef men su ȧu sati - f pui ṭu mesu ḥer
done has he. Remains he upon back his that evil. The children are for

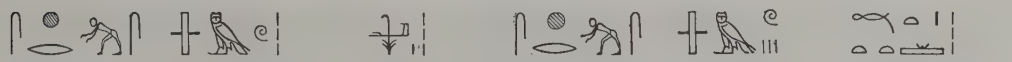
seχer - tuf ḥer tenemem ba - f ȧu χat - f χebit - f
overthrowing him, to turn away soul his from body his and shade his,



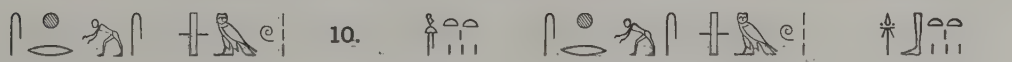
reχi χet ȧmu uäa rerem ent mat - ȧ ḥer
the learned ones who are in the boat, *i.e.*, the tears of eye my are

merȧ teḳen ȧm - sen utut set'ebu - f ȧn ȧri - nef χert - f
desiring to enter into them. Decreed [are] blows his, not may make he courses his

em ta pen en mertu - f śer - f śer ba - f
in earth this according to will his. Annihilated is he, annihilated is soul his,

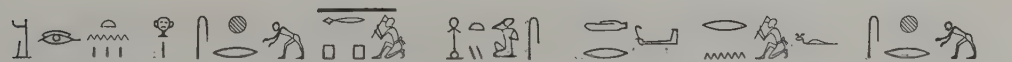


seχer - s ȧmu ḳemāu seχer - s ȧmu meḥtet
overthrow it those among the southern ones, overthrow it those among the northern ones,



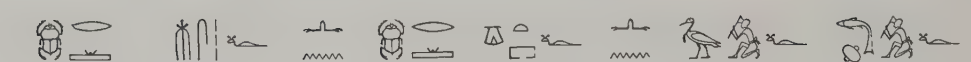
seχer - s ȧmu ȧmentiu seχer - s ȧmu ȧbṭiu
overthrow it those among the western ones, overthrow it those among the eastern ones,

reχ χet ȧmu ta pen paut neteru χeperu em ȧḥā - ȧ
and the sages who are in earth this. O cycle of the gods [who] became from limbs my



res - ten ḥer seχer Āpepi śenti - s ṭer ren - f seχer
watch ye to destroy Āpepi! may curse they to destroy name his and may overthrow

su ermen - ten ȧm - ten erṭā usexṭ ren - f ȧn
him two arms your which are with you. Is granted to be scattered name his, not



χeper *mesu - f* *ȧn* *χeper* *nest - f* *ȧn* *ba - f* *χat - f*
may become children his, not may become seat his, not soul his, body his,

χut - f *ȧuf* *en* *maa* *Rā* *seχem - s* *ȧm - f* *ȧm - s*
χu his. Is he to the eye of Rā, obtains mastery it over him, eats it

ȧm - f *ȧnuk* *utut* (*sic*) *er* *seχer - tuf* *ṭer* *ren - f*
into him. I [am] commanded to overthrow him, to destroy name his,

12.

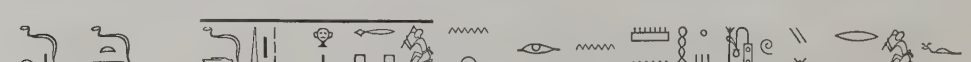
sesunnu *ren - f* *ḥekau - f* *utut - nȧ s en* *nesert*
to lay hold of name his and words of power his. Decreed have I it to the flame,

sȧp - nȧ - s en *tau* *erṭā - nȧ - s en* *maa* *Rā* *χut* *ent*
decreed have I it to the fire, given have I it to the eye of Rā, the eye that

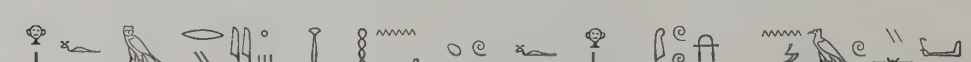
bunes - nes *ȧmu - nes* *ba - f* *χut - f* *χat - f* *χebit - f*
shall eat it and devour it, soul his, *χu* his, body his, shade his,

13.

ḥekau - f *ȧn* *tata - f* *ȧn* *benben - f* *en*
and words of power his. Not may have emission he, not may have erection he of



t'et *t'etta* *t'eṭṭu* *ḥer* *Āpepi* *ent* *ȧri en* *menḫ* *nāu* *ren - f*
body for ever! To be said over Āpepi which is made of wax inscribed name his



ḥer - f *em* *rei* *uaṭ'* *ḥnā* *ȧru - f* *ḥer* *śuu* *nemau*
upon it with colour green, and made it upon papyrus new

ḥnā ârru ren en χeft neb en P-āa 14. *em mit em ānχ*
and made name of enemy every of P-āa in death in life,

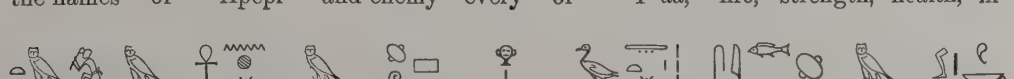
em menḥ nāu ren en sen ḥer en sen em rei uaṭ'
in wax written name of them upon them with colour green,

senḥu em χennu en nesu peḳaâs ḥer - sen sân em
tied up within coverings. Spit upon them and defile with

rettu-k âbt âru āṭi - sen em ṭes ṭā er χet 15. *en*
feet thy left, make cuttings their with a stone knife, place upon a fire of

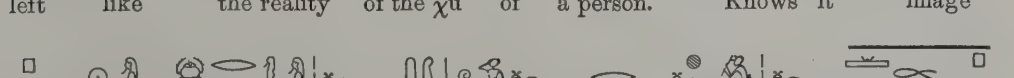
χessau āχem em māt ent āmāt ḥnā nāu
χesau grass, quench with the urine of a crocodile, and paint

ren en Āpepi χeft neb en P-āa ānχ uṭ'a senb em
the names of Āpepi and enemy every of P-āa, life, strength, health, in



mit em ānχ em ..... ḥer seta sân em ret - k
death in life, on a slab (?) upon the ground; defile with leg thy

âbt em mâ māāt χut en se 16. *reχ - nef sem*
left like the reality of the χu of a person. Knows it image



pen Rā χeperu - f semāṭχeru - f er χeft - f śāt pu
this Rā and becomings his, triumphs he over enemies his. Book is it

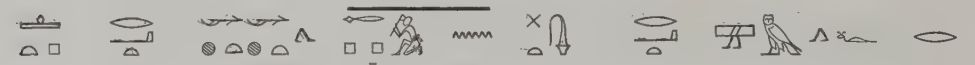
śeta em seḥ ân maa-s mat nebt śāt śeta ent
secret in the chamber, not let see it eye any the book secret of

seχer Āpepi
overthrowing Āpepi.

17.

ḥet ḥekau ren-sen ṭer Āpepi beḥen semi-f
Chapter of magical words, name their destroys Āpepi, cutting off demons his.

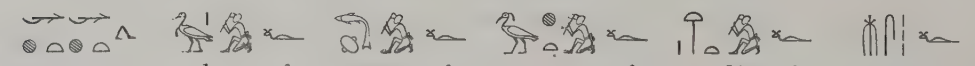
semāt χeru Rā er χefti-f erṭāt nāâi uâa en Rā em
Triumphs Rā over enemies his, is granted to advance the boat of Rā in



ḥetep erṭāt χetχet Āpepi en śet erṭāt śem-f er
peace, is granted to turn back Āpepi to the fire, is granted to advance he to the

18.

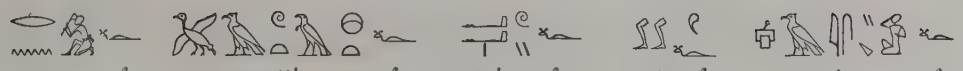
neter nemmat âu ṭer ḥau ḥer at em un māt erṭāt
divine block, is beaten the filth into nothingness. In very truth is granted



χetχet ba-f χât-f χut-f χebit-f mesu-f
to turn back soul his, body his, χu his, shade his, children his

. . . . . *u-f uḥi-f māhau-f āuāā-f*
[kinsfolk] his, family his, relatives his, heirs his,

ânememu-f âru-f χeperu-f t'et-f suḫt-
hair his, belongings his, becomings his, body his, egg his,

19. 

ren - f - pautti f āāiu - f rettu-f saâs - f

name his, substance his, two hands his, feet his, {speech / teeth} his,

ḥekau - f χut - f ăuset-f ṭepḥut - f pu māḥā - f

words of power his, strength his, seat his, cavern his, to wit tomb his,

āāiu - f seχer - tuf pu neḥem mest'er-f âm - f tebteb

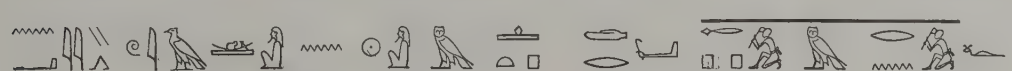
two hands his; overthrown is he, to wit, taken away is ear his from him. Comes

en sekti - k ertāt seχem ṭes âm - f embaḥ

along *sekti* boat thy, is granted to obtain mastery the flint knife which is in it before

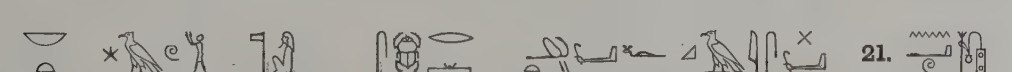
Rā hru neb se-neteru âbu - f setem - nef śāt ten erṭāt

Rā day every. Fortified of heart is he who hears he book this. Is granted



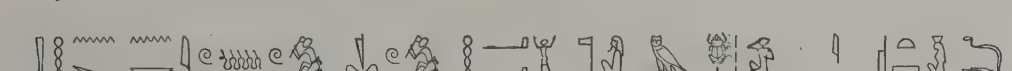
nāi uâa en Rā em ḥetep ṭer Āpepi ṃ ren - f

to come the boat of Rā in peace, destroyed is Āpepi in name his



nebt ṭuau neter seχeper peḥti - f qaâs nāu

every. Glorified is the god making to become strength his! Tied up is the writing,



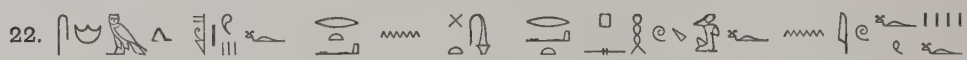
beḥen Nekâu Qeṭṭu ḥāā neter ṃ χeperu ân Âuset t'eṭ

cut asunder are Nekâu and Ḳettu. "Rejoices the god in becomings," says Isis. Says

en Rā setenemem sebâu śep maatu-f er seśeta

Rā making to retreat Sebâu, "Blinded are two eyes his from covering up

ḥer en pet em un māt sesunnu ba - f χat - f
the height of heaven in very truth. Gripped is soul his and body his,

22. 

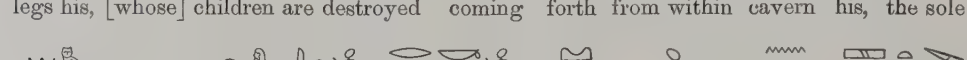
seḥem ḳesu - f erṭāt en śet erṭāt peshu - f en ȧuf - f
turned back bones his, given to the fire, given bite his into flesh his

t'es - f erṭāt entuf en ṭet χait nu Rā erṭāt senb -
his own. Given is he into the hand of the executioners of Rā, given to turn back

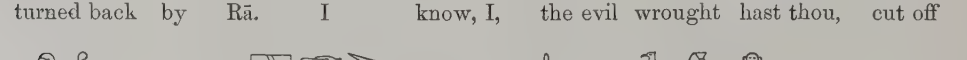
entuf T'eṭṭu ḥa - k Āpepi nepet pui en Rā ḥa - k ḳebt
is he." To be recited. Back thou Āpepi, sole[a] that of Rā, back thou claw

pui en māχaṭi χer Sebâu ȧt āāiu - f ȧt
that of strife, enemy, Sebâu without arms his, without

rettu-f mesu settu per em χennu en tepḥut - f nepet
legs his, [whose] children are destroyed coming forth from within cavern his, the sole



ḥem en Rā ȧuȧ reχ-kuȧ ṭu ȧru nek śāt
turned back by Rā. I know, I, the evil wrought hast thou, cut off



ṭep-k ȧru śāṭ - k ȧn fa ḥrȧ - k er
is head thy, wrought is slaughter thy, not lift up face thy against

neter āa tekau em ḥrȧ - k χet em ba - k seti
the god great. Fire upon face thy, flame upon soul thy, may destroy

[a] *I.e.*, that upon which Rā treads.

nemmat āat em ȧuf - k χenemem - k em śāiṭ en neter
the block great flesh thy, mayest smell thou the slaughter of the god

āa ḥekau - tu Serqit setenemem - s-tu ȧ 25. *āq sep sen*
great, curses thee Serqet, turns back she thee. O entering, entering,

χer - tu sep sen em ḥekau pen em re - ȧ erṭāt-tu
fallen art thou, fallen art thou by curse this from mouth my. Given art thou

ȧu śet seḥetem - nes - tu sennu - χet - nes - tu maa Ḥeru em
to the flame, destroyed it thee, throws fire it at thee the eye of Horus on

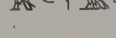
ȧpt - k χer ḥer ḥrȧ - k seχer - tu ba - k seχem maa
brow thy, fall upon face thy, overthrown is soul thy, obtains mastery eye

Rā ȧm - k ȧuk χertu 26. *sep sen senbet - tu sep sen*
of Rā over thee, art fallen thou, art fallen thou, fallen, fallen.

ḥefiu ȧt āāiu - f ȧt rettu-f χer ḥer ḥrȧ - k
O serpent without two arms his, without legs his, fall upon face thy,

ȧn un māḥā - k āq - k ȧu āχ en śet seχer - tu
not may be sepulchre thy. Enterest thou into the brazier of fire. Overthrows thee

neter āa χeper t'esef seḥetem - tu ȧmu 27. *uȧa - f*
the god great becoming of himself, destroy thee those who are in boat his

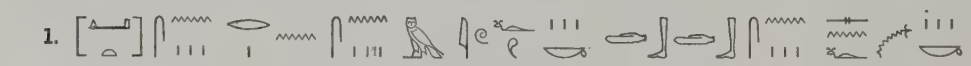
[a] In the MS.  is written twice.

em *χut* *en* *ṭep - re - sen* *em* *ḥekau* *ámu* *χat - sen*
with the might of utterance their, with the words of power from within interior their,

erṭāt-tu *ḥer* *pesṭ - k* *śāiṭ* *ǫebt - k* *χait* *nu*
placed art thou upon back thy, cut is throat thy, the executioners of

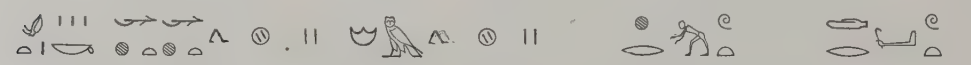
Seχet *ḥer* *semam - k*
Seχet are for slaying thee.

Column XXX.

1. 

ṭāt - sen *re* *en* *sen* *em* *ȧuf - k* *ṭebṭeb - sen* *senf - k*
Give they mouth their in flesh thy, spill they blood thy

ḥer *tau* *set* *ṭep-k* *em* *ṭes* *pfi* *neḥem* *neter* *āā*
upon the fire, breaking head thy with flint knife that, takes away god great



mest'er-k *χetχet* *sep sen* *ḥem* *sep sen* *χer - tu* *ṭer - tu*
ears thy, retreat, retreat, go back, go back, overthrown art thou, destroyed thou

2.

ȧrek *ḥem* *er - ek* *ȧu* *śaȧsi - k* *neḥem* *neter* *āā*
therefore. Back to thee from journeys thy, removes god great

rettu - k *per* *Rā* *χā* *Ḥeru* *ur* *ḥekau - sen* *erek*
legs thy, comes Rā, rises Horus, great one, curse they thee.

mātχeru *Rā* *erek* *Āpepi* *ṭep - k* *χeri* *beḥen - tu* *Rā*
Triumphs Rā over thee Apepi, spit upon art thou O enemy, slays thee Rā,

śep - k *χer tu* 3. *tem - tu en Teḥuti em maa - k*

spit upon art thou, fallen art thou, annihilated art thou. Thoth [blinds] two eyes thy,

ḥekau - f *ḥer net'eràu - f* *àm-k* *tem-k* *χeperu - k*

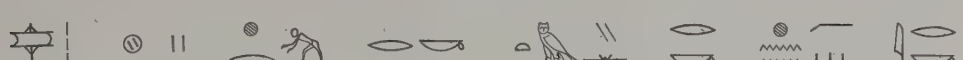
utters words of power he that may seize he thee. Finished are for thee becomings thy,

seḥetem *àru - k* *tem* *χat - k* *ṭer* *χebit - k*

destroyed belongings thy, finished body thy, destroyed shade thy,

ḥekau - k *àrek* *neḥem - f* *ānχ - k* *àn un ṭep - k*

[finished] words of power thy for thee. Takes away he life thy, not may be spittle thy

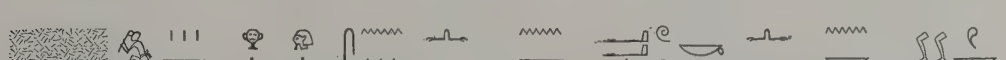


4. *nifu* *sep sen* *χer* *erek* *tem* *erek* *χenen* *àrèk*

and breath, twice, falling to thee, annihilation to thee, seizure to thee.

Sebàu *en neter* *àuk* *sàpi-tu* *en* *śāiṭ* *āat* *ṭer*

O Sebau, by the god! Art thou decreed for slaughter great, destroyed are



- k *ḥer ḥetep - sen* *àn* *nèk* *āāiu - k* *àn* *nek* *rettu-k*

..... thy before them. Not to thee are arms thy, not to thee legs thy,

àn χut *en àb - k* *àu* *àuset - f* 5. *beḥen - tu* *sep sen* *ḥem*

not is the strength of heart thy in place its. Cut asunder art thou, twice, retreat,

sep sen *senb* *erek* *per* *māb* *Ḥeru* *erek* *mātau*

twice, back to thee. Comes forth the dagger of Horus against thee, the chain

en Sut erṭāt em ȧpt - k seḥetem - entu Rā t'esef ṭer
of Sut is put upon forehead thy; destroys thee Rā himself. Destroyed is

χeru - k ȧn un sebeḥu - k ȧhai ȧuk ṭer - tu
voice thy, not may be imprecations thy. O art thou destroyed,

6.

tem - tu ȧn un χeperu - k ȧuk en maa Ḥeru seχem - s
annihilated, not may be becomings thy, art thou to the eye of Horus, obtains mastery it

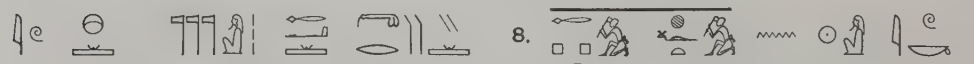
ȧm-k em χert en hru neb Āpepi χeft en Rā ṭer - tu
over thee in the course of day every. O Apepi, enemy of Rā, destroys thee

Rā ḥem - tu Ȧtmu em χut ṭep-re - sen setem - k
Rā, turns back thee Atmu with the might of utterances their. Hearest thou

ḥekau - ȧ . . . . . en set . . mȧ utut en Rā ȧru erek
words of power my, ... as commanded Rā to be done to thee.

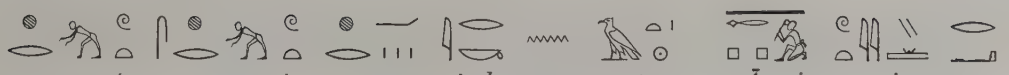
χeft en Rā reχ - nȧ ȧri nek māȧ ḥem - tu ḥer sep - k
O enemy of Rā, know I what is done to thee. Come turn thou in turn thy

ṭu ȧuk χer - tu en at - k bȧn āḥā ȧrek śenti - tu Rā
evil. Art thou fallen at moment thy evil, stoppage to thee. Curses thee Rā,



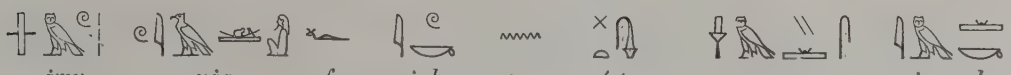
ȧu paut neteru āa meter
is the cycle of the gods great judging

8. *Āpepi χeft en Rā ȧuk*
Apepi the enemy of Rā. Art thou

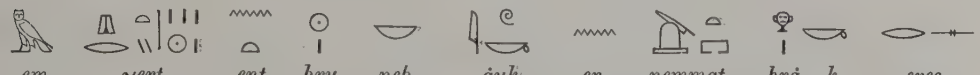


χer - tu *seχer - tu* *χeru* *ȧrek* *en* *at* *Ȧpepi* *tui* *erṭā-*
fallen, overthrown, seizures to thee at the moment, O Apepi, that. Given

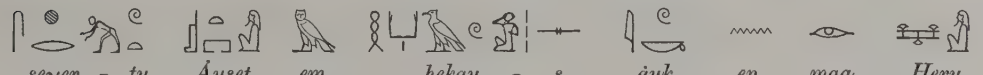
entu *en* *ṭes* *seχem - f* *ȧm - k* *mā* *ṭesi* *ȧpu*
art thou to the knife, obtains mastery he over thee with knives those which



ȧmu *uȧa - f* *ȧuk* *en* *śet* *seχem - s* *ȧm - k*
are in boat his. Art thou to the fire, obtains mastery it over thee

9. 

em *χert* *ent* *hru* *neb* *ȧuk* *en* *nemmat* *ḥrȧ - k* *eres*
in the course of day every. Art thou to the block, face thy is to it,

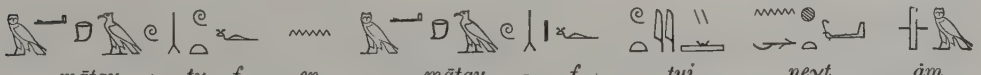


seχer - tu *Ȧuset* *em* *ḥekau - s* *ȧuk* *en* *maa* *Ḥeru*
overthrows thee Isis with words of power her. Art thou to the eye of Horus.

usert *ubti* *ubti - s* *ba - k* *ȧuk* *en* *Ḥeru* *āāiu*
Usert, the burning one, burns she soul thy. Art thou to Horus and the two arms

en *neter* *āā* *per* *māb - f* *ȧm* *ā* - *f* *er - ek* *ȧuk* *en*
of the god great, comes dagger his in hand his against thee. Art thou to

Sut *se* *Nut* *sau - f* *θes - k* *āu - f* *neḥbet - k*
Sut the son of Nut, smashes he backbone thy, cuts he neck thy,



mātau - tu - f *en* *mātau - f* *tui* *neχt* *ȧm*
chains up thee he with chain his that victorious [which] is in

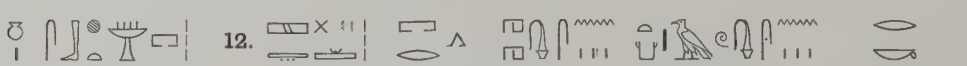
āāiu - f *åuk* *en* *maa* *Rā* *maa* *Ḥeru* *uśā - tu*
hands his. Art thou to the eye of Rā, flames Horus biting into

11.

χat - k *åuk* *en* *åqṭi* *Rā* *en* *χennu* *Rā* *uaḥ - sen*
body thy. Art thou to the rowers of Rā, to the sailors of Rā, place they

ṭep-k *er* *ta* *åuk* *en* *Ḥeru* *χent - ån - maa* *ḥaṭeḳ -*
head thy upon the earth. Art thou to Horus dwelling in darkness, cut in pieces

tu *em* *båḥennu-f* *tui* *åm* *seχem* *åuk* *en* *sau*
art thou by knife his that which is in Seχem. Art thou to the keepers



nu *sebeχet* *śetau* *per* *heh - sen* *tekau - sen* *erek*
of the pylons secret, comes forth fire their, flame their against thee,

åm - tu - k *neråu* *åat* *ḥetep-s* *ḥer* *χat - k* *Āpepi* *χeft* *en*
devours thee fear great, rests it upon body thy, O Apepi enemy of

Rā *åm - k* *nāi* *åm - k* *śaås* *åm - k* *χeper*
Rā. Not thou mayest come, not thou mayest pass, not thou mayest become,

åm - k *θes* *per* *ba* *er - ek* *ḥer* *Åmentiu* *åuk* *en*
not to thee may rise to come soul to thee out of those in Åmenti. Art thou to

nesert *ṭep - re - f* *per* *båak* *Ḥeru* *erek* *ḥer* *Åbtiu*
the flame of utterance his, comes the hawk of Horus to thee out of the Åbtiu.

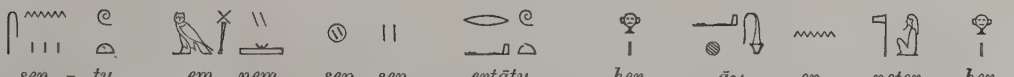
ȧuk en ḥekau ȧmu χat - f beḥen - tuk ȧmu

Art thou to the words of power within body his, cut in pieces thee those who are in

14.

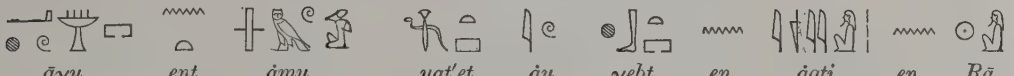
kerȧut - sen ṭebu - sen śesert - sen erek śāiṭ -

shrine their, accomplish they purposes their upon thee: slay



sen - tu em nem sep sen erṭātu ḥer āχ en neter ḥer

they thee a second time, twice. Placed art thou upon the brazier of the god upon



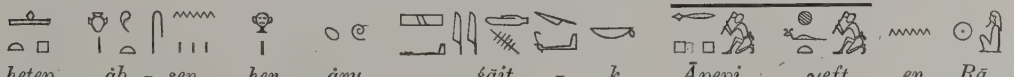
āχu ent ȧmu uaṭ'et ȧu χebt en ȧqṭi en Rā

the altar which consumes the emerald at the cavern of the rowers of Rā

15.

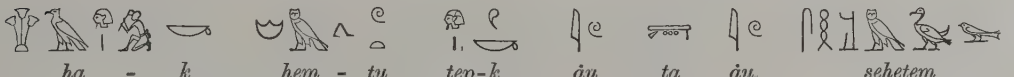
ȧu nemmat en Teḥuti seśep neter nebt . . . . . sen ȧm - k

at the block of Thoth. Receives god [great] every . . . . . their from thee.



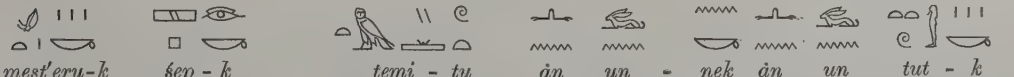
ḥetep ȧb - sen ḥer ȧru śāiṭ - k Āpepi χeft en Rā

Rests heart their upon doing slaughter thy, O Apepi, enemy of Rā.



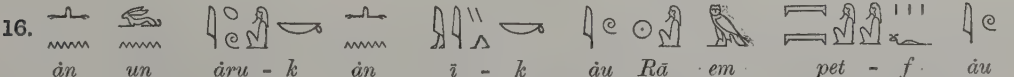
ḥa - k ḥem - tu ṭep-k ȧu ta ȧu seḥetem

Back to thee, retreat to thee. Head thy to the earth, are destroyed



mest'eru-k śep - k temi - tu ȧn un - nek ȧn un tut - k

ears thy, blinded art thou, annihilated art thou, not mayest be thou, not may be image thy,

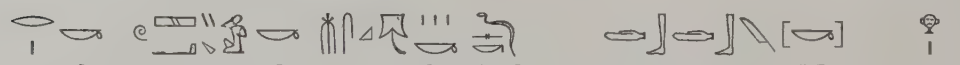


16.

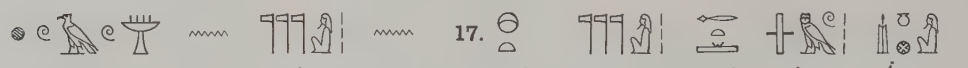
ȧn un ȧru - k ȧn ī - k ȧu Rā em pet - f ȧu

not may be attribute thy, not mayest come thou to Rā in two heavens his. Is

Rā en pet - f semātχeru - f erek un set - k erṭāt em
Rā in two heavens his, triumphs he over thee, may be tail thy placed in

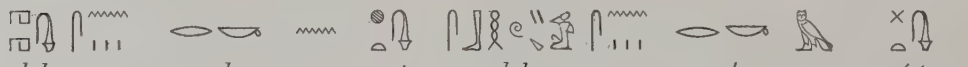


re - k uśā - k mesq - k t'es-k ṭebṭeb- [k] ḥer
mouth thy, mayest bite thou skin thy self thy, mayest be hacked in pieces [thou] upon



χuau en neteru en 17. *paut neteru āat ȧmu Ânnu*
the altar of the gods, of the cycle of the gods great in Heliopolis.

auk χer-tu seχer - tu seχer - sen - tu per set'ebu per
Art thou fallen, overthrown, overthrow they thee, come forth disasters, comes forth



heḥ - sen erek en χet sebeḥu - sen erek em śet
flame their against thee out of the fire, cry out they to thee out of the flame,

ḥrȧ - sen erek em nebȧt - sen 18. *smāmut erek em*
face their against thee from flame their, clashing against thee

. . . śesau en ṭes amem - sen - tu ḥer qeb - k ṭer -
knives of flint, burn they thee upon folds thy, destroy

sen - tu em śāiṭ - sen ȧm āāiu - sen ṭer - tu mesu
they thee with knives their in hands their. Destroy thee the children

Heru ḥekau - sen āq - sen ȧm - k 19. *χut - sen χeper*
of Horus, curses their enter they into thee. Powers their become

sen *erek* *ḥekau - tu* *ḥer* *māu* *ḥekau - tu* *em*

they against thee, cursed art thou upon the water (?) . . . . . , cursed art thou in

χeperu - k *nebt* *ȧri - nek* *em* *unnut-k* *tui* *bȧn* *ȧm - k*

becomings thy all [which] made hast thou in hour thy that evil. Notshalt thou

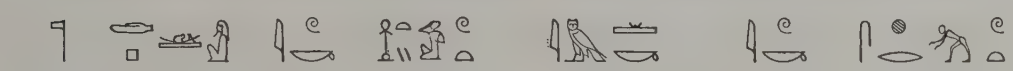
20.

ṭebṭeb *ȧu* *sekti* *neteru* *em* *seḥak* *Sebȧu*

make attack upon the *sekti* boat of the gods. Back thou, Sebau,

seḥetem *ba - k* *ȧuk* *beḥen - tu* *ȧuk* *seḥerȧu - tu* *ȧu*

destroyed is soul thy, art thou cut in pieces, thou, driven back art thou from



neter *ṭep* *ȧuk* *śenti-tu* *ȧm-k* *ȧuk* *seχer - tu*

the divine bark, art thou cursed, annihilation to thee, art thou overthrown,

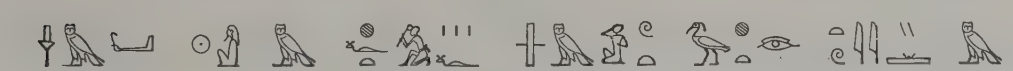
ȧm - tu *maa* *Rā* *ḥa - k* *Sebȧu* *tem* *erek* *śeseru*

eats thee the eye of Rā. Back thou Sebau, an end to thee! The attacks

21.

en *Ḥeru* *erṭāt* *em* *fent-k* *ȧhai* *ṭer* *Āpepi*

of Horus are made upon nose thy, O destroyed is Āpepi!



seχem *Rā* *em* *χefti - f* *ȧm - tu* *χut* *tui* *em*

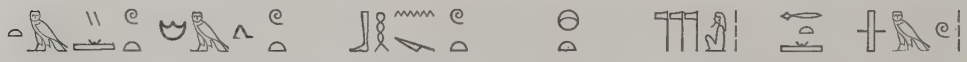
Obtains mastery Rā over enemies his. Devours thee eye that in

ren-s *pui* *en* *ȧmi* *ȧm - s* *ȧm-k* *sām - s* *ȧm-k*

name its that of "Ami," [Flame] eats it into thee, devours it thee

em ḥekau 22. *ṭepre - sen χep - nes - tu mit - k en*
by magical words and utterances their, slays it thee, kill thee

sen χer - sen - tu χesef - sen - tu seχem - sen - tu śep-k
they, cast down they thee, repulse they thee, master they thee, make vomit they thee.

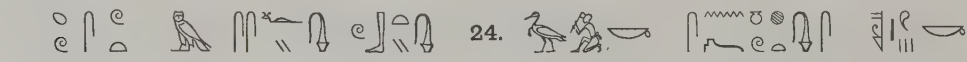


tem - tu ḥem - tu beḥen - tu paut neteru āat ȧmu
End to thee, back to thee. Cut in pieces thee the cycle of the gods great who are in

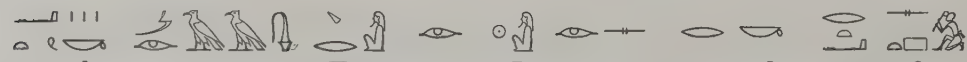
Ȧnnu sesunnu uru 23. *āśt tekau mer pā*
Heliopolis, seize [thee] the great ones who multiply the sparks deadly of the flame.

ȧuk en heh en ȧmu ren - s tem - nes - tu Ā̆pepi
Art thou to the flames of those who are in name its, makes an end it of thee Āpepi,

χesef - nes - tu em pȧr - k bȧn χet erek uśā - s ȧuf - k
repulses it thee in exit thy evil. Flame to thee, bites into it flesh thy,



ȧru-s-tu em sesfi ubti 24. *ba - k sesunnu-χet-s ḳesu - k*
does it for thee with fire burning soul thy, consumes it bones thy,

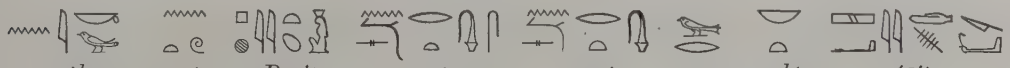


āt - k maa Ḥeru maa Rā ȧri - s er - ek erṭāt Sut
limbs thy, the flaming eye of Horus, the eye of Rā works it against thee. Places Sut

māb-f em ṭep-k ȧu - nek maȧu meres ba Bast
spear his in head thy, is to thee the cat of Meres, the soul of Bast

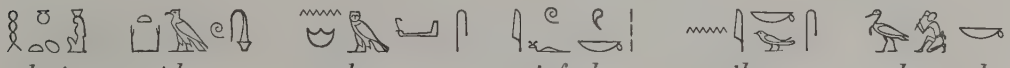
nebt śāiṭ ḥetep-f ḥer senf-k 25. *χet ârek ḥer uat-k nebt*

lady of slaughter, reposes he upon blood thy: fire therefore upon ways thy all.



nâk - entu Peχit nesert - s nesert ur nebt śāiṭ

Does evil to thee Peχit, flames she flame great, lady of slaughter,



ḥent tekau neḥem - s âuf-k nâk - s ba - k

mistress of the spark, removes she flesh thy, injures she soul thy,

ubti - entu nebât 26. *Âpepi χeft en Rā âmu - tu âmu*

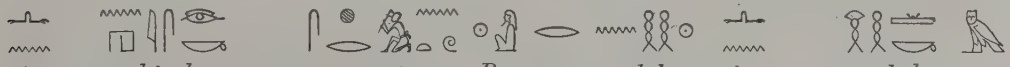
burns up thee the flame, O Âpepi enemy of Rā. Devour thee those who are in

kerâut paut neteru āat ḥetep uâa tem - k

the shrine, the cycle of the gods great in front of the boat, that not thou

χeper ân χeper-k neqem-k st'erâu - k

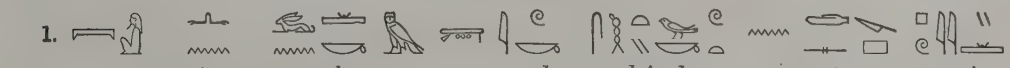
mayest become, not mayest become thou, be destruction to thee, mayest be prostrate thou,



ân nehâs-k seχer-entu Rā er neḥeḥ ân uaḥ-k em

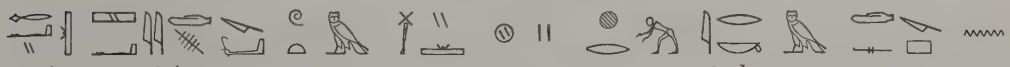
not mayest awake thou, overthrows thee Rā for ever! Not mayest be placed thou in

Column XXXI.



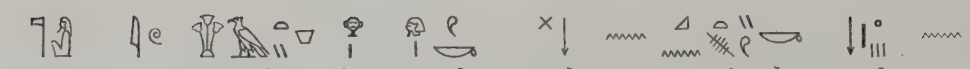
1. *pet ân un-k em ta âuk sekti-k-tu en ṭes pui*

heaven, not mayest rise thou in earth, art thou hacked art thou by knife that



âai śāiṭ - tu em nem sep sen χer ârek em tes en

great, slaughtered art thou a second time. fall then by the knife of



neter ȧu ḥati ḥer ṭep-k māb en qenti - k māb en
the god. May be the net upon head thy, the dagger in stomach thy, the daggers of

Rā men em tut - k χer - tu en at - k ṭu
Rā stuck into form thy. Overthrown art thou at moment thy evil,

ubti - tu en at ent Ḥeru ȧu neter per - f er Sebȧu
burnt up art thou at moment of Horus. The god comes forth he against the Sebau,

ȧu seχer Āpepi ȧu ḥrȧ - k er nemmȧt tui ent āt
is overthrown Āpepi, is face thy at block that of the place

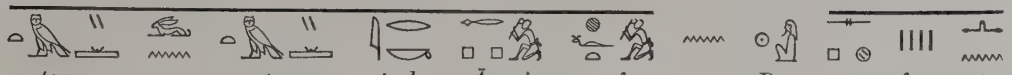
peḳas Rā seḥetem - tu ȧm - s er neḥeḥ t'etta ȧn
where spits Rā, destroyed art thou by it for ever and ever. Not

bènben - k ȧn tata - k ȧn - χeper t'ai -
may be emission to thee, not may be erection to thee, not may become male offspring

k ȧn ruṭ suḫt - k beḥen-tu neteru per em maa Ḥeru
thy, not be strong egg thy, cut in pieces thee the gods coming from the eye of Horus,

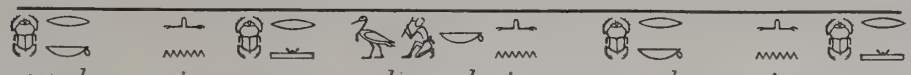
ḥeḥ - tu χer - tu seχer - tu Rā Ḥeru χuti per māb em
departed art thou, fallen thou, overthrows thee Rā Harmachis, comes dagger in

ā - f erek t'a śeser - f erek χeper-k em
hand his against thee, comes successful design (?) his against thee, becomest thou



tem *un* *tem* *ârek* *Âpepi* *χeft* *en* *Rā* *sep* *fṭu* *ân*

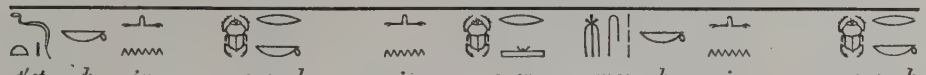
not being, end therefore Âpepi enemy of Rā. Times four. Not



χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *bâ* - *k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper*

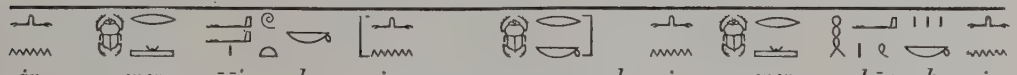
mayest become thou, not may become soul thy; not mayest become thou, not may become

5.



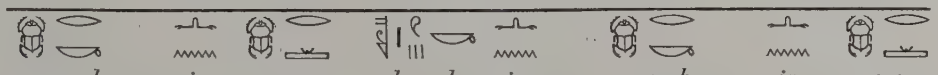
t'et - *k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *mesu-k* *ân* *χeper-k*

body thy; not mayest become thou, not may become children thy; not mayest become thou,



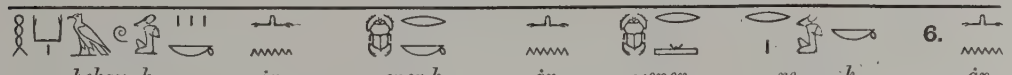
ân *χeper* *āāiu* - *k* *ân* *χeper* - *k* *ân* *χeper* *ḥāu* - *k* *ân*

not may become hands thy; not mayest become thou, not may become limbs thy; not



χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *ḳesu-k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper*

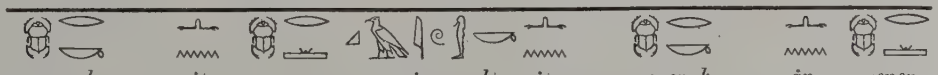
mayest become thou, not may become bones thy; not mayest become thou, not may become



ḥekau-k *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *re* - *k* *ân*

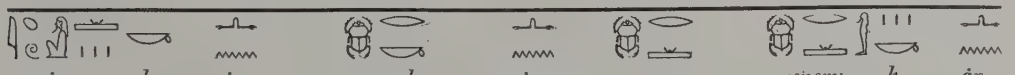
6.

words of power thy; not mayest become thou, not may become mouth thy; not



χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *qaâu* - *k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper*

mayest become thou, not may become form thy; not mayest become thou, not may become

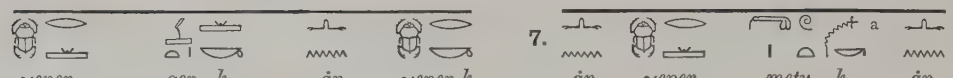


âru - *k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân* *χeper* *χeperu* - *k* *ân*

attribute thy; not mayest become thou, not may become becomings thy; not

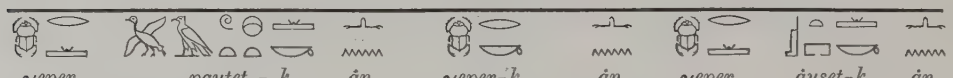
χeper-k *ân* *χeper* *ânememu* - *k* *ân* *χeper-k* *ân*

mayest become thou, not may become hair thy; not mayest become thou, not



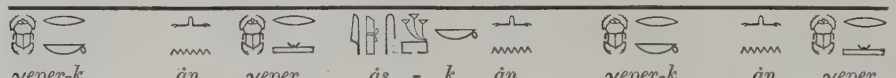
χeper *qer - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k* 7. *ȧn* *χeper* *metu - k* *ȧn*

may become belongings thy; not mayest become thou, not may become emission thy; not



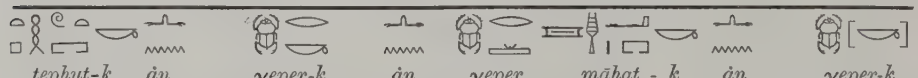
χeper *pautet - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn* *χeper* *ȧuset-k* *ȧn*

may become substance thy; not mayest become thou, not may become seat thy; not



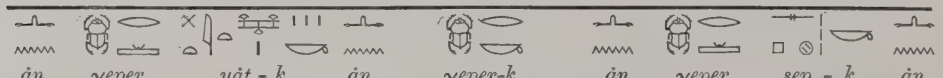
χeper-k *ȧn* *χeper* *ȧs - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn* *χeper*

mayest become thou, not may become tomb thy; not mayest become thou, not may become



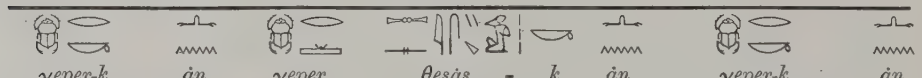
tepḥut-k *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn* *χeper* *māḥat - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k*

cavern thy; not mayest become thou, not may become chamber thy; not mayest become [thou]



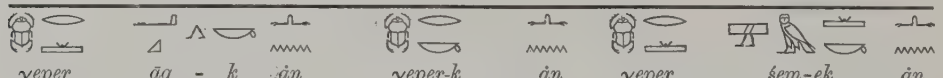
8. *ȧn* *χeper* *uȧt - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn* *χeper* *sep - k* *ȧn*

not may become paths thy; not mayest become thou, not may become times thy; not



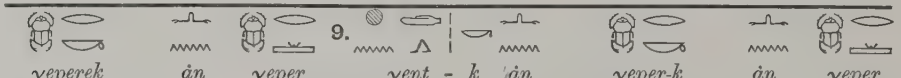
χeper-k *ȧn* *χeper* *θesȧs - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn*

mayest become thou, not may become speeches thy; not mayest become thou, not



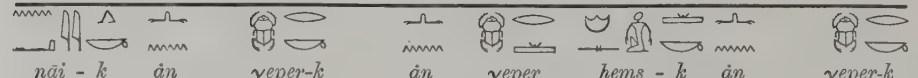
χeper *ȧq - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn* *χeper* *śem-ek* *ȧn*

may become entrance thy; not mayest become thou, not may become advance thy; not



χeperek *ȧn* *χeper* 9. *χent - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn* *χeper*

mayest become thou, not may become stridings thy; not mayest become thou, not may become



nāi - k *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn* *χeper* *ḥems - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k*

coming thy; not mayest become thou, not may become sitting thy; not mayest become thou,

[a] The words *ȧn χeper-k* appear to be omitted after *metu-k*.

ȧn *χeper* *ruṭ - k* *ȧn* *χeper-k* *ȧn* *χeper* *ṭ'et - k* *ȧn*

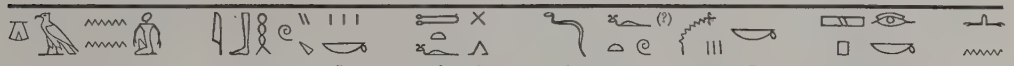
not may become growing thy ; not mayest become thou, not may become body thy ; not

χeper-k *ȧn* *χeper* *bu* *nebt* *un-nek* 10. *ȧm* *Ȧpepi*

mayest become thou, not may become luck any where art thou there, Ȧpepi

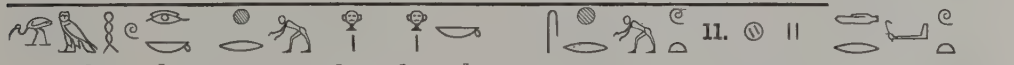
χeft *en* *Rā* *mit - k* *sep sen* *aqa - k* *aqa* *ren - k*

enemy of Ṛā. Die thou, die thou, lost art thou, lost is name thy.



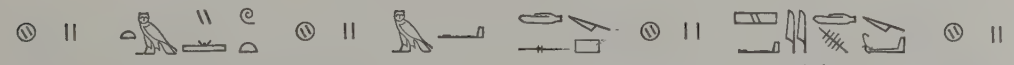
ḳanen *ȧbeḥu - k* *θetef* *ṭ' . . . tu - k* *śep - k* *ȧn*

May fail teeth thy, may be scattered . . . . . thy, be blind thou, not



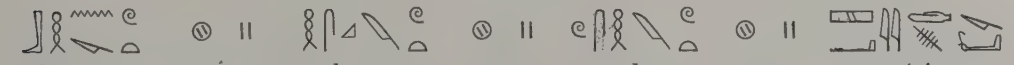
qemḥu - k *χer* *ḥer* *ḥrȧ - k* *seχer - tu* *sep sen* *ṭer - tu*

see thou. Fall upon face thy, overthrown art thou, twice, destroyed art thou,



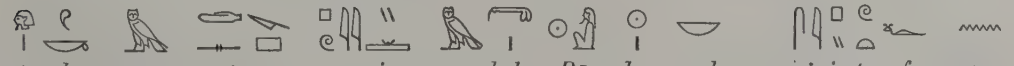
sep sen *tem - tu* *sep sen* *mā* *tes* *sep sen* *śāiṭ* *sep sen*

twice, an end to thee, twice, by the knife, twice, the sword twice,



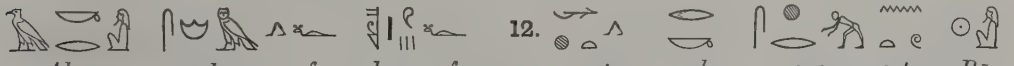
beḥentu *sep sen* *ḥesq - tu* *sep sen* *useḳ - tu* *sep sen* *śāiṭ*

cut in pieces, twice, hacked asunder, twice, sawed, twice. Cut off [is]



ṭep-k *em* *ṭes* *pui* *embaḥ* *Rā* *ḥru* *neb* *śȧpi - tu - f* *en*

head thy with knife that before Rā day every. Reckons up thee he



Aker *seḥem - f* *ḳesu - f* 12. *χet* *erek* *seχer - entu* *Rā*

Aker, turns back he bones his. Retreat to thee, overthrows thee Rā

Ḥeru χuti *ȧuk* *ṭāt-tu* *en* *neter* *mes* *aqa - tu* *t'eṭtuf*
Harmachis. Art thou given to the god bringing destruction to thee. Says he,

māb *Ḥeru* *erṭāt* *em* *ȧpt - k* *āu* *ṭep-k* *er* *neḥb - k* *ȧu*
"Daggers of Horus are placed in head thy cutting head thy from neck thy, is

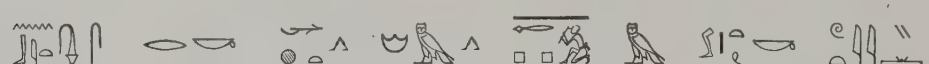
ba - k *χer* *ȧn* *χebit - k* *seḥetem* *em* *neter nemmat*
soul thy fallen, not [may be] shade thy, destroyed art thou at divine block.

13.

śāiṭ *ṭep - k* *ertāt* *ḥer* *pesṭ - k* *ḥa - k* *Sebâu*
Cut off is head thy and placed upon back thy; back to thee, O Sebâu

χeft *en* *Rā* *ȧuk* *beḥentu* *em* *per - k* *bân* *ȧm - tu*
enemy of Rā. Art thou cut in pieces at coming forth thy evil, eats thee

χuṭ *Heru* *qeqa - s* *ȧm - k* *ȧu ḥetep* *ȧbtu s* *heh-s* *erek*
the eye of Horus, bites it into thee. Is resting heart its, flame its against thee,

14. 

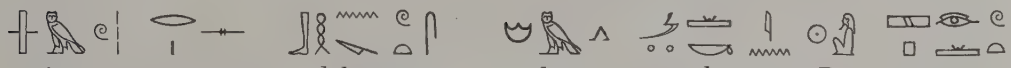
nebȧt - s *erek* *χet* *ḥem* *Ȧpepi* *em* *ret - k* *tui*
fire its against thee. Back retreat Ȧpepi with foot thy that

bân *fa* *paut* *neteru* *ḥrȧ - sen* *erek* *peḳaȧs - sen*
evil. Lifts up the cycle of the gods face their against thee, spit they

nebȧt - sen *em* *mat - k* *χet* *erek* *mer* *nesert* *seχem - s*
flame their in eye thy, flame against thee, horrible flame, masters it

15. *ȧm - k* *ḥu - nes - tu* *t'afi - nes-tu* *ȧuk* *en* *heh - s* *en*

thee, drives it thee, burns it thee. Art thou to flame its



ȧmu *re - s* *beḥen - tu-s* *ḥem* *maa - k* *ȧn* *Rā* *śep - tu*

which is in mouth his, cuts in pieces thee it, turning back eyes thy. Says Rā, "Blinds thee

Ḥeru *em* *uȧa - f* *seχem* *ȧm - k* *ḥāt - k* *ȧru - s*

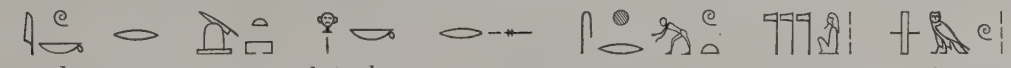
Horus from boat his, mastering thee and throat thy, makes it

śāiṭ - k *ṭes* *erek* *aq - f* *en* *āt - k* *ȧn*

slaughter thy. Knife to thee, destroys it limbs thy, not

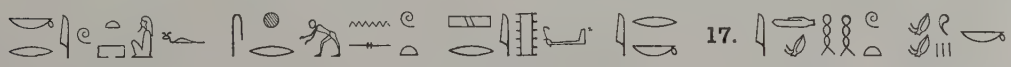
ī - k *er* *uȧa* *en* *neter* *āa* *ḥem - tu* *Rā* *t'esef*

mayest come thou to the boat of god great, turns back thee Rā himself.



ȧuk *er* *nemmat* *ḥrȧ - k* *eres* *seχer - tu* *neteru* *ȧmu*

Art thou to the block, face thy upon it, overthrow thee gods who are in

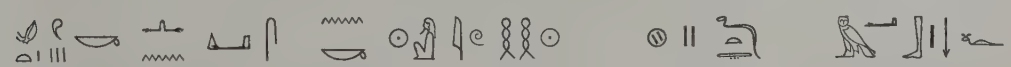


kerȧut - f *seχer - nes-tu* *śerȧ* *ȧrek* *ȧṭḥeḥ - tu* *mest'er-k*

shrine his, overthrows it thee, walled up art thou, lackest thou ears thy.

seχer-tu *Ȧuset* *em* *ḥekau - s* *śetbu - s* *re - k* *neḥem - s*

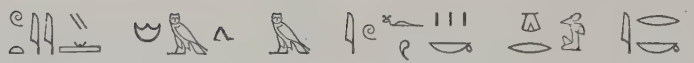
Overthrows thee Isis with words of power her, breaks she mouth thy, removes she



mest'eru-k *ȧn* *ṭāt - s - nek* *Rā* *ȧu* *ḥeḥ* *sep sen t'etta* *māb - f*

ears thy, not gives she to thee Rā for ever, for ever and ever and ever. Spear his

[a] There appears to be an erasure here.



tui *ḥem* *em* *ȧuf* - *k* *ḳer* *ȧrek* 18. *χer* *ȧrek*

that turns back into limbs thy, silence to thee, stabbings to thee,

mit - *k* *ȧn* *ānχ* - *k* *seχer* - *tu* *Áuset* *Nebt* - *ḥet* *tut* - *sen*

die thou, not live thou. Overthrow thee Isis and Nephthys, together they

ḥem - *sen* *at* - *k* *χet* *ḥem* *θes* *rer* *śep* - *k*

turn back they crocodile thy; go back, turn, on the other hand be blind thou,

tem - *tu* *θes* *rer* *seḥetem* *ba* - *k* *ȧn* *ānχ*-*k*

an end to thee, on the other hand, destroyed [is] soul thy, not live thou

19. *ȧu* *ḥeḥ* *t'etta* *ḥem* *at* - *k* *χenp* *peḥti*-*k* *nesert* *śet*

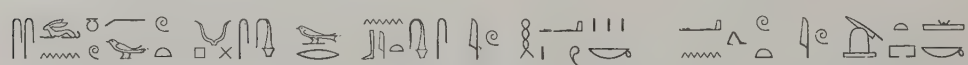
for ever and ever. Goes back moment thy, takes away strength thy flame of fire

em *t'et* - *k* *χet* *ȧrek* *sesunnu* - *s* *t'et* - *k* *sesefi* - *s* *ḳesu* - *k*

from body thy. Fire to thee, grips it body thy, burns it bones thy;

nebȧt *per* - *tu* *ubti* - *s* *ba* - *k* *em* *sā* - *s* 20. *χat* - *k*

flame [when] comest forth thou burns it soul thy, chews it body thy,

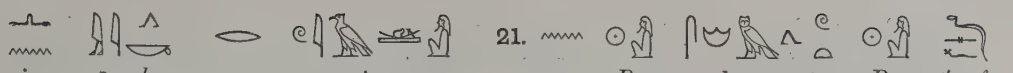


sesunnu - *tu* *Ápt* - *s* - *ur* *nebȧt*-*s* *ȧu* *ḥāu* - *k* *ān* - *tu* *ȧu* *nemmat*-*k*

seizes thee Apt - s - ur, flames she against limbs thy, goest back thou to block thy.

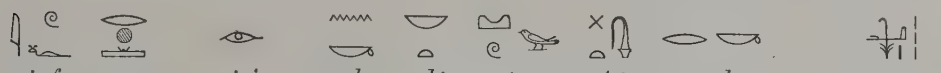
qemam *en* *Rā* *śāiṭ* - *tu* *Teḥuti* *em* *ḥekau* - *f*

Made has Rā to kill thee Thoth with words of magic his.



ȧn *ī - k* *er* *uȧa* 21. *en* *Rā* *seḥem - tu* *Rā* *t'esef*

Not comest thou to the boat of Rā, turns back thee Rā himself.



ȧuf *reχ* *ȧri - nek* *nebt* *ṭu* *śet* *erek* *qemāu*

He knows what done hast thou all evil, flame is upon thee of those in the south,

seχem-s *ȧm - k* *ȧn* *neter* *Sept* *Ānqet* *utut* *ȧru* *erek*

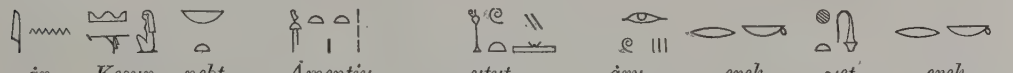
masters it thee, says divine Sothis Anqet decreeing what is done to thee.

χet *erek* *en* *meḥtiu* *seχem-s* *ȧm - k* *ȧn* *Uat'it* 22. *nebt*

Flame is upon thee of those in the north, masters it thee, says Uatit lady of

Pe *Ṭepā* *utut* *ȧru* *erek* *χet* *erek* *em* *Ȧmentiu*

Pe and Tep decreeing what is done to thee. Flame is upon thee of those in the west,



ȧn *Ḳesun* *nebt* *Ȧmentiu* *utut* *ȧru* *erek* *χet* *erek*

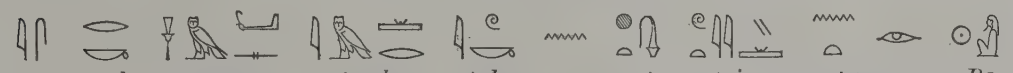
says Ḳesun lord of those in Ȧmenti decreeing what is done to thee. Flame is upon thee

Ȧbtiu *seχem - s* *ȧm - k* *ȧn* *Sept* *nebt* *Ȧbtiu* *utut*

of those in the east, masters it thee, says Sept lord of those in the east decreeing

ȧru *erek* 23. *ȧn* *un-nek* *em* *ȧuset - k* *nebt* *enti* *ȧuk* *ȧm*

what is done to thee. Not mayest rise thou in place thy all which art thou there.



ȧs *erek* *seχem - s* *ȧm-k* *ȧuk* *en* *χet* *tui* *ent* *maa* *Rā*

Now for thee, masters it thee, art thou to flame that of the eye of Rā,

utut - s *heh - s* *erek* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *Uat'it*
decrees it flame its against thee in name its that of Uat'it,

24.

ȧm - s *ȧm - k* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *Ámi*
eats it into thee in name its that of Ámi,

seχem - s *ȧm - k* *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *Seχet* *χut - s*
masters it thee in name its that of Seχet, flames it

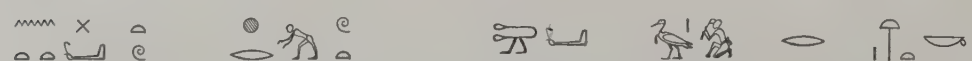
ȧm - k *em* *ren - s* *pui* *en* *χut* *mit - k* *en* *nesert*
against thee in name its that of Flame. Slays thee the flame

25.

χet *śep - k* *erek* *maa* *Ḥeru* *seχem - nes-tu* *neḥem - s*
of fire, blinds thee therefore the eye of Horus, masters it thee, removes it

āāiu - k *tet - s* *rettu-k* *utut* *set'ebu - k* *ȧn* *Rā* *χeper* *ṭu*
two hands thy, carries away it feet thy decreeing disasters thy. Says Rā, "Become evil

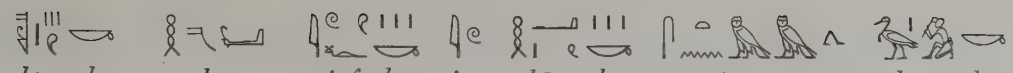
ȧm - k *ȧn* *Ḥeru* *ȧru* *śāiṭ* *ȧm - k* *ḳaȧs - tu*
in thee." Says Horus, "Be made slaughter of thee." Be fettered thou,



netet - tu *χer - tu* *tet* *ba - k* *er* *χebit - k*
be bound thou, be overthrown thou. Be carried away soul thy from shade thy,

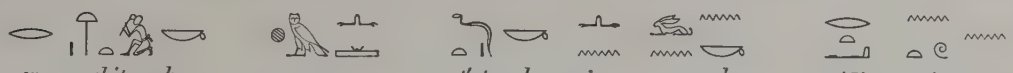
26.

senḥu *ṭep - k* *ki* *t'eṭ* *senȧ* *ṭep - k* *śāiṭ*
be fettered head thy, otherwise said, cut off head thy, be smashed



ḳesu - k *ḥu* *âuf - k* *âu* *ḥâu - k* *setenemem* *ba - k*

bones thy, be dragged off flesh thy from limbs thy, be turned back soul thy



er *χebit - k* *χem* *t'et - k* *ân* *un - nek* *erṭât - entu en*

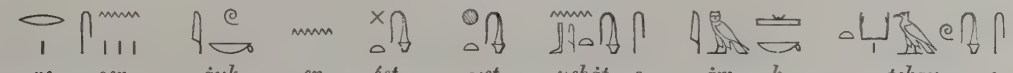
from shade thy, be brought to nought body thy, not mayest rise thou. Seized art thou by

śet *st'erâu* *mer* *senb - tu* 27. *χer - tu en*

the fire, prostrated, brought to nought, turned back thou, overthrown thou by

ṭenṭen *en* *ârât - f* *uśâ - nes - tu* *en* *heh en*

the might of uræi his. Chews up it thee the fire of



re - sen *âuk* *en* *śet* *χet* *nebât - s* *âm - k* *tekau - s*

mouth their. Art thou to the fire, the fire blazes it in thee, sparkles it

âm - k *seḥetem* *s*

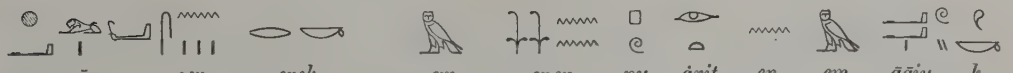
in thee, destroys it

Column XXXII.

1.

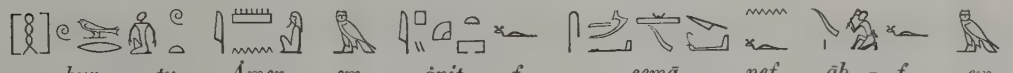
ba - k *em* *neter* *nemmat* *paut* *neteru* *âat*

soul thy at the divine block; the cycle of the gods great



χâr - sen *erek* *em* *enen* *pu* *ârit* *en* *em* *ââiu - k*

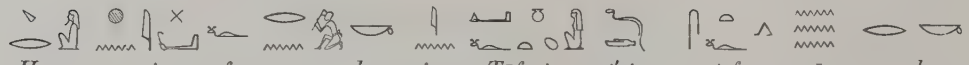
rage they against thee by reason of that, to wit, work which is in hands thy.



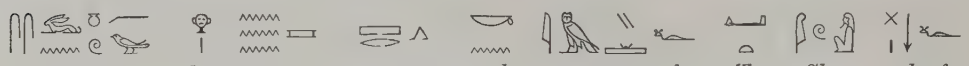
ḥur - tu *Âmen* *em* *âpit - f* *semâ - nef* *âb - f* *em*

Enfeebles thee Âmen in Apts his, digs he horn his in

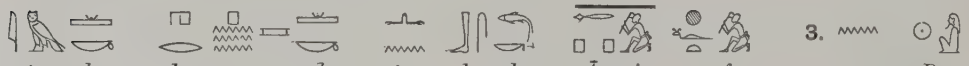
χabu - k ȧn Ȧuset utut śerȧt 2. *uat - k se - s*
neck thy, says Isis decreeing to be stopped ways thy, son her



Ḥeru χenȧ - f ren - k ȧn Ṭȧfnet t'eṭ stef māu erek
Horus shuts up he name thy. Speaks Tefnut, saying, "Be turned water from thee,



sesunnu ḥer māu per - nek ȧm - f Ṭȧt Shu māb - f
be seized on the water comest forth thou from it. Places Shu spear his



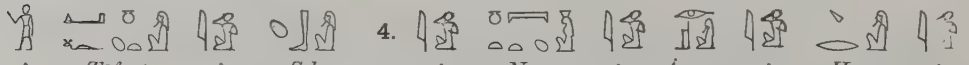
ȧm - k herp - k ȧn bes - k Ȧpepi χeft 3. *en Rā*
in thee, be drowned thou, not pass thou Āpepi enemy of Rā.

ṭep - k Ȧpepi sep fṭu ṭep - ten χeft neb en P-āa ānχ
Be spit upon thou Āpepi. Times four. Be spit upon ye enemy every of P-āa, life,

ut'a senb em mit em ānχ
strength, health, in death in life.

śāt en seχer Āpepi
Book of overthrowing Āpepi.

t'eṭṭu ȧ Rā ȧ Ȧtmu ȧ χeperȧ ȧ Shu
Say, "O Rā, O Ȧtmu, O χepera, O Shu,



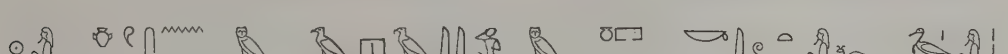
ȧ Ṭȧfnet ȧ Seb 4. *ȧ Nut ȧ Ȧusar ȧ Ḥeru ȧ*
O Tefnut, O Seb, O Nut, O Osiris, O Horus, O

Âuset *à* *Nebt-ḥet* *à* *Śu* *à* *Ṭâfnet* *à* *Ḥu* *à*
Isis, O Nephthys, O Shu O Tefnut, O Hu, O

Sau *à* *Ḥeru* *nebt* *Kakem* *à* *Ḥiku* *ka* *en* *Rā*
Sau, O Horus, lord of Kaqem, O Hiku the genius of Rā,

ī *en* *P-āa* *χer - ten* *ṭā-f* *nesert* *âu* *Āpepi* 5. *neḥem - f*
comes P-āa to you, gives he flame against Āpepi, removes he

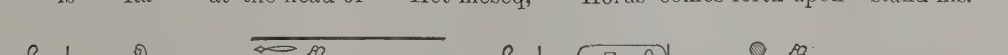
u..... *en* *Qeṭṭu* *ṭā-f* *reśâ* *em* *uâa* *en* *ḥeḥ* *aqeṭi*
..... of Qettu, gives he delight to the boat of millions of years. Rowers of



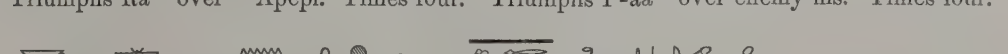
Rā *âb-sen* *em* *ahai* *em* *χennu* *en* *kerâut - f* *baiu*
Rā hearts their are in exultation within shrine his, the souls

neteru *ḥetep* *em* *χut - f* *neteru* *âmu - s* *ṭāt - nef* *âau*
of the gods rest in horizon his, the gods in it give to him adorations,

6. *âu* *Rā* *em* *χent* *ḥet* *mesq* *Ḥeru* *per* *ḥer* *âa - f*
is Rā at the head of Het-meseq, Horus comes forth upon stand his.



mātχeru *Rā* *er* *Āpepi* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru* *P-āa* *er* *χeft - f* *sep* *fṭu*
Triumphs Rā over Āpepi. Times four. Triumphs P-āa over enemy his. Times four."



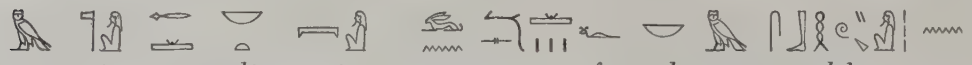
ket *śāt* *ent* *seχer* *Āpepi* *t'eṭṭu* *â* *ret* *neb* *set* *neb*
Another book of overthrowing Āpepi. Say, "O man every, woman every,

mit neb hamemu neb āba - reu 7. *ṭebu - sen en ḥa*

dead person every, unborn person every, whatsoever, if accomplish they evil

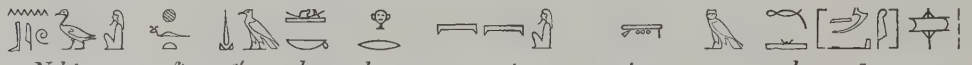
P-āa à neteru t'ai - sen àm - f un-nef em ḥrà - ten

for P-āa, may the gods do wrong they to him. May be he in face your



em neter āa nebt pet un nesu - f neb em sebeḥu en

like a god great lord of heaven! May be tongue his all for crying out to

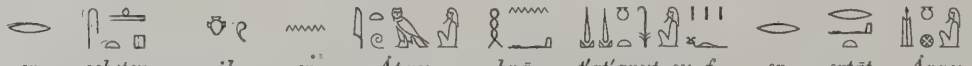


Nebàu χeft t'a - k ḥer pet ta em meḥu māu

Nebàu when travellest thou over the two heavens and earth with fulness of breezes

8. *em seḥetem Rā χeft - f àuf em àputi er Ànnu*

in destroying Rā enemies his. Is he a messenger to Ànnu



er seḥetep àb en Àtmu ḥnā t'at'anut-su-f er erṭāt Ànnu

to propitiate the heart of Atmu and Powers his, to place Ànnu

ḳemā Ànnu meḥt em reśà un - nef em ḥrà - ten em Àbṭ

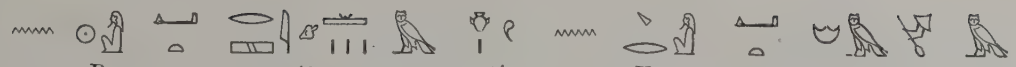
southern and Ànnu northern in delight. May be he in face your like the *Àbtu* fish

9. *em nub χeri uàa en Rā senṭ - nef χefti neb*

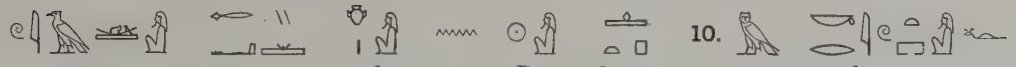
of gold under the boat of Rā. Terrifies he enemies all

en Rā ṭā - f peḥti en en àb en Ḥeru set χerui

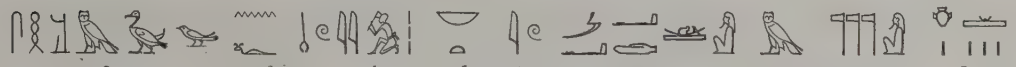
of Rā, gives he might to the heart of Horus smashing the enemies



en Rā ṭāt reśå em åb en Ḥeru ṭāṭ ḥem em
of Rā giving delight in the heart of Horus, placing the rudder in



uåa āa åb en Rā ḥetep em keråut - f
the boat of the great of heart, of Rā reposing in shrine his;



seḥetem - nef χerui nebt åu māāṭ em neteru åbu
destroys he enemies all. Is the Māāt boat in strength of heart,

sektet em ḥetep ki t'eṭ em māāu māt χnem - nes en
the *Sektet* boat in peace, otherwise said, in winds of straightness. Unites to it

neb - s Ḥeset em åhai åu Rā em māket - f
lord its Ḥeset in exultation. Is Rā in protection his,

māket ba P-āa māket Rā entuf māket - f
protecting the soul of P-āa, protects Rā him, protects he

su er ret neb set neb mit neb hamemu neb āba reu
him against man every, woman every, dead person every, unborn person every whatsoever.

ån Rā χetem - nef re neb t'eṭṭu er P-āa em t'eṭṭu nebt ṭu
Says Rā shuts he mouth every speaking against P-āa with words any bad.

śep - f ḥrå - k maa-nef åu nebt åri - sen χet nebt eref bån
Blinds he face thy, looks he at everyone do they things any to him evil and

ṭu *un* - *nef* *re* *en* *P-āa* *ānχ* *ut'a* *senb* *er* *ret* *neb*

wicked. Opens he mouth of P-āa, life, strength, health, against man every,

set *neb* *mit* *neb* *hamemu* *neb* *āba* *reu* *T'ettu* *re* *pen*

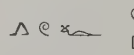
woman every, dead person every, unborn person every whatsoever. Said is chapter this

χeft *Rā* *ḥer* *θeset net* . . . . . *er* *seneχeχ* *su* *em* *ānχ* *śāt*

when Rā is for . . . . . to make long life to him in life. The book of

Neb-er-t'er *ren* - *s*

Neb-er-t'er name its.



īu - *f* *pu*

Gone out has it.

13.

na *ren* *en* *Āpepi* *enti* *ȧn* *unen* - *sen*

The names of Āpepi which not shall be they.

14.

Āpepi *χer* *em* *neśeṭ*

Apepi, fiend. Bristling with terror.

15.

Āpepi *χer* *ṭuṭu*

Apepi, fiend, Doubly evil one.

16.

Āpepi *χer* *ḥau* *ḥrȧ.*

Apepi, fiend, Backward of Face.

17.

Āpepi *χer* *hemhemti*

Apepi, fiend, Roarer.

18.

Āpepi *χer* *Qeṭṭu*

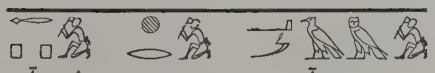
Apepi, fiend, Evil-doer.

19.

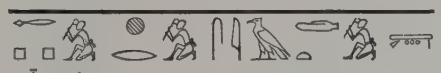
Āpepi *χer* *Qerner*

Apepi, fiend, Qerner.

20.
Āpepi *χer* *Iubani*
Āpepi, fiend, Iubani.

21. 
Āpepi *χer* *Āmam*
Āpepi, fiend, Devourer.

22.
Āpepi *χer* *āb-taiu*
Āpepi, fiend, Adversary of the world.

23. 
Āpepi *χer* *sȧaṭ - ta*
Āpepi, fiend, Eclipser of the earth.

24.
Āpepi *χer* *χermuti.*
Āpepi, fiend, χermuti.

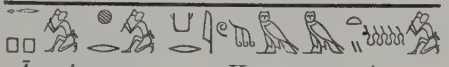
25.
Āpepi *χer* *Kenememti*
Āpepi, fiend, Monkey (?).

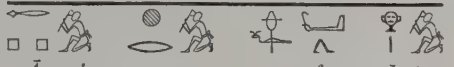
26.
Āpepi *χer* *Śeta*
Āpepi, fiend, Tortoise.

27.
Āpepi *χer* *Serem-taiu* (?)
Āpepi, fiend, Serem-taui.

28.
Āpepi *χer* *seχem - hrȧ*
Āpepi, fiend, Strong-face.

29.
Āpepi *χer* *Unti*
Āpepi, fiend, Unti.

30. 
Āpepi *χer* *Karȧu-ememti.*
Āpepi, fiend, Karau-ememti.

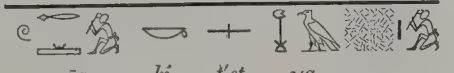
31. 
Āpepi *χer* *χesef* *ḥrȧ*
Āpepi, fiend, Repulsive of face.

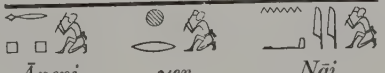
32.
Āpepi *χer* *Sebaa*
Āpepi, fiend, Devil

ent *Sebaa*
of devils.

33.
Āpepi *χer* *χak-ȧb*
Āpepi, fiend, Rebel.

34.
Āpepi *χer* *χan-re-* ....
Āpepi, fiend, χan-re ....


uāa *ki* *t'eṭ* *χa* .....
uāa, otherwise said, χa .....

35. 
Āpepi *χer* *Nāi*
Āpepi, fiend, Nāi.

36.

Āpepi *χer* *Ām.*
Āpepi, fiend, Ām.

37.

Āpepi *χer* *Turre - pa (?)*
Āpepi, fiend, Turre-pa (?).

38.

Āpepi *χer* *Iubau*
Āpepi, fiend, Iubau.

39.

Āpepi *χer* *Uai*
Āpepi, fiend, Uai.

40.

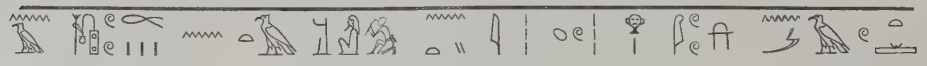
Āpepi *χer* *χarebuṭu*
Āpepi fiend, fourfold χarebuṭu.

41.

Āpepi *χer* *Sau*
Āpepi, fiend, Sau.

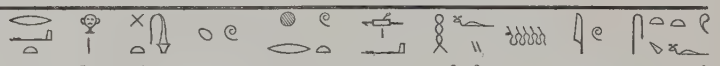
42.

Āpepi *χer* *Beteśu*
Āpepi, fiend, Beteśu.

43. 

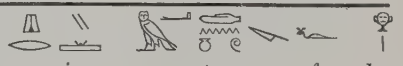
na *nāuu* *en* *ta* *neset* *enti* *ȧu* *ȧru* *ḥer* *śuu* *nemaut*
The writings of the envelopes which are made upon papyrus new, and

seχertu
thrown and

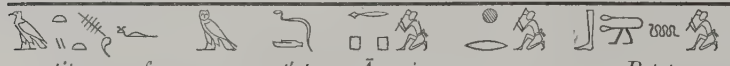
44. 

erṭāt · ḥer *śet* *ȧru* *χertu* *uā* *ḥefi* *ȧu* *set - tuf*
placed upon the fire. Is made now one worm being tail his

em *re* *seχer - f* *er*
in the mouth, throw down him

45. 

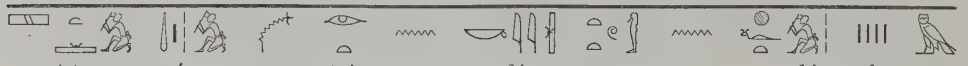
χeri *māṭennu - f* *ḥer*
having knife his in



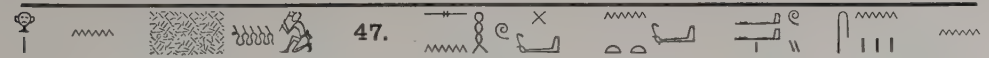
atit - f *em* *t'eṭ* *Āpepi* *χer* *Betet*
back his, saying, "Āpepi, fiend, Betet."

46.

ȧri *ki*
Make another



śetat *t'eṭṭu* *pu* *ȧrit* *en* *ki* *tut* *en* *χefti* *fṭu* *em*
mystery of words, to wit, make other images of enemies four with



47.

ḥrå en ..... senḳu netet āāui - sen en

the face of ....., bind and tie hands their

ḥa - sen mes beteś pu åri ki

behind them, [and call them] "Children of inertness," to wit. Make another

48.

ḥefi em ḥrå en maåu ḥrå - f χeri

worm with the face of a cat, face his having

mātennu - f em t'eṭ Hemhem åri ki em

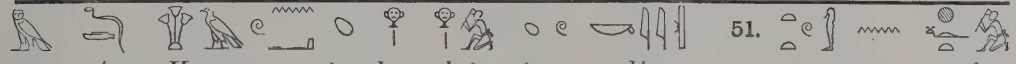
knife its, saying, "Roarer." Make another with

ḥrå en ..... er χeri mātennu - f em t'eṭ Āat - qar

the face of a ..... having knife its, saying, "Āa - qar-

Uaba åri ki em ḥrå en aṭ er χeri mātennu - f

Uaba." Make another with the face of a crocodile having knife its,

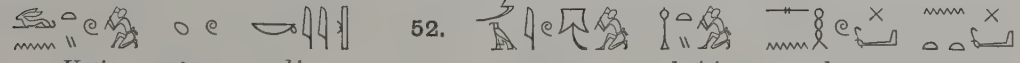


em t'eṭ Ḥaunā - åru ḥer ḥrå åru ki tut en χeft

saying, Haunā - åru - ḥer - ḥrå. Make another image of the enemy

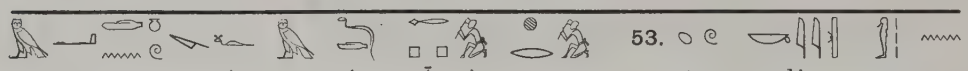
em ḥrå en apṭ er χeri mātennu - f em t'eṭ

with the face of a duck having knife its saying,



Unti åru ki maåu ḥet'ti senḳu netet

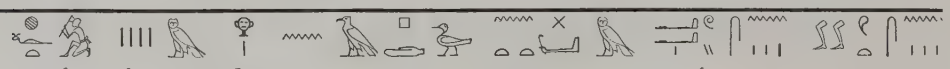
Unti." Make another [with the face of] cat white tie and bind it



53.

mātennu - f em t'eṭ Āpepi χer ȧru ki tut en

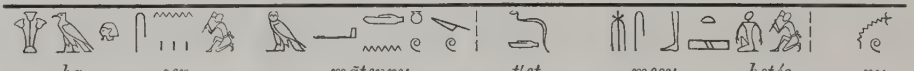
[having] knife its, saying, "Āpepi the enemy." Make other images of



χeft fṭu em ḥrȧ en apṭ netet em āāui - sen ret - sen

the enemies four with the faces of a duck, tie hands their and feet their

54.



ḥa - sen māṭennu t'eṭ mesu betés pu

behind them, [faces their having] knives [their] saying "Children of inertness," to wit.

Column XXXIII.

1.

ṭuau Rā ḥer-sa enen t'eṭṭu ȧ ȧtf nebt neteru

A hymn of praise to Rā after this. Say, "Hail, father, lord of the gods,

2.

ur en paut neteru āat pautti ḥetep en neteru

mighty one of the cycle of the gods great, matter primeval of the gods,

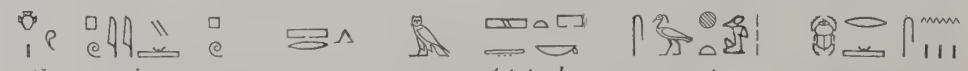
qemam ret χeper χeperu neb emχet

creator of men, evolver of evolutions all after

3.

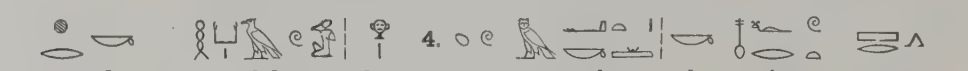
χeper - f nuk se - k ȧb - k em māāt netrȧ

was evolved he. I am son thy, heart thy in very truth, strength of



ȧb pui pu per em śetat - k seχut χeper - sen

heart that, to wit, coming forth from mystery thy, commemorating becomings their



4.

χer - k ḥekau ḥer ȧru māket - k nefertu per

from thee with words of power for making virtues thy beautiful coming forth

em re - ȧ nuk menχet seχeru māȧi māi Rā maa-

from mouth my. I am perfect with {wisdom / plans}. Come, O Rā, look

5.

ktu em maa - k ḥesu - k ḥer ȧru - ȧ seχer - ȧ nek

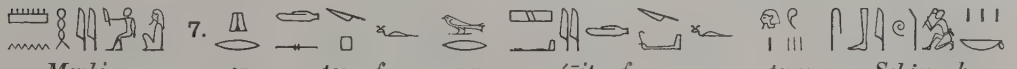
thou with two eyes thy, be pleased thou at what done have I. Overthrown have I for thee

Āpepi em at - f seḥetem - ȧ su emχennu en χebut - f

Āpepi at moment his, destroyed have I him within cavern his.

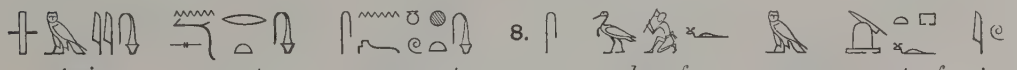
ȧu Heru maa χer χet - f ḥer ḥesq ṭep nu χefti - k

Horus of two eyes has staff his to cut off the head of enemy thy,



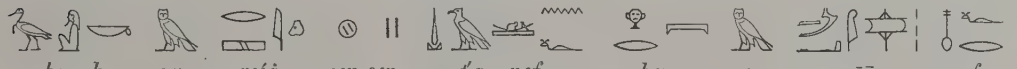
Menḥi χer ṭes - f ur śāiṭ - f ṭepu Sebȧu - k

Menhi having knife his mighty, cuts off he the heads of fiends thy;



ȧmi nesert sennu - χet - s ba - f em nemmat - f ȧu

devours the flame, shooting fire its into soul his on block his. Is



ba - k em reśȧ sep sen ṯa - nef ḥer em māāu nefer

soul thy in joy, in joy, Sails over it the sky with winds fair,

māȧi māi maa - k em mat - k ḥer ȧri - ȧ em

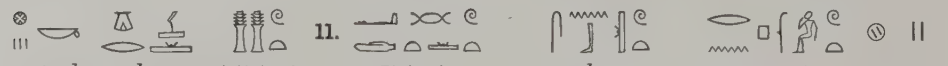
come, O look thou with eye thy at what done have I with

ḥāu en Āpepi . . . . . χefti ȧnebtet - f ȝam

the limbs of Āpepi . . . . . the enemy. Walled up is he, perished

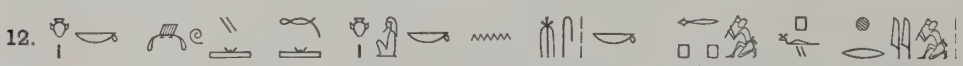
[a] I cannot transcribe the hieratic character which follows here.

χa - f *ḥetem* *em* *Aā* - *peḳa* *pet - k* *men*
has body his destroyed from Aa - Peḳa and two heavens thy; safe are

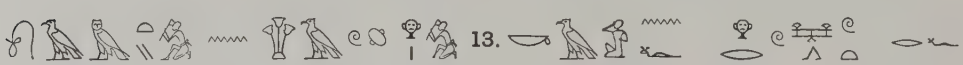


nut - k *ḳer* *ṭeṭṭeṭ - tu* 11. *āṭet - tu* *senb - tu* *renp - tu* *sep sen*
towns thy having stability. Firm art thou, strong art thou, growest thou, twice,

uben - tu *sep sen* *pesṭ - tu* *sep sen* *hru* *neb* *χā - k* *em* *uâa*
risest thou, twice, shinest thou, twice, day every. Risest thou in the boat



12. *âb - k* *āu* *meḥ* *âb - k* *en* *mesu - k* *Āpepi* *pfi* *χeri*
heart thy is joyful, fill heart thy children thy. To Āpepi that enemy,



uamti *en* *ḥau* *ḥrâ* *ka* - *nef* *ḥeru* - *tu* *er* - *ef*
the serpent of backward face, cries he, "Away with thee," then

âri - *nef* *uauu* *ṭu* *er* *nemmat - f* *uteb* *su* *qennu - f*
making against him cries horrible at block his, changes he, breaks down he

14. *ḥrâ - f* *hai* *per* *em* *χut* *taui* *em* *neteru* *âbu*
face his. Hail, coming forth from the horizon and the lands with strength of heart,

ne'tem *âb - k* *Rā* *hru* *neb* *Āpepi* *χer* *en* *χet* *Nekâu*
rejoices heart thy Rā day every. Āpepi throws down the fire, Nekâu

māṣ *en* *χet* *net'emi* *âb* *en* *Âmen - Rā* *nebt* *nest*
carries off the flame; rejoices the heart of Âmen - Rā, lord of the thrones

16.

taui *χent* *Ȧpi* *χeft-f* *χer* *χeri-f*

of the two worlds, at the head of the Apts, enemy his has fallen beneath him.

mātχeru *Rā* *er* *Āpepi* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru* *Ȧmen-Rā* [*nebt nest taiu*]

Triumphs Rā against Apepi. Times four. Triumphs Ȧmen-Rā, {[lord of the thrones of the two worlds]}

17.

χent *Ȧpi* *er* *χeft-f* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru* *Ȧtmu* *nebt*

at the head of the Apts against enemy his. Times four. Triumphs Atmu, lord of

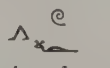
18.

Setemet *er* *χeft-f* *sep* *fṭu* *mātχeru* *Teḥuti* *menχet* *ḥekau*

Setemet, against enemy his. Times four. Triumphs Thoth, perfect of enchantments,

nebt *neter* *t'eṭṭu* *er* *χeft-f* *sep* *fṭu*"

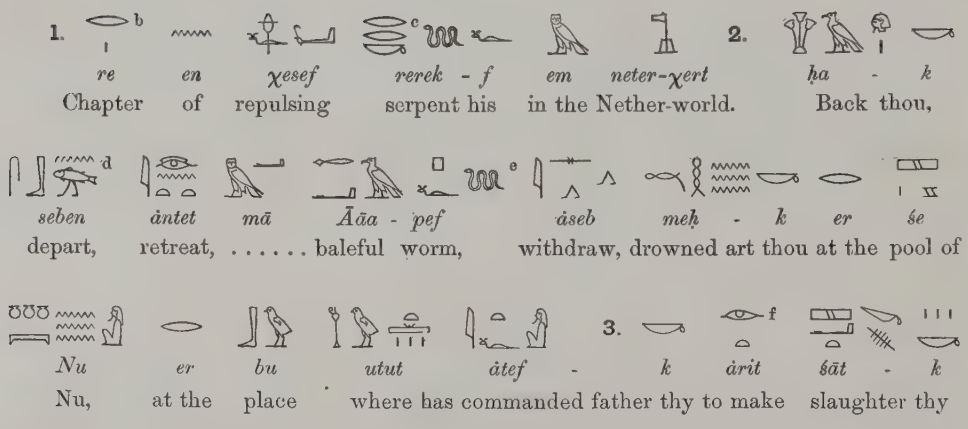
lord of divine words, against enemy his. Times four.



iu-f *pu.*

Gone out has it.

THE THIRTY-NINTH CHAPTER OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.[a]



re *en* *χesef* *rerek* - *f* *em* *neter-χert* *ḥa* - *k*

Chapter of repulsing serpent his in the Nether-world. Back thou,

seben *ȧntet* *mā* *Āāa* - *pef* *ȧseb* *meḥ* - *k* *er* *śe*

depart, retreat, ... baleful worm, withdraw, drowned art thou at the pool of

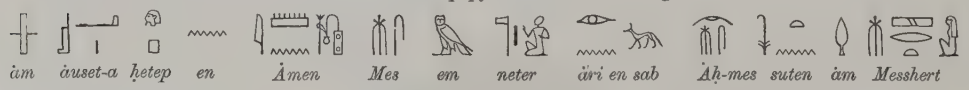
Nu *er* *bu* *utut* *ȧtef* - *k* *ȧrit* *śāt* - *k*

Nu, at the place where has commanded father thy to make slaughter thy

---

[a] Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der* XVIII *bis* XX *Dynastie*, t. I, pl. LIII.

[b] The name and titles of Ȧḥmes for whom this papyrus was written are given as follows :—



ȧm *ȧuset-a* *ḥetep* *en* *Ȧmen* *Mes* *em* *neter* *ȧri en sab* *Ȧḥ-mes* *suten* *ȧm* *Messhert*

[c] *Lb*, *Ba*, . In the variants given here *Pb* = Paris MS. *b*, *Lb* = Leyden MS. *b*, and *Ba* = Berlin MS. *a*.

[d] *Pb* , *Ba*

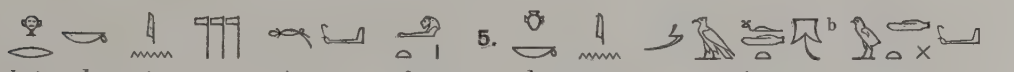
[e] *Pb* , *Ba*

[f] *Pb*

ȧm *ḥeru* *er* *mesχenet* *tui* *ent* *Rā* *ȧmt* *seṭa* - *k*
there. Depart to place of birth that of Rā in which is terror thy.

nuk *Rā* *ȧmi* *seṭa* - 4. *nef* *ḥa* - *k* *sebai*
I am Rā in terror his. Back thou fiend,

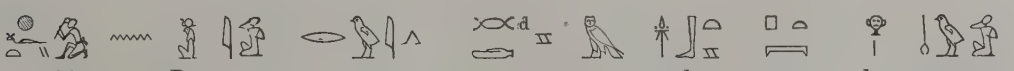
em *ṭeṣu* *seśep* - *f* *χer* *en* *Rā* *t'eṭṭu* - *k* *penā*
by the {darts / knives} of beams his overthrown has Rā words thy, have reversed



ḥrȧ - *k* *ȧn* *neteru* *śeṭ* *ḥāt* - 5. *k* *ȧn* *maftet* *uṭet*
face thy the gods, has torn out heart thy the lynx (?), has thrown forth

qasuu - *k* *ȧn* *ḥeṭeṭet* *uṭ* *neken* - *k* *ȧn* *māāt*
fetters thy the scorpion, has shot out destruction thy Māāt,

seχer - *s* - *tu* *ȧm* - *u* 6. *uat* *χer* *seben* *Ā pepi*
overthrow they thee those who are in the ways; fall down, depart Āpepi,



χefti *en* *Rā* *ȧ* *ruȧ* *āṭ* *em* *ȧbet* *pet* *ḥer* *χeru*
enemy of Rā. O pass away over the region in the east of the sky at the voice

---

[a] *Lb*

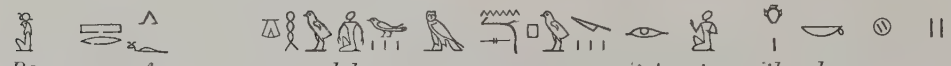
[b] *Ba*

[c] *Lb*

[d] *Ba*

gerâ *nehem-nehem* 7. *un* *sebau* *χut* *ḥetep - ā*

of the thunder-cloud roaring! Opens the gates of the horizon immediately



Rā *per - f* *ḳeḳu* *em* *nespu* *ȧri - ȧ* *ȧb - k* *sep* *sen*

Rā, comes forth he (*i.e.*, Āpepi) ruined in fragments. Made have I heart thy, times two,

Rā *ȧri - ȧ* *nefer* *sep* *sen* *ȧri - ȧ* *em* *ḥetep* 8. *Rā* *ȧri* *ḥai*

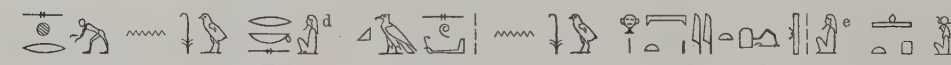
Rā; worked have I well, times two; worked have I in peace Rā; making to advance

ennuḥ - k *Rā* *ȧu* *Āpepi* *χer* *senḥti - k* *qasu* *en*

ropes thy Rā. Is Āpepi overthrown, tie thee and fetter

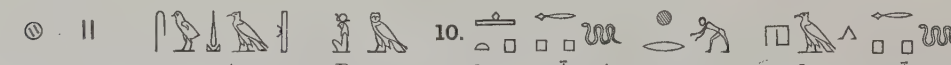
neteru *resu* *meḥta* *ȧmenta* 9. *ȧbta* *qasu - sen* *ȧm - f*

the gods southern, northern, western, eastern, set fetters they round him,



seχer *en* *su* *Rekes* *qasu* *en* *su* *Ḥertit* (?) *ḥetep* *Rā*

overthrows him Rekes, fettters him Ḥertit (?). Sets Rā,



sep *sen* *sut'a* *Rā* *em* 10. *ḥetep* *Āpepi* *χer* *ha* *Āpepi*

times two, strengthens himself Rā in peace. Āpepi is overthrown, departs Āpepi

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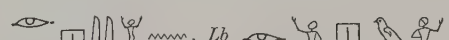
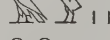
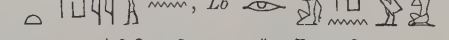
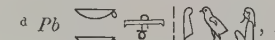
[a] *Ba*

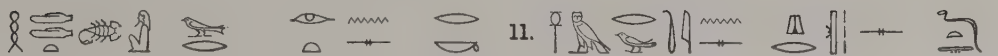
[b] *Pb*  , *Lb*

[c] *Lb* 

[d] *Pb*  , *Lb*

[e] *Pb* 

χefti en Rā ur ṭept - nek er ṭept tuia ḥer ȧb
enemy of Rā. Greater is taste thy than taste that which is in



ḥeṭeṭet ur ȧrit - nes erek merθȧ - nes χer - s t'etta
the scorpion, mightily has been made it for thee; dead for it are courses its for ever.

ȧn ben - k ȧn ṭa - k Āpepi
Not may there be erection to thee, not may there be emission to thee, Āpepi,

χefti en Rā seχesef ḥrȧ - k mesṭeṭu Rā maa - nek
enemy of Rā who repulses face thy, O hater of Rā when sees [he] thee.

ḥa - k ṭen ṭep ṭes ḥrȧ sennu ṭep
Back thou, smashed is head [thy], gashed is face [thy], carried off is head [thy]

emmā uat t'ent'en ṭep - k ȧmi ta - f seṭ ḳesu - k
among the ways, broken in is head thy in land his, smashed are bones thy,

beḥ[en] āt - k sȧp - f - tu Nekker Āpepi
hacked in pieces are limbs thy, condemned has he thee Nekker, O Āpepi,

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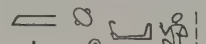
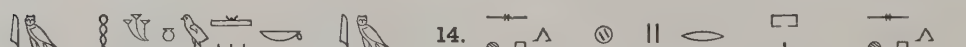
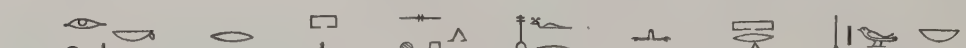
[a] *Pb*
[b] *Lb*
[c] *Pb*
[d] *Pb*
[e] *Pb* 
[f] *Pb* adds
[g] *Pb*

χefti en Rā qeṭet - k ȧpepet - k ḥen sep sen ḥetep - k
enemy of Rā, sailors thy, green food thy, necessaries [thy], offered to thee

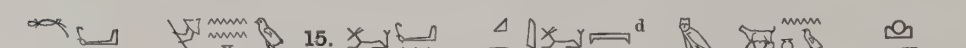


ȧm ḥennu - k ȧm 14. *seχepχep sep sen er pa seχep*
there, provided for thee there. The advance to the house, the advance



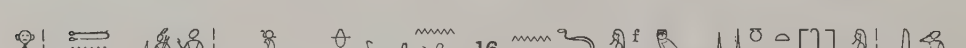
ȧrit-k er pa seχep nefer ȧn per set'ebu neb
which makest thou to the house is advance good; not may come forth disaster any

ṭu em re-k er-ȧ em ȧritu-k er - ȧ nuk Set
evil from mouth thy against me in working thy for me. I am Set



śeṭ χennu 15. *qerȧ em χennu χut*
letting loose the storm clouds and the thunder-cloud within the horizon

ent pet mȧ Net'eb ȧb-f pu ȧ ȧn Temu θesu
of heaven like Neteb heart his to wit. O, says Atmu, "Make strong (lift up)



ḥrȧu - θen menfitu Rā χesef-nā 16. *Nent'ā em t'at'anutsu ȧ*
faces your soldiers (?) of Rā, repulsed have I Nent'ā by the Powers." O, says

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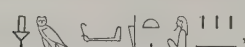
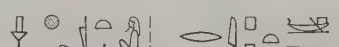
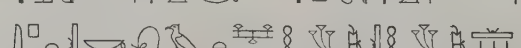
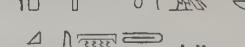
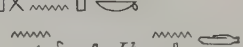
[a] *Pb*  , *Lb* 

[b] *Pb* 

[c] *Pb*

[d] *Pb* 

[e] *Pb*  , *Lb*

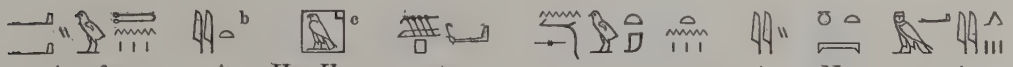
[f] *Lb*

Seb *smen-ten* *ȧmu* *nest - sen* *em* *ḥer-ȧbu* *uȧa*

Seb, "Prepare ye those who are in seats their within the boat of

χeperȧ *seśep* *uat - ten* 17. *mesqet - θen* *ṭāṭāiu - en - ten ḥer*

χeperȧ, take ways your and weapons your, put them ye in



āāiu - θen *it* *Ḥet-Ḥeru* *seśep* *nesut - ten* *i* *Nut* *māi*

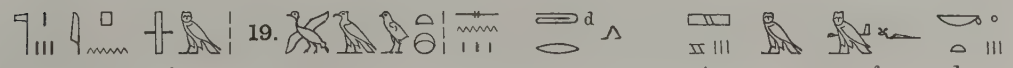
hands your." O, says Hathor, "Take ye armour your." O, says Nut, "Come

χesef - f - n 18. *t'ā* *pui* *śesi* *ȧm* *karȧ - f*

and repulse him will we destroying one that, following him who is in shrine his,

t'a - f *su em* *uāāiu* *Neb-er-t'er* *ȧti* *χesef - f* *ȧ*

goes forth he (*i.e.*, Rā) to him alone (?) Neb-er-t'er, without repulse is he." O, say



neteru ȧpen ȧmu 19. *paut - sen* *rer* *śe em* *māf - ket*

gods these who are in cycle their going round the lakes of emerald,

māȧ *āāa* *ṭuau - n* *neḥem - n* *āā* *karȧ*

"Come mighty one, adore we, deliver we the great one of the shrine,

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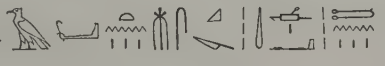
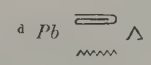
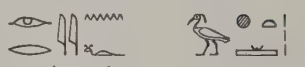
[a] *Pb* 

[b] *Lb*

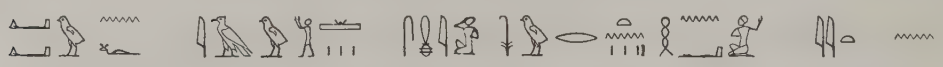
[c] *Pb*

[d] *Pb* 



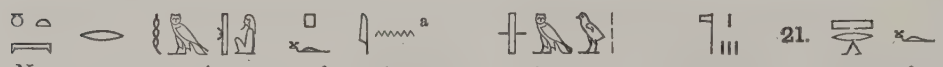
per *en* *paut* *neteru* *ȧm-f* 20. *ȧri - nef* *χut*

cometh forth the substance of the gods from him. Are made for him commemorations,



ṭāṭāu - nef *ȧau* *smȧ* *su* *er* *ten* *ḥnā* *it* *en*

are given to him shouts of acclamation, addressed is he by you and praised." "Hail" says



Nut *er* *net'em* *pef* *ȧn* *ȧmu* *neteru* 21. *per - f*

Nut to Sweet one that. Say those who are among the gods, "Comes forth he,

qem-f *uat* *ȧri-f* *ḥaqet* *em* *neteru* *senehep-f* *χent*

finds he the way, maketh he captives among the gods, drives away evil he from

Nut *āḥā* *Seb* *ȧ* *neru* ..... *ȧu* *paut* *neteru*

Nut, stands up Seb." Hail victorious one! Is the cycle of the gods

22. *em* *teḳas* ... *Ḥet-Ḥeru* *saṭu* *mātχeru* *Rā* *er* *Āpepi*

marching along, is Hathor trembling. Triumphs Rā against Āpepi.

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[a] *Pb*

[b] *Pb*

[c] *Pb*

XVII.—*Notes on a recent discovery of part of the Roman Wall of London.*
By George E. Fox, *F.S.A.*

Read April 11, 1889.

The following notes, mostly made on the spot, record the discovery of a further portion of the Roman wall of London, and give such details respecting its construction as it has been possible to observe.

The Government having determined to erect additional buildings to the General Post Office in St. Martin's le Grand, certain steps were taken in order to ascertain the nature of the ground on which these buildings were to be placed. For this purpose, in the latter part of 1887, shafts were sunk along a line from Aldersgate Street to King Edward Street, some yards south of the old money order office and parallel to Bull and Mouth Street, a street now swept away. In sinking these pits the workmen came upon the Roman wall, and afterwards, as the process of preparing the site for the new buildings proceeded, a considerable fragment of it was unearthed running east and west, and extending from Aldersgate Street on the one side to King Edward Street on the other. It was found that the line of buildings and walls forming the southern boundary of the churchyard of St. Botolph, Aldersgate Street, was based upon this wall, and it seems very probable that the churchyard and church above named partly occupy the ground filling up the original ditch.

The portion of wall exposed, commencing near Aldersgate Street and running westwards, can be well seen for a length of upwards of 131 feet. A considerable

length of this has been carefully underpinned, and, I am happy to say, will be preserved. The height remaining varies very considerably, but, measuring from the original ground level, at least 11 or 12 feet of masonry is still standing in places, not in any regular line at the top, but much broken into by the foundations of comparatively modern walls built upon it. Beyond the length named but little of the wall is to be seen, and as it approaches King Edward Street, just beneath the line of the houses in that street, on its eastern side, were discovered the foundations of a semi-circular tower, or rather a tower semi-circular in plan, with slightly prolonged straight sides. The foundations of this tower, and nothing but foundations remained, did not form any part of the structure of the Roman wall, but came with a butt-joint against it. They were 5 feet 3 inches wide and composed of rubble work of Kentish rag-stone with some chalk, and a few fragments of old building materials bedded amongst the rubble. The internal measurements of this tower were 17 feet 3 inches by 16 feet, and the foundation of the Roman wall was seen to cross its base. The tower which stood on these foundations was probably an addition to the wall in the medieval period. It was not Roman, and the foundations had no Roman character. Some pieces of worked stone discovered in them showed traces of Norman mouldings, and of foliage of the early-English period. It is possible that the first tower west of Aldersgate, seen in Agas's map of London, 1560, may be the one the remains of which are here described.

Turning now to examine the construction of the Roman wall, it appears that it was built in the following manner: A trench from 10 feet 9 inches to 11 feet wide and 6 feet deep was dug in the natural clay soil, the sides of the trench, for a distance of 2 feet from the bottom, sloping slightly outwards. The lower part of the trench for the depth of 2 feet was then filled in with puddled clay mixed with flints, and the whole well rammed down. Upon this came 4 feet of rubble foundation, lessening in some places to 2 feet, composed of masses of Kentish ragstone laid in mortar, the larger pieces being placed with some care in the arrangement, so as to form a solid base for the superstucture of the wall itself.

This wall, between 8 and 9 feet thick, as far as could be ascertained, starts with a bonding course of three rows of tiles at the ancient ground level, which is 6 feet 9 inches below the level of Aldersgate Street. Above this course the body of the wall is composed throughout its height of masses of rag-stone, with now and then a fragment of chalk, bedded very roughly in mortar which has been pitched in, not run in, sometimes with so little care as to leave occasional empty spaces amongst the stones. The stones are often arranged in a rude herring-bone

fashion, perhaps for greater convenience in packing them in, but the layers do not correspond in depth with the facing courses.

The lowest band of tiles in the wall (at the ground level) is 8 inches high, and consists of three rows, the bed of mortar between them being often thicker than the tiles themselves. The vertical joints however are very close. The three bands of tiles above this lowest one are each $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and of two rows. All these bands form bonding courses, layers in fact through the entire breadth of the wall, binding the rubble core together.

The tiles vary somewhat in size, but one perfect example which could be measured in every direction was 1 foot by 1 foot 4 inches, and from 1 inch to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. They are set with their greatest length into the wall. Some yellowish tiles here and there form an exception to the great mass, which is red and well burnt.

The height of the spaces of stone facing between each band of bonding tiles is as follows: The first space, counting from the lowest band, 2 feet 4 inches, the second 2 feet 4 inches, the third 2 feet 5 inches, and the fourth 2 feet 10 inches, though these last dimensions are somewhat doubtful, on account of the ruined condition of the upper part of the wall. Each of these spaces, with the exception of the ruined topmost one, of which little can be made out, is divided into five rows of facing stones in regular rows, all apparently much the same in height, though the individual stones vary considerably in length. These stones are very irregular in the amount of their penetration into the core of the wall, and there is nothing resembling the method adopted in working the facing stones of the wall of Hadrian, where each stone is cut to a long wedge shape and set with the pointed end into the wall. On the face the stones average from 4 to 5 inches in height, laid in a mortar bed of another inch or more in depth, and their average depth into the wall may be about 9 or 10 inches. They therefore form a mere skin between the tile bonding courses to the thick irregular rubble core. The stones have been brought to a clean face by splitting off their rough surface by the process known as pitching, and have been roughly squared in bed and joints with a hammer. The mortar employed seems to have nothing unusual in its composition. The mortar in which pounded tile forms so large an ingredient is not to be found here.

Only the southern face of the wall can now be seen. No transverse section of the wall itself has been yet obtained, although there is a possibility that such a section may be made later in the year. There can, however, be little doubt that the two faces of the wall are very similar in construction. At the west

end of the fragment to be preserved the destruction of the facing exhibits very satisfactorily the internal construction of the wall.

One other small fact has yet to be named to complete this account. So much as remains of the wall is perfectly perpendicular; it does not slope inwards towards the top, but at the third course of bonding tiles its face is set back about 4 inches, thus lessening its width by that much from that level.

A portion of the wall here described was exposed for a short distance at the Aldersgate Street end in 1841, when the French Protestant church was built there, just south of the old money order office. An account of this discovery was contributed by Mr. William Devonshire Saull to Vol. xxx. of *Archaeologia*, where some details are given which may be added here in order to complete these notes. In Mr. Saull's opinion the Kentish rag-stone composing the great mass of the wall was in all probability derived from quarries near Maidstone, and some masses of ferruginous sandstone which occurred in the foundation came also from the same locality. Mr. Saull supposes the width of the wall to have been 6 feet, but apparently, judging from the section accompanying his paper, the fragment seen by him had been deprived of its facing. The line of the ditch north of the wall was observed at this spot, and the workmen, to obtain a foundation for the church above named, "had," he says, "to excavate upwards of 20 feet through an unctuous black earth." The line of the wall was traced across Aldersgate Street, and in the basements of two houses, and it then turned northwards to Cripplegate churchyard, from which point it seems to have resumed again an easterly direction.

It may be interesting to see how far other fragments of the wall discovered from time to time resemble, in their general construction, the portion recently found.

Early in the last century Dr. Woodward, in a letter to Sir Christopher Wren, mentions the destruction of part of the wall then existing from Bishopsgate in a south-east direction. He saw its ruins at the time, and thus describes its formation. He says, "From the Foundation, which lay eight Foot below the present Surface, quite up to the Top, which was in all, near ten Foot, 'twas compil'd alternately of Layers of broad flat Bricks, and of Rag-Stone. The Bricks lay in double Ranges; and each Brick being but one inch $\frac{3}{10}$ in Thickness, the whole Layer, with the Mortar interpos'd, exceeded not three Inches. The Layers of Stone were not quite two Foot thick, of our Measure."—"'Twas thus far, from the Foundation upwards, nine Foot in thickness."

We hear nothing from him concerning the nature of the foundations, but this

omission is supplied by the discovery, some years ago, of another portion of the wall in Camomile Street. Against this had been built a bastion, which, though still of Roman work, was possibly of somewhat later date than the wall. The foundations of this bastion contained many pieces of sculptured stone and some effigies, all of the Roman period. The discovery was made in the year 1876, and in 1884 the base of a similar bastion, also containing carved stones of the Roman period, was unearthed in Castle Street.[a] In both these cases the trench filled with flints and clay puddling found in the Aldersgate Street specimen is equally present. A new feature however may be observed in the plinth of five courses of masonry capped by a chamfered course of ironstone, which occurs on the external face of the wall. The former discovery has been amply described and illustrated by Mr. J. E. Price in his work recording the excavations in Camomile Street.

Further east still, and near the Tower, building operations have frequently revealed traces of the wall. A very careful description, together with explanatory sections and plans, in vol. iii. of the *Antiquary*, by Mr. Alfred A. Langley, elucidates a discovery made in 1880 of another portion of the wall, close to America Square, 700 feet distant from the old postern gate of the Tower.

This fragment, which was 9 feet high, shows the same foundation of puddled clay and flint as at Aldersgate, a rough plinth of two courses of red sandstone on the external face, and three courses of tiles, the two lower each of three rows of tiles, the upper only of two. The lowest is not a bonding course, but the two upper run quite through the wall. The division of masonry between the first and second band of tiles, counting from the bottom, showed four courses of stones in the facing; the next above this was of six courses, each course being about 6 inches thick. The wall seems to have diminished slightly in thickness at the level of each band of tiles, decreasing from 9 feet at the bottom to 7 feet 6 inches at the level of the third band of tiles. The interior of the wall seems to have been of rubble, but laid in beds corresponding in height to the facing stones, and therefore of much more careful construction than in the Aldersgate portion. Mr. Langley describes the material as limestone, doubtless the usual Kentish rag-stone.

Other instances might be adduced to illustrate the uniformity of construction of this wall, which bounded the city of London on its eastern and northern sides, and, it might be added, possibly, on its western and southern sides as well.

[a] *Antiquary*, x. 132-134.

In the examples cited the same forms of construction are to be found; first, the trench filled with puddled clay and flints, then the footings of rag-stone often forming a rough plinth, and then the wall with bonding courses of tiles, generally two deep, always three in the lowest course. The spaces of masonry between these bonding courses vary slightly in height, but not materially so, the facing stones being a mere skin to the rubble core within, the rough stones of which are more or less evenly laid to correspond with the facing courses. There is therefore every probability that this wall, Roman in date, from its likeness to known Roman masonry in Britain, has been constructed throughout its length on a definite plan and at one time. At what period it was erected in the Roman occupation of this country, there is nothing yet to show. We must wait for further light on the subject.

Before bringing these notes to a close, reference may perhaps be made to one of the minor objects found in the excavations on the Aldersgate Street site. Amongst the fragments of pottery picked up are some good examples of the glazed embossed red ware (pseudo-Arretine) usually called Samian; including fragments of two if not three bowls prettily ornamented. One of these bowls has somewhat more of interest than the others. Amongst a heterogeneous assemblage of subjects, gladiators, sphinxes, and what appears to be a row of fighting cocks, arranged in upright panels at regular distances round the vessel, are figures copied from some celebrated Venus of the Venus de Medici type. Another bowl of this ware, also found in London, is ornamented with precisely the same figures, but the potter has barbarously disposed them in a horizontal ring round the bowl without the slightest regard to the natural position.[a]

P.S. Since the above notes were written, the progress of the work upon the new buildings of the post office has brought, as was anticipated, new facts to light.

The sites of the old money order office and of the French Protestant church have been completely cleared, and in digging foundations for the new buildings on these sites, cross sections of the wall and of the ditch accompanying it on its northern face have been obtained. (See line A. A. of plan and section.) This was taken at a distance of some 27 yards west of Aldersgate Street.

The construction of the wall has been already described, and the only cor-

[a] Jewitt, *Grave Mounds and their Contents*, 178.

rection which requires to be made in that description is, that the lowest band of tiles does not run through the entire thickness of the structure, and is composed at this point of two instead of three layers.

Taken at the original ground level the total thickness of the wall may be estimated at 8 feet. The inner face is perfect, and a sufficient indication of the outer face has been found so as to render a correct measurement possible.

From the foot of the wall to the edge of the ditch a space of flat ground occurred 10 feet 3 inches wide. The total width of the ditch across the top was 74 feet 6 inches, the flat bottom 35 feet, and the total depth 14 feet 1 inch. The sides sloped up at an obtuse angle. Both sides and bottom had a clay puddling 6 inches thick.

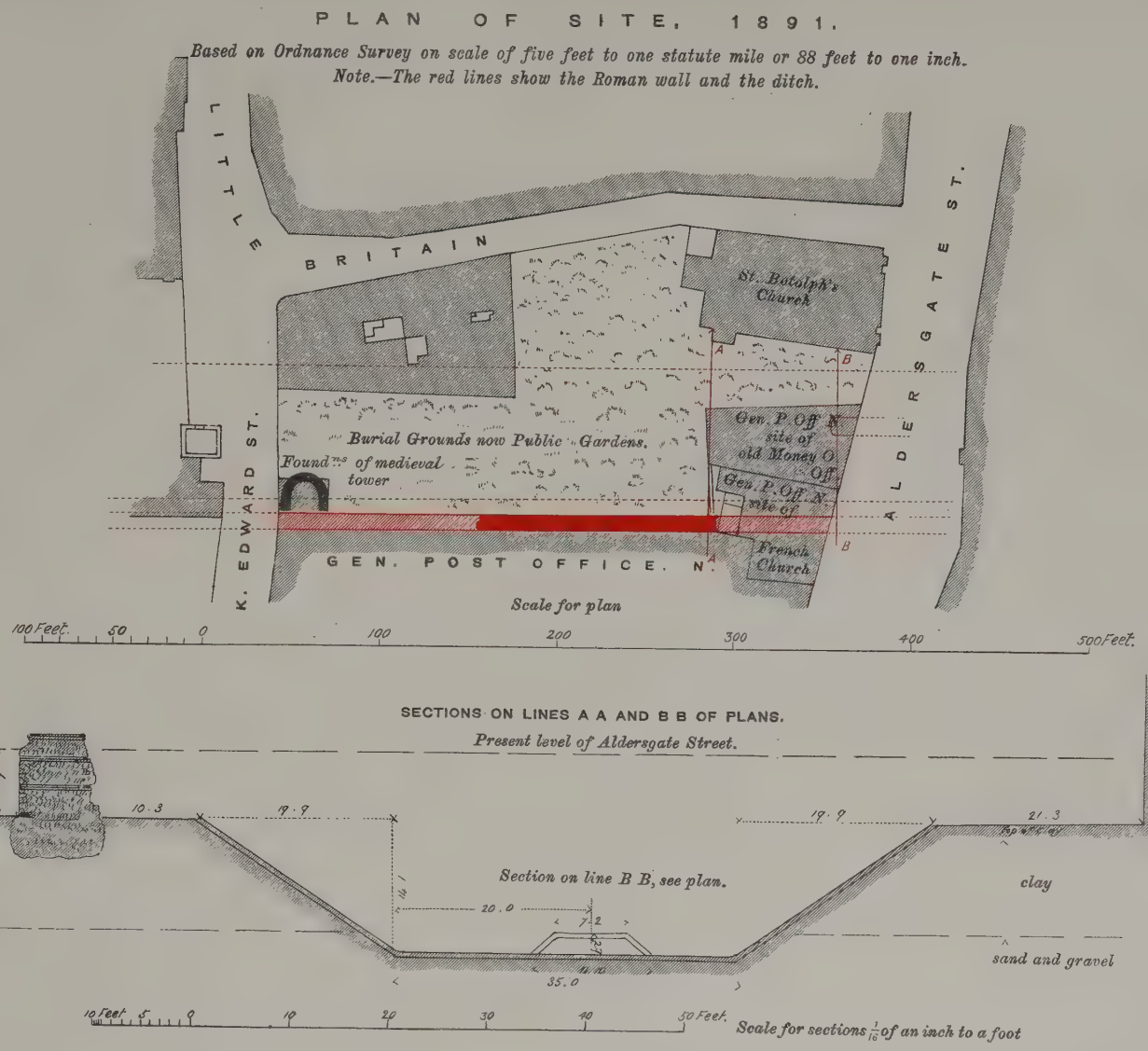
Another section of the ditch was obtained close to Aldersgate Street. (See section on line B. B. of plan, etc.) This revealed a curious feature. In the bottom of the ditch appeared a slightly raised mound of unknown length, as it ran under the street, and could therefore only be traced for a short distance. It was 2 feet 9 inches high, 7 feet 2 inches broad at the top, and 11 feet 10 inches at the base, and was traceable for a length of about 10 feet. The surface was puddled, like the rest of the ditch. It was not placed in the middle of the ditch, but was nearer the outer than the inner margin. Possibly it was intended to serve as a base to a wooden trestle-work forming a support for the timbers of a bridge across the ditch at this point to the Roman gate. The medieval gate probably afterwards occupied nearly the same site as the earlier Roman one, in the same way as did Micklegate Bar at York.

The ditch was dug down through a stratum of clay into a bed of sand and gravel beneath, which it penetrated to a depth of 2 feet 9 inches, and so perfect was the line of puddling that the greater part of the profile of the work could be traced with ease. Nothing was found in the present excavations which could positively determine the date of this ditch, but the whole of the soil had been previously much disturbed.

It must be remembered, however, that in the excavations made in 1842, for the purpose of laying the foundations of the French Protestant church referred to previously in these notes, a portion of this same ditch was dug into; and Mr. Devonshire Saull, who watched the operations, has left a record (see *Archaeologia*, Vol. xxx) that fragments of Samian (pseudo-Arretine) ware, handles of amphorae, an urn of peculiar shape, and glass vessels were found in the black earth with which it was filled, together with horns and bones of various ruminants, and some fragments of wickerwork.

The space from which these undoubted Roman relics came, and in which a fragment of the Roman wall occurred, must have been situated between the lines A. A. and B. B. of the plan of the site given with these notes. (See Plate XV.)

In concluding these notes acknowledgments must be made and thanks rendered to Mr. Leake, the very obliging clerk of the works at Aldersgate, who has furnished the sections here given and afforded much information.



PLAN SHEWING PART OF THE ROMAN WALL OF LONDON, DISCOVERED IN 1889, WITH SECTION OF THE DITCH.

XVIII.—*Benefactions of Thomas Heywood, Dean* (1457-1492), *to the Cathedral Church of Lichfield. By the* Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A.

Read May 9, 1889.

The roll of the Deans of Lichfield will favourably compare with those of any of our cathedral churches of the old foundation. Several of them have been distinguished scholars and theologians; one or two of them made some mark in the history of their country at a time when high ecclesiastics were frequently statesmen; twelve of their number obtained preferment to sees episcopal and archiepiscopal; whilst three, including the present Dean (whose name will ever be associated with the noble restoration of the west front of the cathedral church), were for many years Prolocutors to the Province of Canterbury.

But there is one name connected with Lichfield cathedral church, Thomas Fisher, or, as he was more usually called from his birthplace, Thomas Heywood, which, though passed over in local or diocesan histories in a few words, is well worthy of more extended notice. For length of service and for bountiful beneficence Thomas Heywood is without a rival among the Lichfield deans. Born in 1409, he was collated to a prebendal stall in Lichfield cathedral church in 1433, so that for sixty years he was connected with the minster, for the last thirty-five of which he held the deanery. The recently arranged muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, in conjunction with the episcopal registers and the chapter act books, enable the inquirer into the events and administration of this long and active ecclesiastical life to glean many particulars of church and decanal work, as well as of city life, during a period that has been far less enlightened by historical writings than several eras of a more remote date.

Much can be learnt of the early life of Thomas Heywood, and of the other preferments that he held; the fullest details exist of his remarkable and touching

election to the Deanery *per inspirationem*, and of the ceremonies and technicalities therewith connected; and not only is there evidence of the vigour of his ecclesiastical discipline and control over the cathedral church and its extensive peculiars, by visitations and general supervision, but ample information can be obtained of the remarkable biennial visitations that he held of the city of Lichfield, when specially appointed wardens, two for each street of importance or ward, presented at his court all manner of offenders against good morals, showing that the dean had to adjudicate in cases of incontinence and drunkenness, of late hours, of gambling, of evil language, of domestic quarrels, of neglect to extinguish fire, and of breaking the Sunday and holy days.

At the same court, too, the laity presented the clergy; for the wardens presented city priests on one occasion for saying mass inaudibly, and on another for leaving out certain words.

But all that I propose to do in this paper is to call attention to the variety and extent of his gifts to the cathedral church of Lichfield and its surroundings, and I trust that the nature of some of the gifts and the terms or language in which they are expressed may be of sufficient interest to warrant my bringing the matter before the Society, trusting that it may be, at all events, of some little interest to ecclesiologists.

In the library of the Dean and Chapter, situated over the chapter-house, and not among the muniments on the opposite side of the church, are three small folio volumes of parchment. They are bound, and erroneously lettered on the back *Cantaria S. Blasii*, from the first entry; their better title would be "The Benefactions of Dean Heywood."

The following is an analysis of the contents of these three small volumes:

The first volume consists of forty-five folios of rather poor parchment, twelve inches by eight. Some of the pages are a good deal soiled and marked with damp, but they are fairly written and legible throughout. The first folio is headed with the words "Cantaria Sci Blasii." The following is a summary of the contents:

f. 1. I. Decree of John Fox, chancellor of the diocese, concerning the payment of a pension of nine marks by the abbey of Hales Owen (in Shropshire) to the chantry of St. Blase, in Lichfield cathedral church. n. d.

II. Instructions for the obit of Dean Heywood's parents whilst he lived, and the same after his death. 14 August, 1456.

f. 2. III. Indenture from the abbey of Hales Owen concerning an annual rent of £6 to be by them paid for the support of the chaplain of the chantry of St. Blase, 14 April, 1466.

f. 3b. IV. Concession from the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield of the above grant, etc. 20 November, 1467.

f. 4b. V. Admission and reception of the warden and chaplain of the New College within the Close, and of St. Blase's chantry, etc. 22 November, 1467.

f. 6. VI. Official subscription of the foregoing by two public notaries, Thomas Colt and Thomas Reynolds. 9 February, 1467. In the Consistory Court.

f. 7. VII. Confirmation of number I. by the abbey of Welbeck, as the father abbey of Hales Owen. 3 April, 1468.

f. 9. VIII. Ordination by Dean Heywood of the chantry of St. Blase. 16 April, 1468.

f. 12b. IX. Obit for Dean Heywood after his death. 9 November, 1471.

f. 14. X. Indenture between the abbey of Lilleshull, and the cathedral church of Lichfield respecting the annual payment of ten marks for the support of the chantry of Jesus and St. Anne in the latter. 4 July, 1468.

f. 16. XI. Confirmation of the above by the Bishop. 14 November, 1468.

f. 18b. XII. Ordination by Dean Heywood of the chantry of Jesus and St. Anne. 3 December, 1468.

f. 23b. XIII. Confirmation of the above by the Bishop. 7 January 1468-9.

f. 24. XIV. Confirmation of the above, by the Chapter, and formal concession of number X. 23 December, 1468.

f. 26b. XV. Admission of the chantry priest of Jesus and St. Anne, by the warden, into the New College within the Close. 23 December, 1468.

f. 28. XVI. Arrangement with the sub-chanter and vicars about the masses and antiphonal singing at the last-named chantry altar in the north transept. 20 February, 1472.

f. 30b. XVII. Ordination by the Dean to the same effect as the last, and also with respect to ringing the bell for those services. 9 April, 1473.

f. 33. XVIII. Indenture between the abbey of Dale (in Derbyshire) and the chapter of Lichfield, respecting four marks annually from the former, for the use of the six vicars singing the mass of the Name of Jesus on Wednesdays. March, 1471.

f. 36b. XIX. Further particulars relative to the last. 20 February, 1472.

f. 37. XX. Confirmation of number XVIII. by the abbey of Newhouse (in Lincolnshire) as father abbey of Dale. 11 August, 1474.

f. 40b. XXI. Concession from the abbey of Dale as to keeping the obit of Dean Heywood within that monastery; with subscription of public notary. n. d.

f. 44. XXII. Confirmation of the last by the abbey of Newhouse. (last part missing).

f. 45. An outer leaf, embellished with various pen-trials.

The second volume consists of thirty-seven folios of parchment. The first twenty folios are carefully written, with red titles and well worked initial letters of the same colour. The capital letters throughout are also just touched with red. These folios are about twelve inches by eight, but the remainder of the

book has smaller leaves and is written in a beautifully clear hand by a different and more accomplished scribe.

Folios 1 to 10 contain the official decree of enrolment of the two chantries, etc., founded by Dean Heywood, in the Lichfield consistory court by Thomas Reynold, vicar-general or chancellor of the diocese, wherein are recited at length :

(1). Bull of Pope Sixtus IV. pridie kl. Octobris, 1479, confirming the two chantries.
(2). Bull of Pope Sixtus IV. pridie kl. Februarii, 1481, granting indulgences to penitents visiting the chantry of Jesus and St. Anne. 7 years and 40 days.
(3). Letter from the College of Cardinals approving the indulgences. March 5, 1482.
(4). A similar letter from the Cardinals, dated March 6th, 1481.
(5). Letter approving the indulgences from Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and seventeen of his suffragans.
(6). Official witnessing and subscription of the above by Thomas Godsalve, notary public and chapter clerk.
(7). Official witnessing and subscription of the above by John Bagnald, notary public.

Folios 11 and 12 are blank.

Folios 13 to 15 contain a copy of a judgment in the King's Bench respecting the annual pension due to the chapter from the abbey of Lilleshull. 20 May, 22 Edward IV.

Folios 16 to 20 are blank.

On folio 20b is a list of Dean Heywood's benefactions to the Lichfield chapels of SS. Mary, Michael, and Chad.

Folios 21 to 37 contain the general summary of all the benefactions of Heywood to the cathedral church. They are given in full in the Appendix to this paper.

The third volume has 63 folios. Of these, folios 1 to 55 are an exact copy of vol. i. Folio 56 is blank.

Folios 57 to 62 contain benefactions of Thomas Heywood to the vicars. These are almost identical with the latter part of vol. ii., and are written by the same scribe.

Folio 63 is blank.

The three city churches of Lichfield were, up to the time of Elizabeth, considered chapels of the minster (as well as various small churches within an area of several miles from Lichfield), and were served by priests termed the city prebendaries. Each of the three old city churches received benefactions from Dean Heywood. To the chapel of the Blessed Mary in the market place he gave the

glazing of the principal window at a cost of £8; to Richard Ruge, carpenter, for erecting the "Rodelofte" at the entrance of the choir, £16 13*s.* 4*d.*; for erecting pillars in the nave of the chapel, £21; to Gwilerm the carpenter, and his son, for erecting a new roodloft on the north side of the said chapel, £15 6*s.* 8*d.*; a gift of £5 13*s.* 4*d.* to the gild of the chapel; and to the repair of the chests, £7 0*s.* 8*d.* To the wardens of the church of St. Michael he gave £10 for fabric repairs; and 10 marks for a like purpose to the wardens of the chapel of St. Chad at Stow.

It may be of interest to give the original record of these gifts:

Data et sumptus venerabilis Magistri Thome Heywode Decani ecclesie cathedralis Lich̃. fact̃ infra Capella beate Marie in foro Lich̃. situata.

In primis solvit pro vitriacione principalis fenestre	viij li.	Capelle beate Marie in foro Lich̃.
Item solvit Ricardo Ruge Carpentario pro fabricacione de le Rodelofte in Introitu chori ibidem	xvj li. xiij s. iiij d.	
Item solvit per manus Dominorum Willelmi Hukyns et Thome Parker pro fabricacione Columpnarum in navi Capelle	xxj li.	
Item solvit Gwilermo Carpentario et filio ejus pro fabricacione nove Rodelofte in parte Boriali Capelle predicte	xv li. vj s. viij d.	
Item dedit ad emendas possessiones Gilde ibidem applicandas et ampliandas	v li. xiij s. iiij d.	
Summa totalis	lxvj li. xiij s. iiij d.	
Et ultra predicta dictus Magister Thomas Decanus dedit redintigracioni (*sic*) Cistarum Magistrorum Johannis Harewode et Georgij Radclyffe	vii li. viij d.	
Item dedit Gardianis ecclesie sancti Michaelis Lich' et ad fabricam ejusdem Capelle	x li.	Ecclesie sancti Michaelis Lich̃.
Item dedit Gardianis Capelle de Stow ad fabricam ejusdem	x marcas.	Capelle de Stow.

In founding the chantry of St. Blase, its site is specially named as being opposite the episcopal seat.

He gave to this chantry all that was seemly and convenient (*congruentem*) for the celebration of mass there; one good mass-book with the capital letters gilt, one silver-gilt chalice of the weight of 20 ounces, and three sets of vestments being specially named. He also gave a reredos or table of alabaster to be placed at the back of the altar, carved with events in the life of Bishop Blase.

To the abbot and convent of Hales Owen[a] the Dean gave two silver basins with gilt eagles (egles) in the bottom, of the weight of 69 ounces., and of the value

[a] An abbey of White Canons in Shropshire.

of £10 and upwards. These silver basins, which I suppose were for the washing of the hands during mass, were to be placed on the altar of St. Kenelm the martyr in his chapel on solemn days and festivals *ad Dei laudem et complacenciam et dicti martiris honorem.*

In 1468 the Dean made additions to the New College of the vicars, by building a new bakehouse and brewhouse *de duo bayes* with two chambers over for the storing of corn and barley; he also caused the building to be re-roofed with tiles, and erected an oven and furnace at the cost of 20 marks, for the safety of his soul and for the convenience of the chaplains. He also gave to the chaplains 40*s.* for the fabric of the place where the *ciphorium* is situated and for the glazing of the windows, which place is then described as *competens ornatus et satis honestus.* The Dean also spent 20*s.* on an iron chimney (*caminum ferreum*) for use in the common hall of the chaplains during winter. He further gave them for the high table of the hall a good table-cloth *de panno bilicino, anglice Twyly,* at a cost of 6*s.* 8*d.*

The chantry chapel of Jesus and St. Anne, founded by the Dean in 1468, is described as being *in solario ad finem Borialem pulpitu,* and in another place as erected *in sublime* in the north transept. Here was a glorious image of Jesus and an image of St. Anne. A cursal mass was to be said daily, and a specially solemn mass, with the best voices of the choir and with organ accompaniment, at seven o'clock every Wednesday.

To that altar he gave a mass-book, a good silver-gilt chalice and paten weighing upwards of 21 ounces, a red vestment with apparels of crimson velvet, another vestment with its apparels of blue silk, and a third vestment of black *cum verbo Jhu. in pluribus partibus et vicibus conscriptum* for requiem mass, also albes, and apparels, and everything that was necessary and convenient for these vestments; also two corporals and their cases, and four linen clothes for the top of the altar, and a linen cloth painted with the image of the Blessed Mary in the midst for covering over the altar after the celebration of mass. Also four *ornamenta* for the altar, namely, one of blue silk and three *de steynet Warke*; two towels, one basin "de Masselyn"; two pewter cruets; one little pax; and a cushion upon which the mass-book lies.

In 1481 the Dean gave to the same altar a vestment of white velvet, with albes, apparels, and everything pertaining, and with the name of Jesus frequently embroidered on the apparels, of the value of 5 marks.

At a later date the Dean gave to the same altar of Jesus and St. Anne, for use at the daily cursal mass, a good silver-gilt chalice and paten weighing 20 ounces,

enamelled on the foot with an image of the Crucifix; also three vestments, one of green bawdekyn for ferial days, another of green silk embroidered with gilt stars, and a third of blue "wolstyd" with red orphreys behind and before; also a good mass-book *magne quantitatis* with a cover of leather; and a red book of commemorations and of the mass of Jesus and of Requiem to be celebrated every Wednesday.

In 1474, the Dean caused to be built a new chamber with a chapel over the gateway at the entrance to the vicars' houses; the chamber *(et le drawth)* being so arranged that the infirm vicars could hear mass in the chapel.

The Dean also gave three *murras, anglice Masers*, with gilt bands, of the value of 53*s.* 4*d.*, to the use of the vicars, and a good table cloth "de twyll" for the high table in their hall.

In 1477, Dean Heywode gave a very great bell to the cathedral church, which was cast in London and cost £100. It was called "*in vulgari*, Iħc belle," and hung in the south tower of the west front. The bell was consecrated and hallowed on November 14th, by Robert, bishop of Achonry (in Ireland), suffragan of John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. The ceremonial is described with much detail, (see Appendix), and at the conclusion of it, all who had sung or taken any part therein dined joyfully with Thomas Heywood in the deanery.

In 1481 the Dean gave to the cathedral church *duas capsellas, anglice monstrance*, of silver-gilt, curiously wrought, for containing relics, and assigned them to the custody of Dan William Hukyns, chaplain of St. Blase's chantry and keeper of St. Chad's Head; the value of the same being £4 13*s.*

In the following year he gave to the church, at a cost of £26 3*s.* 4*d.*, a new pair of organs *magne quantitatis et forme decentis*, to stand in the *pulpitum* or loft over the screen at the entrance of the quire. He also gave a new pair of organs, at a cost of £12, to stand in the new fabric opposite the Jesus altar, to serve for the solemn Jesus mass every Wednesday.

There are also recorded further gifts in the same year (1482) of a best altar-cloth of twill for the high altar, a good altar-cloth of the same stuff for the altar of Jesus and St. Anne, another for the altar of St. Blase, and a fourth to the altar of St. Chad, "in the chapel where his head is wonderfully honoured."

The Dean, at his own proper cost, also caused all the windows of the chapter-house to be glazed, with images of the Apostles and other pictures on the roof and walls. He also added a wooden wainscot and glazed the window in the vestibule or entry. The cost of the whole was £46.

The cathedral church as well as the city of Lichfield seem to have prospered in a marked degree under the active as well as munificent rule of Dean Heywood. His generosity kindled the generosity of others.

The fully detailed account of the election of Dean Heywood, *per inspirationem*, in 1457, after describing his repeated refusals of the office, gives these as the words of his eventual acceptance :

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Heywood, canon of the cathedral church of Lichfield, elected to the deanery of the same cathedral church by my brother canons, with regard to my consent to the said election, being urged thereto by the repeated and reiterated entreaties of my brethren, and being unwilling to resist the Divine Will, in the name of Christ whom I have invoked to my aid, and trusting in the Divine Clemency, I give my consent, to the praise and honour of God, and of His mother Mary, and of St. Chad the confessor, and of all the saints of God."

The brother canon, who acted as chronicler of the election, concludes by describing his new chief as by birth and age, as well as in morals, life, and learning, pre-eminently suited for the office, and as one who would be sure to uphold the ancient rights of their church, both in matters spiritual and temporal.

At the death of Thomas Heywood in 1492, after a decanal experience of thirty-five years, Lichfield must have felt that the aged Dean had abundantly fulfilled the pious expectations that were entertained at his entering upon the office.

I desire to express my obligation to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, and particularly to Canon Lonsdale, Honorary Librarian, for entrusting to my care the three volumes described in this paper.

I have also to thank Mr. W. H. St. John Hope for transcribing for me the interesting part of Vol. II. which forms the Appendix to this paper.

APPENDIX.

Ordinacio sive fundacio Cantarie Sancti Blasii.

In Dei nomine. Amen. Universis Christi fidelibus innotescat. quod venerabilis vir magister Thomas Heywode. in utroque jure Bacallarius. ac in decretis doctor licentiatus. Decanus ecclesie Cathedralis Licĥ. Anno domini millesimo [quadringesimo] sexagesimo sexto. ad honorem et laudem sancte Trinitatis. sancti Cedde presulis. sancti Blasii martiris. Autoritate et consensu Reverendi in Christo patris et domini Domini Johannis Hals. Dei gracia Coventr' et Licĥ. episcopi. Ac eciam unanimi consensu et assensu ejusdem ecclesie Capituli. fundavit et ordinavit unam Cantariam Sancti Blasii martiris. quasi ex opposito sedis Episcopalis situatam. et unum presbiterum ad altare ejusdem Cantarie missam perpetuo celebraturum. Primo dominum Willelmum Hukyns. capellanum perpetuum ejusdem Cantarie nominavit et providit Qui capellanus et successores sui pro tempore existentes dicte Cantarie capellani. et quilibet capellanus pro tempore suo de Abbate et Conventu de Halesowen ordinis premonstratensis Wygorn' dioces' percipiet annuatim imperpetuum. Ad ffesta Michaelis et Pasche. per equales porciones Centum solidos. de Novem marcis. quas per suas literas patentes et indentatas. sigillo eorum communi sigillatas. decano et capitulo Licĥ. singulis annis terminis predictis solvere obligantur. Et reliquos viginti solidos de sex libris predictis capellani cantariarum et novi Collegii infra clausum Lichfield situatum. annuatim in terminis predictis realiter percipient. de prefatis Abbate et conventu de Halesowen. pro recepcione capellanorum dicte cantarie in ipsorum consorcium. Ac eciam quod intersint et quilibet eorum intersit in anniversariis parentum suorum dum vixerit. Et post obitum suum. In anniversariis ejusdem Magistri Thome decani. in choro et in habitu chorali. dicentes et psallentes pro anima sua et parentum suorum. et omnium in ordinacione sua nominatorum. una cum vicariis choralibus ecclesie cathedralis Licĥ. juxta formam ordinacionis prefati Magistri Thome Heywode decani. et concessionis dictorum capellanorum confectam. et sigillis eorum sigillatam. una cum sigillis dicti Reverendi patris. Ac decani et capituli ecclesie cathedralis Licĥ. sigillatam ut plenius in eisdem continetur. 1466.

Quantum repeperunt (sic) Abbas et conventus pro pencione.

Et memorandum quod de premissis sex libris annuatim solvendis per dictos Abbatem et Conventum de Halesowen et eorum successores imperpetuum decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis Licĥ. et eorum successoribus ad usus supradictos. et pro obitu suo annuatim per eosdem in Monasterio suo predicto celebrando juxta formam in dictis literis indentatis, et eorum sigillis sigillatis plenius expressatam. predictus Magister Thomas Heywode decanus supradictus solvit dompno Johanni adtunc abbati. et ejusdem loci conventui quadringentas marcas legalis monete anglie.

ad emend sibi possessiones. aut redditus. ex quibus possit annuatim dicta pecunia provenire. et residuum in commodum Monasterii sive domus predicte utilitatem conversi. ¶ Et prefati Abbas et Conventus cito post cum parte dicte pecunie emerunt de Bevyce Hampton possessiones et redditus suos in Civitate Lich. ac terras et pasturas suas juxta Lich. vocatas Pownes feledes. ad valorem annuum quasi viginti marcarum. licencia domini Regis ad hoc habita et concessa et mortizata in forma juris regni Anglie. ¶ Et cum altera predicte summe porcione predicti Abbas et conventus de Halesowen quendam prioratum in diocese Wygornie ad annualem valorem viginti marcarum. nomine Todforde. suo monasterio inperpetuum appropriarunt.

De duobus pelvis (sic) *argenti.*

Insuper predictus Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus dedit ex sua devocione mera et deliberavit eisdem Abbati et Conventui duas pelves de argento, cum Egles deauratis in fundo ponderis. sexaginta novem unciarum precii decem librarum. et ultra. ut deserviant ponantur et situantur super altate (*sic*) sancti Kenelmi martiris in capella ejusdem diebus solemnibus et festivis. ad Dei laudem et complacenciam. et dicti martiris honorem.

Quantum solvitur voluntarie per abbate[*m*].

Et quia prefatus Beves Hampton postquam sua terras pasturas et tenementa infra Lich. et juxta ut prefertur. predictis Abbati et Conventui vendidit et deliberavit. ex quadam convencione inter eosdem facta, quandam summam annualem decem marcarum de eisdem Abbate et conventu durante vita sua habere debuit. prefatus decanus ex sua benevolencia et voluntate propria prefatos abbatem et conventum de annuali pensione novem marcarum ecclesie Lich. solvenda per spacium duodecim annorum quibus prefatus Beves supervixit. pro eisdem annuatim ecclesie Lich. solvit et satisfecit.

Item tempore quodam quo prefatus decanus fuit aput (*sic*) Halesowen, dedit abbati et conventui decem marcas et servientibus prout decuit.

De Ornamentis capelle.

Item idem Magister Thomas Decanus dedit et contulit omnem ornatum ad dictam cantariam sancti Blasii congruentem. Et ad celebracionem missarum ibidem per dictum dominum Willelmum Hukyns dicte cantarie capellanum modernum et successores suos imperpetuum unum bonum missale. cum literis capitalibus aureis. et unum calicem deauratum ponderantem viginti uncias tria vestimenta sacerdotalia. et alia ornamenta pro altari et apparatu ejusdem congrua et conveniencia.

De edificio facto in novo collegio.

Item idem Magister Thomas cito post in vita sua videlicet Anno domini Millesimo CCCC^mo^ sexagesimo octavo. edificari fecit suis expensis novum pistrinum et pandoxatorium de ij bayes infra domum. cum duabus cameris supra pro frumento et brasio custodiendis. Et eandem domum cantariarum cum tegulis cooperiri fecit. Ac furnum et fornacem ibidem stabilari fecit. suis propriis expensis. ad summam viginti marcarum. ad salutem anime sue. et commodum dictorum capellanorum. 1468.

Item contulit eisdem capellanis xl. solidos. ad fabricam loci ubi ciphorium situatur. et ad vitriacionem fenestrarum ibidem. qui locus est competens ornatus. et satis honestus.

Item idem Magister Thomas Decanus predictus contulit eisdem Capellanis caminum ferreum. ad usum eorundem tempore iemali in aula eorum communi. precii viginti solidorum.

Item dedit commitive capellanorum predictorum unum mensale bonum de panno bilicino. anglice twyly. precii vj s. viij. d.

Ordinacio sive fundacio Cantarie Jesu et sancte Anne.

Ad honorem nominis domini nostri Jesu Christi. et sancte Anne matris beatissime Marie virginis. Magister Thomas Heywod. in utroque jure Bacallarius. et decretorum doctor admissus. Ac ecclesie Cathedralis Lich. Decanus. Anno Domini Millesimo CCCC sexagesimo octavo fundavit et construxit suis expensis Cantariam perpetuum desuper fabricatam. ex parte boriali ecclesie cathedrali predicte. cum gloriosa Imagine Jesu Christi unum ibidem stantis. et cum Imagine sancte Anne ibidem eciam defixa. Et ordinavit et providit dominum Willelmum Brodbent primum capellanum perpetuum ibidem celebraturum tempore suo. Et alios capellanos successores suos ibidem perpetuo celebraturos. juxta vim et formam ordinacionis sue. auctoritate et consensu Reverendi in Christo patris et domini. Domini Johannis Hals Coventrensis et Lich. episcopi. Ac eciam unanimi consensu et assensu tocius ejusdem ecclesie cathedralis Lich. capituli ut in literis inde confectis eorum sigillis sigillatis plenius continetur. Dedat' sigilla (*sic*) communis pontificalis et sigilli communis capitularis in ecclesia cathedralis Lich. in loco capitulari ejusdem Septimo die mensis Januarij. Anno Domini. Millesimo. CCCC^mo^ sexagesimo octavo. ¶ Qui quidem capellanus et quilibet successorum suorum pro tempore suo percipiet annuatim pro salario et sustentacione sua ad duos anni terminos videlicet Invencionis Sancte Crucis. et sancti Martini in yeme per equales porciones Centum solidos de Abbate et conventu de Lylleshull. ¶ Et capellanus quicunque ipsius cantarie pro tempore existens. residebit in camera sibi limitata. cum capellanis cantariarum in novo collegio eorundem. ¶ Qui capellani seu cetus capellanorum percipient eciam de prefatis Abbate et Conventu annuatim ad terminos predictos triginta tres solidos. et quatuor denarios de decem marcis quas Abbas et Conventus de Lylleshull tenentur annuatim solvere. decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis Lich. prout in literis indentatis inter dictos abbatem 1468.

et conventum et decanu et capitulum ecclesie Lich. inde confectis liquet manifeste. ¶ Sed cum tresdecim solidis et quatuor denariis de predictis xxxiij^bus solidis et quatuor denariis per eos ut predicitur percipiendis predicti capellani seu cetus capellanorum collegij novi predicti. solvent decano et canonicis residenciariis et alijs ministris in obitu et exequiis seu anniversariis ipsius decani existentis omni anno. juxta formam et modum limitatum et conscriptum in literis indentatis. et inter predictos Magistrum Thomam Heywod. decanum et capitulum Lich. ac ipsos capellanos cantariarum. et prepositum et cetum eorundem factis et eorum sigillis alternatim sigillatis.

Quantum dedit Abbati de Lylleshull' pro pensione.

Et memorandum quod pro premissis decem marcis per Abbatem et conventum de Lylleshull annuatim solvendis in terminis sancti Martini et Invencionis Sancte Crucis per equales porciones per dictos Abbatem et conventum de Lylleshull. et eorum successores imperpetuum. Decano et capitulo ecclesie Lych. et eorum successoribus ad usus supradictos. Ac pro obitu suo annuatim per eosdem in monasterio suo predicto celebrando. et missam cotidianam per unum de canonicis ejusdem et septimanatim celebrandam juxta vim et formam in dictis literis indentatis inter dictos Robertum tunc abbatem et conventum de Lylleshull et eorum successores et Decanum et capitulum Lych. et eorum successores factis. et eorum sigillis sigillatis. Ac per Reverendum patrem et dominum. dominum Johannem Coventrensis et Lich. episcopum confirmatis. et ejus sigillo sigillatis plenius expressatis. et plenius in eisdem continetur prefatus Magister Thomas Heywode decanus supradictus solvit dompno Roberto ad tunc Abbati et conventui ejusdem loci. quadringentas marcas legalis monete Anglie ad emendas sibi possessiones et redditus. ex quibus possit annuatim dicta pecunia provenire. Et residuum in commodum Monasterij sive domus predicte utilitatem converti. ¶ Et prefati Robertus Abbas et Conventus cito post emerunt terras redditus et possessiones apud Brugenorthe. ac eciam hospitale sancti Johannis ibidem sibi dari et appropriari auctoritate domini regis. ac domini comitis Salopiae patroni pretensi. et omnium quorum interest consensu. plenarie sibi assignari procurarunt. ad valorem annuum quadraginta marcarum. ¶ Insuper prefatus Magister Thomas Heywode decanus dedit dicto domino Roberto ad tunc abbati ex sua mera devocione ad usum magnatum ibidem hospitancium rubiam pendenciam unius lecti de Redsay et Wolstyde. cum le curtence et dowbull' frengeth'. et cum coopertorio lecti de eadem secta valoris vij librarum. ¶ Item fieri fecit parvas cameras in dormitorio ibidem pro quolibet canonico. Et coopertorium dormitorij. et fenestras vitreas ibidem. ad summam expensarum. ¶ Item et contulit eisdem ad ornatum altaris capelle beate Marie unum pannum pictum cum rosis. satis congruum. cum duobus curtence ejusdem secte precij xxxiij. s. iiij. d. Necnon temporibus. quibus illuc progrediebatur. distribuit pecunias et ministris largiter prout decuit. ¶ Item prefatus. Magister Thomas Heywode decanus dedit prefati abbati xx°. die sem-
1480. tembris (*sic*) Anno Domini M°. CCCC° lxxx° unam peciam deauratam stantem cum coopertorio. cum signo campane in capite coopertorij. ad deserviendum sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum.

Item memorandum quod Magister Thomas Heywode decanus supradictus contulit dicto

altari Jesu et sancte Anne in capella predicta in ecclesia cathedrali Lich. et capellanis perpetuis ibidem successive deservituris. et missas celebrantibus unum missale competens. calicem bonum cum patena deaurata ponderis xxj. unciarum et ultra. Et tria vestimenta sacerdotalia videlicet. unum bonum vestimentum. cum suis apparuris Rubium de crymsyn veluet. Secundum vestimentum cum suis apparuris de blodio serico. Tertium vestimentum. de nigro. pro missa de Requiem. diebus veneris. cum nota de cantanda cum verbo Jhu. in pluribus partibus et vicibus conscriptum cum albis et paruris. et singulis alijs dictis vestimentis necessarijs et convenientibus. cum duobus corporalibus cum duabus tecis pro eisdem. Necnon quatuor lintheamina honesta et decencia super idem altare. ac lintheamen depictum. cum Imagine beate Marie in medio. ad cooperiendum ipsum altare post complecionem missarum ibidem celebratarum. Item quatuor ornamenta pro altari videlicet unum de blodio serico. et tria de steynet Warke. Item duo manutergia. Item j pelvis de Masselyn. Item due fiole stannee. Item j paxillum. Item j pulvinar super quo jacet missale. ¶ Pro quibus libro. calice. vestimentis. et indumentis altaris calice. ac singulis supradictis. sentencia excommunicacionis lata est in omnes illos qui eosdem vel aliquem seu aliquid eorundem surrepuerint seu alienaverint. vel aliquid de illo libro abraserint seu minuerint in fraudem quoquomodo. ¶ Que omnia et singula jam collata. necnon per ipsum dominum Decanum imposterum conferenda. quilibet capellanus ejusdem cantarie pro tempore existens conservabit. reparabit et manutenebit. et amplius faciet. prout in ordinacione prefati magistri Thome Heywode plenius continetur.

Item prefatus Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus contulit. Anno domini Millesimo. CCCC^mo^ octogesimo primo. Altari cantarie Jesu et sancte Anne ad manus domini Johannis Wryght capellani ejusdem cantarie. sibi et successoribus suis ibidem capellanis. ad honorem Jesu fruituris unum bonum vestimentum album sacerdotale de albo veluet. cum albis paruris et singulis ipsis convenientibus. et cum nomine Jhu. sepius in paruris dicti vestimenti designato. precij. V. marcarum. 1481.

Donacio et collacio pensionum terrarum pratorum pascuarum et possessionum. Succentori et Cetui vicariorum hic nominat'. necnon servicia divina et onera que dicti vicarij supportabunt. prout est hic expressum.

Ad honorem nominis Jesu Christi. domini nostri. prefatus Magister Thomas Heywode. decanus suprascriptus devote contulit et dedit ad opus et utilitatem vicariorum choralium ecclesie cathedralis Lich. pensiones. terras. et possessiones subscriptas. videlicet quoddam messuagium in Chesturfelde. juxta Lichefelde. necnon terras. prata. pascua. et pasturas. infra parochiam de Schenstoñ. Coventreñ et Lich. [dioc.'] situata. Ac redditum capitalem valoris annui quinque marcarum. et quinque solidorum de Johanne Teddesley. emptor. ¶ Necnon tres pasturas vocatas Emley pyttes juxta locum qui dicitur. Hylhalmore. Et quatuor acras terre arabilis in le gayfelde. valoris annui. xx. s. de Johanne Pety emtor (*sic*). ¶ Ac eciam novem seliones pasture. juxta ffulfengrene. divisim jacentes que vocantur. Newlande. annui valoris. ij. s. de domino Thoma

Stykbuk. emptoꝫ. ¶ Necnon idem Magister Thomas Decanus emit unum Messuagium. terras et prata apud Bromley Regis. et redditus capitales ad summam. quasi. v. s. nuper empta de Agnete relicto Thoma Pope. et nunc uxor Johannis Staunton. valoris annui. xxj. s. et ultra. et sic empta. ut prefertur. pro. xx. li. solutis dicte Agneti et domino feodi viz. Willelmo Presse pro feodo suo. xiij. s. iiij d. pro introitu. xx. d. et in aliis diversis expensis. ad summam. vj. s. viij. d. Et sic summa totalis circa adepcione juris et possessionis predicte xxj. li. que erant recepte de quinquaginta marcis deliberatis per prefatum decanum vicarijs. et positis in eorum archivis ad emendas possessiones ad valorem. xl. s. annuatim prout sequitur inferius.

Item Idem Magister Thomas Heywod emit unam parcellam prati vocatam le Brownes flat iuxta Salterbrygge in feodo de Allerwas. de Johanne Browne ad valorem annuum. xx. s. et pro illo fundo solvit sibi. xv. li. et pro finis et expensis vicariorum ibidem existentium in curia pro securitate illius prati. v. s. x. d. Et sic quinquaginta marce que erant posite pro securitate empcionis terrarum in baga et in cista communi expenduntur. totaliter in ipsis duabus parcellis de Bromley. et Allerwas. et ultra de bursa dicti domini decani per quatuor marcas. et. v. s. x. d. ut patet evidenter. et sic valor dictarum duarum possessionum extendit ad xlj. s. per annum. Annuamque pensionem quinquaginta trium solidorum et quatuor denariorum percipiendam annuatim de Abbate et conventu de Dala in comitatu Derbiensis. quam de et cum bonis sibi adeo collatis perquesivit. Et sic omnia promissa ex parte decani sunt perfecte completa. Deo gracias.

¶ Summa omnium predictorum illis collatorum. ix. li. ix. s. et plus. ut pꝫ.

Deditque idem Magister Thomas Decanus. et eisdem vicarijs realiter deliberavit quinquaginta marcas. ad emendas terras et tenementa de valore annuo xl. s. que summa. l. marcarum sunt (*sic*) expensa pro hujusmodi ẽmpcione terrarum. ut supra scribitur. ¶ Ac eciam ne per tardas soluciones firmarum omnium terrarum et tenementorum, annueque pensionu (*sic*) predicte. jacturam seu dampnum incurrerent. Valorem annui redditus omnium premissorum. viz. ix. li. x. s. dictis vicariis pre manibus contulit et donavit. ¶ Insuper dictus Magister Thomas pro conservacione et defensione Juris dictorum vicariorum in premissis ad cistam eorum communem x. li. monete Anglie concessit. dedit pariter et liberavit. ¶ Necnon postquam predicti vicarij omnes et singuli in loco capitulari congregati. prefatum magistrum Thomam decanum in confratrem ipsorum et participem oracionum suarum receperunt et fecerunt cum solempnitate in hujusmodi actu usitata. et in martilagio confratrem. et oracionum suarum participem scribi fecerunt. Et cuilibet vicario et adtunc confratri suo libere dedit in manibus vj. s. viij. d. ad numerum xxj. vicariorum ad tunc existencium.

¶ Summa. vij. li.

Hinc est preterea quod Petrus Burrell. succentor cetusque vicariorum ad tante rei geste memoriam. pro temporalibus quantum cum Deo possunt spiritualia refundere cupientes. de voluntate et consensu expressa dominorum decani et capituli ecclesie cathedralis Lich. predict'. ac omnium singulorum aliorum quorum interest in hac parte. pia mentis intencione ex unanimi

assensu omnium pariter et consensu per scripta indentata sponte et libere remotis omni dolo et fraude. pro se et successoribus suis concesserunt unam integram et solidam Cantariam perpetuam futuris temporibus in ecclesia cathedrali predicta imperpetuum duraturam. viz. unam missam apud altare in honore nominis Jesu et sancte Anne. matris beate virginis Marie. per eundem magistrum Thomam Heywode dum steterit decanus ex parte boriali ecclesie cathedralis predicte noviter in sublime erectum. per unum de convicarijs dicte ecclesie capellanum. viz. ad hoc idoneum dicendum et celebrandum omnibus diebus cujuslibet anni imperpetuum. pro bono et prospero statu ac salute corporis et anime dicti magistri Thome. dum vixerit cum oracione et colecta speciali sub uno. Per dominum. viz. *Omnipotens. sempiterne Deus. miserere famulo tuo. &c.* Ac cum secreta. *Proficiat. quesumus Domine &c.* Et post communionem. *Sumentes qs*[a] *Domine &c.* Atque similiter pro anima ejusdem Magistri Thome. cum ab hac luce migraverit in missa prefata dicetur oracio sive collecta. *Deus cujus misericordie non est numerus &c.* Secreta *Quesumus Domine Deus noster &c.* Et post communionem .*Presta quesumus omnipotens Deus. per hec sancta quę sumpsimus &c.*[b] Ad quam quidem missam sicut premittitur celebrandam. Succentor qui pro tempore fuerit unum vicarium cetus vicariorum ejusdem ecclesie pro tempore existencium omni ebdomada in sua tabula directoria signatum deputabit et assignabit. ¶ Qui quidem vicarius sic deputatus et assignatus juxta exigenciam cursus sui. omni die veneris qualibet septimana sibi limitata imperpetuum missam solempnem de nomine Jesu cum nota ad altare predictum solenniter celebrabit et decantabit. seu per alium convicarium presbiterum cum collectis et oracionibus antedictis celebrari et decantari faciet. Cui quidem vicario qui missam omni septimana modo quo prefertur celebrabit. dicti succentor et cetus vicariorum concesserunt pro se et successoribus suis omni septimana de bonis suis communibus. xij. [d.] ¶ Insuper prefatus succentor et cetus vicariorum concesserunt. quod in dicta missa solenni de nomine Jesu omni die veneris hora septima ut premittitur celebranda presentes erunt ante ymaginem Jesu in altari supradicto in loco congruo ad hoc desuper fabricato sex vicarij. et quatuor choriste cantatores magis idonei ecclesie cathedralis predicte per succentorem ejusdem pro tempore existentem deputandi et assignandi. qui in habitibus suis choralibus ibidem induti in missa ipsa organorum voces personari faciendo dulcius et devocius quo poterint decantabunt perpetuo in futuro. ¶ Concedunt eciam pro se et successoribus suis. quod prefati sex vicarij cum quatuor choristis antedictis. per succentorem deputati. Antiphonam devotam et convenientem nomini Jesu. cum versiculis et oracionibus consuetis. ac cum prostracionibus et genufleccionibus pie devocionis affectu statim post Completorium in choro dicte ecclesie finitum. choram dicta Imagine Jesu. omni die veneris cujuscumque septimane imperpetuum. organorum melodia solenniter decantabunt. ¶ Quibus vicarijs. quinquaginta. s. et quatuor choristis. x. s. de bonis communibus dictorum vicariorum ad quatuor anni terminos. dicti Succentor et Cetus vicariorum pro eorum laboribus et diligencijs in premissis promiserunt persolvere. Ac se et successores suos ad solucionem hujusmodi oneraverunt. et suis scriptis obligarunt. ¶ Absente tamen vicario seu chorista

[a] *Sic.*

[b] The writer has evidently got confused between the post communion for St. Matthias's day, and that beginning with the same words in the Salisbury mass-book in *Orationes pro defunctis.*

in missa seu antiphona predicta cessabit sua solucio proporcionabiliter. prout se duxerit absentand. Nisi ille vicarius alium vicarium. et chorista. alium choristam. loco suo substituerit ad cantandum. et cantaverit in ejus absencia in premissis. ¶ Rursus prefatus Petrus Succentor et cetus vicariorum predictorum concesserunt pro ipsis et successoribus suis. quod in Missa de Requiem per Capellanum cantarie Jesu omni die veneris ad idem altare. juxta ordinacionem dicti Magistri Thome Heywode cum nota celebranda convenient iiij^{or} vicarij ecclesie cathedralis predicte per succentorem pro tempore existentem omni die veneris qualibet septimana limitati. qui statim post missam nominis Jesu ad altare predictum eodem die celebratam. et finita dictam missam de Requiem cum nota pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum solenniter decantabunt. ¶ Quibus quidem quatuor vicarijs. missam ipsam de Requiem decantantibus. viij. s. iiij. d. sterlingorum ad quatuor anni terminos de bonis dictorum vicariorum communibus persolvere spoponderunt. et se et successores suos. ad solucionem hujusmodi imperpetuum oneraverunt. et scriptis suis prenominatis obligaverunt. ¶ Ulterius ut excitetur populus christianus ad audiendam tam missam quam antiphonam nominis Jesu predictam devocius convenire. prefati succentor et cetus vicariorum concesserunt pro ipsis et successoribus suis. quod sacrista dicte ecclesie qui pro tempore fuerit. vel ipsius quicunque minister sive familiaris. magnam campanam per spacium et intervallum competens. bis tintinnabit. et post binas tintinnaciones ante dictam missam de Jesu solennem prefatam campanam ad eandem missam congrue pulsabit. Necnon ante predicte antiphone inchoacionem bis. per intervallum competens. ipsam campanam tintinnabit seu tintinari (*sic*) faciet. Quodque idem sacrista omnia lumina cepi (*sic*) in dictis missis et antiphona de nomine Jesu necessaria et opportuna exibebit perpetuo in futurum. cui quidem sacriste pro hujusmodi luminis exibicione ac prefate campane tintinnacione et pulsacione modo quo prefertur fiend xiij. s. iiij. d. de bonis communibus [me]moratis. ad terminos supradictos fideliter solvere promiserunt. Et idem succentor et cetus vicariorum ad solucionem hujusmodi se et successores suos forma que supra obligaverunt. ¶ Preterea cum Succentor ecclesie cathedralis predicte qui nunc est. et imposterum erit juxta ordinacionem dicti Magistri Thome circa assignacionem et limitacionem vicariorum et chorestarum qui ut prefertur in missis de nomine Jesu. et Requiem. ac antiphonam de eodem nomine Jesu interesse et decantare debeant multiplices labores in ea parte ac alias ut prenotatur pati debeat et tencatur. Idem succentor et cetus vicariorum volunt et pro se et successoribus suis concesserunt. quod idem succentor pro hujusmodi laboribus suis. et ut diligenciam suam exactam adibeat in premissis. percipiat et habeat. iij. s. iiij. d. de bonis eorum communibus annuatim ad quatuor anni terminos usuales sibi equis porcionibus persolvend. ¶ Postremo prefatus succentor et cetus vicariorum pro se et successoribus suis volunt quod si quod absit premissa omnia et singula. et prout in eorum scriptis indentatis ac sigillis tam dominorum decani et Capituli et eorum communibus conscribuntur. non observaverint. seu ea in omnibus et per omnia non adimpleverint etc. bene licebit dominus Decano et capitulo ejusdem ecclesie pro tempore existentibus de bonis ipsorum vicariorum communibus vj. s. et viij. d. nomine pene exigere et levare. et in usus fabrice ecclesie cathedrali Lich. predicta convertere absque ipsorum seu successorum suorum contradiccione seu impedimento aliquali imperpetuum. ¶ Et preter premissa ipsos et successores suos tam ad solucionem pene quam implecionem et observacionem perpetuam omnium et singulorum premissorum sub quibuscumque sentenciis et

censuris ecclesiasticas in eos si desides vel necligentes in premissis imposterum fuerint per decanum et capitulum dicte ecclesie pro tempore existentes. fulminandis compelli et coherceri. omnimodis appellacionibus ac juris et facti remedijs ipsis quomodolibet competentibus seu competituris postpositis omnino et semotis. ¶ Ad que eciam omnia et singula premissa firmiter observanda. et perimplenda omni dolo et fraude postpositis et semotis. dicti succentor et cetus vicariorum predictorum ipsos et successores suos in ipsorum puris conscientijs coram Deo et angelis Dei ejus imperpetuum et sicut volunt coram Deo et summo judice in die extremi judicij respondere. et preter hec omnia bona sua communia presencia pariter et futura obligarunt. per scripta sua indentata. ac sigillo communi dominorum decani et capituli et communi sigillo dictorum vicariorum sigillata manifestius declarantur.

Collata vicarijs Lich' ad celebrandum (sic) *missam cursalem ad altare Jesu et beate Anne sub eorum periculo custodiend'.*

Contulit eciam et de facto deliberavit idem Magister Thomas Heywod predictis vicarijs ad deserviendum altari predicto nominis Jesu et sancte Anne imperpetuum sub eorum periculis et reparacionibus in missa solemni nominis Jesu omni die veneris. et missa cursali et cotidiana per eos perpetuum celebranda ut perfertur unum bonum calicem argenteum et deauratum cum patena deaurata ponderis quasi viginti unciarum. ynameld in pede cum Imagine crucifixi. cum tribus vestimentis sacerdotalibus. unum viride de Bawdekyn pro ferialibus diebus. contulit. alterum de viride serico. cum stellis deauratis acupictum. contulit. et tercium de Wolstyd blodio. cum rubio orfrey ante et retro. et unum bonum missale magne quantitatis cum coopertorio de coreo. ¶ Item alium librum rubrium de commemoracionibus factum et de missa Jesu. et de Requiem omni die veneris celebranda. Necnon alium parvum librum notatum de missa de Requiem omni die veneris post solennem missam de Jesu. ¶ Item restat ibidem liber confectus de missis et cantibus. et ad honorem Jesu in missis et antiphonis Jesu omni septimana decantandis solenniter cum versiculis et collectis antiquitus devote usitatis. Et sic domino duce imperpetuum consequendis. Necnon idem vicarij predicta sic collata et imposterum conferenda sustinebunt reparabunt et reformabunt. et ipsa seu alia cum ipsa seu aliquid ipsorum defecerint seu defecerit exhibebunt suis propriis expensis imperpetuum ad predictos usus ad honorem Jesu. Amen.

Expense facte in fabricando novam cameram cum capella sub et supra portam introitus in mansionem vicariorum.

Item prefatus magister Thomas Heywod. Decanus antedictus in prospera vita sua videlicet anno domini Millesimo CCCC° septuagesimo quarto. et etatis sue sexagesimo quinto expensis suis. et de sua liberalitate vera. fabricari fecit novam cameram cum capella et alijs domibus ad hec necessarijs cum domibus inferioribus videlicet sub et supra simul cum porta introitus ibidem 1474.

similiter conjunctis videlicet ad finem venelle que ducit a villa usque ad ecclesiam cathedralem Licñ. ad partem occidentalem ecclesie satis decore et comodifore edificat' videlicet ad communes usus vicariorum similiterque cameram et le drawthñ pro infirmis vicarijs qui ad ecclesiam accedere non valent. Capella vero. ut idem infirmus cum servientibus ibidem missam audire valeat tempore congruo. Et ut in eadem capella vicarij poterunt in libris per eosdem et alios comitive collatis et ibidem positis temporibus congruis studere vel orare. Necnon ad supramedia domus satis fortis juxta cameram fabricatur et facta est pro evidencijs rotulis. thesauris suis et jocalibus ibidem conservandis. et alie domicule in eadem ad usus communes maxime comodiferos. Alie vero domus inferiores ad usus communes. ad eorum beneplacitum magis comodiferos. Qui sumptus et expense pro premissis et eorum apparatu in singulis ibidem positis et habitis. tam in plastura et vitriacione et singulis aliis prout sunt et apparent extendunt se ad summam xxxij. li. ut patet per parcellas in paupiris (*sic*) inde scriptis parcellatis.

Et notum sit universis. quod voluntas et ordinacio dicti Magistri Thome Heywode decani de voluntate et beneplacito succentoris et cetus vicariorum. hec est. Quod edificia sua predicta precipue ad supra edificata. nullo modo deputentur seu assignentur alicui private persone cetus vicariorum non infirmo. seu alteri. sed tamen cedant et occupentur modo et forma supradictis preterquam aliquis de familia regis regine principis seu ducis infra clausum ad tempus residentis. ad mandatum officiariorum suorum ibidem assignetur seu hospitetur ad tempus breve et hoc tamen cum magna difficultate societatis in quantum honeste fieri valeat contradictio fiat.

Item memorandum quod Idem Magister Thomas decanus proprius per longa tempora dedit Cetui vicariorum in numerata pecunea (*sic*) xl. li. pro anniversario parentum suorum. et sui post mortem suam imperpetuum celebrando omni anno ut in indenturis inde confectis plenius continetur.

1478. Item idem Decanus fecit optimam reparacionem omnium domorum apud Chesturfelde. cum novis portis et hostijs et omnibus necessarijs ad hec. expensis suis. Anno Domini M°CCCC°. lxxviij°. ad summam iiij^{or} li. viij. s. vij. d. ut patet per billam de manu M' Thome Godsalfe officiarij.

Item alia vice fecit novam cameram super introitum ante.[a] ac novum Kylne de nova secta in coquina posita cum expensis suis alijs ibidem ut patet intuentibus.

Item ante hec predicta idem magister Thomas dedit tres murras anglice Masers comitive vicariorum in superficiebus deauratas ad deserviendas eisdem valoris. liij. s. iiij. d. et nuper unam mappam bonam de twyll pro alta et longa tabula in aula congruenter.

Sanctificacio sive benediccio magne campane de Jesu.

1477. Memorandum quod xiiij° die Mensis Novembris videlicet in crastino sancti Bricij episcopi. Anno Domini Millesimo. CCCC°. lxx°vij^{mo} Reverendus in Christi pater et dominus Dominus

[a] *apud chestrefelde* added in a somewhat later hand.

Robertus Archadeñ episcopus. et suffraganeus domini Johannis divina gracia Covenᵗ et Licℏ. episcopi. consecravit et sanctificavit maximam campanam. vocatam in vulgari. Jℏc belle. in campanili ex parte australi ecclesie cathedralis Licℏ. habitam ex industria et donacione Magistri Thome Heywod. decani ecclesie cathedralis predicte. ad honorem Dei et nominis Jesu. ac omnium sanctorum et ecclesie predicte decorem. presentibus ad tunc in dicta solemnitate in campanili predicto. dicto decano et Magistro Rogero Walle Canonico residenciario. cum pluribus vicarijs et choristis dicentibus psalmos. et decantantibus antiphonas et latanias (*sic*). prout ipsum servicium satis devotum requirebat. una cum dicto Reverendo patre consecratore dicente consecrationes. obsecraciones et oraciones decantantes satis et valde devotas. cum signis et crucibus et uncionibus quas pluribus vicibus super eandem campanam Jesu. sic descriptam in quinque partibus campane et unctam sacra unccione delibatam. ¶ Et post hec cum a campanili usque in ecclesiam pervenerint. Dominus episcopus incepit *Te Deum laudamus*. Et totus chorus illuc veniens et obvians procedebat a fine ecclesie occidentali. bini. bini. cantando et solenniter complendo dicto episcopo subsequente in pontificalibus usque ad altare Jesu in parte. boriali situatum ex fundacione dicti decani ibidem celebravit et decantavit solenniter missam. cum melioribus cantatoribus ecclesie. Et omnibus completis. dictus dominus episcopus consecrator et dicti cantatores et coadjutores seu coadjuvantes in domo dicti decani prandiderunt leti. In nomine Jesu salvatoris nostri. Datum in tempore Regis Edwardi iiijᵗⁱ. Anno Septimo decimo.

Data et collata cetui vicariorum per M. T. Heywode.

In primis prefatus Dominus decanus contulit cetui vicariorum. quoddam messuagium bonum in Chesturfelde juxta Lychefeld. una cum terris et pratis pasturis et pascuis ibidem annui valoris. quinque marcarum. ac redditus capitalis eidem messuagio pertinentis ad summam. v.s. ¶ Empᵗ de Johanne Teddesley.

¶ Summa. V. marc'. v.s.

Item tres pasture vocate Emley pyttes juxta Hylhalmore. cum quatuor acris terre arrabilis in le Gayfede valoris annui. xxj. s.

¶ Summa. xxj. s.

Item Novem seliones pasture juxta ffulfeñgrene. prout divisim jacent in campo que vocatur Newlond. valoris annui duorum solidorum. empte de domino Thoma Stykbok capellano.

¶ Summa. ij. s.

Item procuravit eisdem vicariis quamdam annualem pensionem de abbate et conventu de Dala. in Comitatu Derbie.

¶ Summa. liij. s. iiij. d.

Item unum Messuagium cum terris pratis et pasturis apud Bromley regis. emptum de

Agnete Pope. nuper uxore Thome Pope. ad valorem annualem. xxj. s. ¶ Item sunt eidem messuagio annexi Redditus capitales ad summam. iiij^{or}. s. et ultra.

¶ Summa. xxv. s.

Item unam parcellam prati vocatam Brownesflat juxta Salters brygge in feodo de Allerwas. emptam de Johanne Browne de eadem. et valet per annum. xx^{ti}. s.

¶ Summa. xx^{ti}. s.

Summa Recepcionis omnium predictorum. ix. li. xiij. s.

Unde sex vicarij in Missa et antiphona de Jesu decantantes annuatim percipient. lij. s.

Item quatuor choriste decantantes in eisdem missa et antiphona percipient omni anno. x. s.

Item quatuor vicarij decantantes in missa de Requiem. omni die veneris percipient per annum. viij. s. viij. d.

Item Succentor pro intabulacione et deputacione decantancium predictorum. percipiet annuatim. iij. s. iiij. d.

Item Sacrista pro pulsacione et tintinacione campane de Jesu. ad predicta servicia omni die veneris per Annum percipiet. xiij s. iiij. d.

Item vicarij chorales pro missa cursali per eosdem ad altare Jesu singulis diebus celebranda per annum percipient. lij. s.

¶ Summa solucionum pro dictis omnibus fiendis. Vj. li. xix. s. iiij. d.

Et sic omnibus et singulis persolutis pro labore et oneribus supradictis ut seriatim patet. ¶ Adhuc remanent. liij. s. viij. d. inter vicarios in communi dividenda. ad eorum commune proficium et commodum singulare eorundem.

Roopefelde. Cranefelde. et due acre terre.

1485. Et memorandum. quod prefatus Magister Thomas Decanus dedit et concessit predictis vicarijs Anno Domini. M°. CCCC°. lxxx°. v^{to}. unam pasturam vocatam Roopefylde. ad valorem de claro per annum xiiij. s. et viij. d. Item unum campum sive clausuram vocatam Cranefylde. precij de claro per annum. ij. s. iiij. d. Item duas acras terre arrabilis in Oxonbury. precij. xvj. d. per annum. Summa omnium de claro. omnibus oneribus supportatis. xviij. s. iiij. d. que omnia emit de Johanne Palmer. de Lichfelde. et deliberavit evidencias inde dictis vicarijs. Quapropter ipsi vicarij spontanie et voluntarie concesserunt et se et successores suos obligaverunt sub sigillo suo communi. quod ipsi suis expensis exibebunt duos cereos de cera ponderis. viij. librarum. et ponentur in die parasceves omni anno ante sepulcrum immediate post imposicionem corporis

dominici ardentes et extunc continue sic permanentes usque ad dominicam resurreccionem. Et tunc illud quod remanet et superfuerit de ipsis duobus cereis per manus sacriste vel de ejus mandato videlicet unus cereus sic remanens deliberetur capellano cantarie Jesu et beate Anne ad usus ejusdem capelle. et alius detur capellano sancti Blasij ad usus ejusdem capelle. et sic fiat annuatim imperpetuum.

On an inserted slip in the same hand:

Item prefatus dominus Decanus dedit predictis vicarijs unum pratum vocatum Smallmedoo juxta le Walle. quod emit de Thoma Halsey. quod clare valet annuatim. iij. s. iiij. d.

Item edificari fecit unum bonum orreum super fundum eorum vocatum Roothall quod orreum locatur annuatim pro iiij. s. vj. d.

Item deliberavit eis redditum capitalem de Chesturfeld quasi ad. v. s. Summa trium parcellarum extendit ad xxij. s. x. d. quas parcellas dedit eis ad eorum commodum in recompensum. vj. s. viij. d. quos solvit illis in supplementum de . v. marcis. et pro tenente de Chesturfeld. et exnunc omnia habent in propriis manibus. quo ad omnia onera sustinenda. ad eorum utilitatem et dicti decani exoneracionem. Et sic summa omnium parcellarum in diversis partibus conscriptarum dictis vicarijs collatarum videlicet in precedenti folio ix. li. xiij. s. ¶ Item supra in ista parte folij pro Ropefeld et duabus. acris in Oxenbury et Cronifeld (*sic*) clare xviij. s. iiij. d. Et in hoc scripto trium parcellarum ad Summam. xij. s. x. d.

Unde Summa totalis omnium. xi. li. iiij. s. ij. d.

De profundis.

Item ipsi vicarij concesserunt quod in die anniversarij parentum ipsius domini Thome decani dum vixerit. et post ejus decessum in die anniversarij parentum (*sic*) ipsius statim post missam de Requiem dicent unanimiter et choraliter in choro permanentes una cum canonicis residenciarijs et capellanis cantariarum novi collegij ibidem psalmum. *De profundis.* cum versiculis congruentibus et Oracione. *Deus cui proprium est misereri.* Et ad statum dicti vicarij vel unus eorum nomine dabit et ministrabit cuilibet canonico residenciario interessenti et dicenti sic cum alijs de choro. ij d. Et cuilibet vicario similiter ibidem dicenti. j. d. Et cuilibet capellano cantariarum ibidem remanenti et dicenti ut prefertur. j. d.

Item prefati vicarij vel aliquis eorum nomine dabit octo choristis dicentibus psalmum *De profundis.* similiter ad tunulum (*sic*) predicti decani et parentum suorum. statim post missam de Requiem. quamcicius simul poterunt ibidem interesse. et sic dicere pro anima dicti domini Thome decani parentum suorum. et omnium fidelium defunctorum. iiij. d. Ut in literis inde confectis et eorum sigillo communi sigillatis. plenius continetur.

Due demonstraciones.

1481. Item in festo sancti Clementis. anno Domini. M°. C.C.C.C^mo^. octogesimo primo. prefatus magister Thomas Heywode. decanus in loco capitulari. coram suis confratribus. dedit ecclesie cathedrali Lich. duas capsellas. anglice monstrance argenteas deauratas et curiose fabricatas pro reliquis in eis conservandis. Et tradite fuerunt ad tunc domino Willelmo Hukyns. capellano cantarie sancti Blasij. ac custodi capitis sancti Cedde. ad valorem. iiij. li. et xiiij. s.

Magna organa. in pulpito.

1482. Item cito post festum nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste. anno Domini M°.C.C.C.C°. octogesimo secundo. ex providencie et sumptibus magistri Thome Heywode decani antedicti. conferuntur ecclesie cathedrali Lich. organa nova magne quantitatis. et forme decentis. ad honorem sancti Cedde et ornatum ecclesie. precij. xxvj. li. iij. s. iiij. d. totaliter de sumptibus et expensis predicti decani.

¶ Summa. xxvj. li. iij. s. iiij. d.

Organa de Jesu.

Item proprius predictus Decanus dedit unum novum par organorum ecclesie predicte. et stant in nova fabrica ex opposito altari Jesu. ad deserviend. in missa solemni de Jesu omni die veneris in sempiternum. precij xij. li.

Mappa data summo altari.

1482. Item xij^mo^ die mensis Marcij. Anno Domini. M°. CCCC^mo^. octogesimo secundo. prefatus magister Thomas decanus sepedictus. in sua propria persona. contulit Deo. sancte Cedde. et summo altari ecclesie cathedralis Lich. suam optimam mappam de panno bilicino anglice twylȳ. ad usum summi altaris. et deliberatum manibus Johannis Paxson sacriste ejusdem ecclesie. et per ipsum receptum.

Mappa data altari Jesu et sancte Anne.

Item eodem die et anno contulit altari cantarie Jesu Christi salvatoris et sancte Anne matris Marie unam mappam bonam de panno bilicino predicto. ad usum ibidem serviencium. et tradita fuit manibus domini Johannis Wrygth ad tunc ejusdem cantarie capellani perpetui.

Mappa data altari sancti Blasij.

Item eodem die et anno prefatus Decanus contulit altari sancti Blasij in dicta ecclesia cathedrali Licĥ. ad usum perpetuum deserviencium ibidem dum duravit unam mappam bonam de twŷlŷ. et deliberavit eam manibus domini Willelmi Hukyns. eisdem cantarie capellani.

Mappa data altari ubi restat caput sancti Cedde.

Item prefatus Decanus dedit altari sancti Cedde in capella ubi caput ejus mirifice honoratur. unam mappam bonam de panno bilicino. et tradita fuit manibus domini Willelmi Hukyns ejusdem capelle custodis.

Campana Jesu.

Item antedictus Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus ecclesie Cathedralis Licĥ. dedit ecclesie cathedrali Licĥ. maximam campanam in campanili australi. Londonijs conflatam. per dominum Robertum Domini Johannis Hals episcopi suffraganium consecrata. et campana Jesu per eundum vocatam. ad valorem in tot C. li.

De vitriacione et pictura domus capitularis.

Item idem decanus ex sumptibus suis propriis omnes fenestras domus capitularis fecit de novo vitriari cum apostolorum ymaginibus et alijs picturis in summitate et super muros. cum tabulatu ligneo sub et supra ut decet. cum vitriacione introitus de novo ad eandem. precij. xlvj. li.

De tabula ad altare sancti Blasij.

Item prefatus decanus fieri fecit tabulam de Alablastur' scultam (*sic*) cum historia sancti Blasij episcopi. et fecit eam poni in capella sancti Blasij pone altare. ubi perpetuam fundavit cantariam.

Quomodo et quare viginti marce sunt posite in thesaurio.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Thomas Heywode decanus ecclesie cathedralis Licĥ. de meis propriis bonis posui viginti marcas in auro et argento. in una baga de corrio. et posita est in quadam cistula anglice a trussyng cofur. que omnia sunt posita in sista (*sic*) de et cum quatuor

1483 clavibus in domo superiori Thesaurarie videlicet xviij°. die mensis Julij. Anno Domini. M°.C.C.C.C°. octogesimo tercio. ad hunc finem et intencionem que secuntur (*sic*) Videlicet si ita contingat quod absit. quod infra decem annos primos post decessum meum ab hac luce Abbas et Conventus Monasterii de Halesowen. Premonstratensis ordinis Wygornie diocesis de et super solucione novem marcarum. Seu abbas et conventus de Lyleshyll. Coventrensis et Licĥ. diocesis de et super solucione decem marcarum. vel Abbas sive conventus Monosterii (*sic*) sive domus de Dala ordinis Premonstratensis. Coventrensis et Licĥ. diocesis. de et super solucione annue pensionis. quatuor marcarum. Decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis Licĥ. debitarum ad usus devotos concessarum. deputatarum et ordinatarum prout in eorum literis indentatis et eorum sigillis communibns sigillatis plenius continetur. Ac per eorum superiores. et tandem per sedem apostolicam plenius in omnibus confirmatarum ut in eorum literis et bulla apostolica. sunt expressat'. in aliquo contrarium pretenderint. aut solvere contradixerint. seu terminis statutis satisfacere de facto omiserint. seu aliquis eorum contradixerit et solvere recusaverit. tunc volo quod dicti contradictores et hujusmodi suas pensiones solvere temporibus congruis et assignatis recusantes implacitentur et judicialiter conveniantur. judicio ecclesiastico vel seculari prout magis convenient expedire. juxta discrecionem mandatum et supervisionem Decani et Capituli ecclesie cathedralis Licĥ. pro tempore existencium. de et cum expensis et pecunijs istius. et summe viginti marcarum in eadem positarum juxta juris exigenciam et racionem congruam in hujusmodi lite faciend. ¶ Quod si nulla lis et discordia super hujusmodi solucionibus annuarum pensionum predictarum infra decem annos proximos sequentes post obitum meum habeatur seu fiat. sed ipse soluciones annue pacifice et debite persolvantur ut in predictis scriptis continetur. tunc volo. et ultime voluntatis mee est. et erit in testamento meo expressatum. quod prefate viginti marce ponantur et expendantur in ornamentis ecclesie cathedralis emendis. ad Dei et sancti Cedde beneplacitum. et dicte ecclesie ornatum et decorem. juxta decani et capituli pro tempore existencium discretam et congruam voluntatem. ¶ Et fieri volo sub obtestacione divini judicii. et majoris excommunicacionis sentencii pena. quam incurrunt ipso jure violatores et infringentes ultimam voluntatem defuncti. ipso facto. Presentibus in deliberacione hujusmodi summe pecunie. Domino Decano. R. Wall. J. Whelpedale. et T. Mille Cononicis (*sic*) Residenciariis. et. M. Thoma Godsalf notario publico et clerico capitulari. die mensis et anno supradictis.

Acta de et super consensu Decani et Capituli de oblacionibus legatis vel alio modo collatis Imagini Jesu Christi et altari ejus ac Sancte Anne.

1483 Memorandum quod undecimo die mensis Aprilis. Anno Domini Millesimo. C.C.C.C. octogesimo tercio. in loco capitulari ecclesie cathedralis Licĥ. dominis Thoma Heywode decano. Wall. Whelpdale et Mille. Cononicis (*sic*) residenciarijs congregatis et Capitulum facientibus. voluerunt statuerunt et ordinarunt unanimi consensu et assensu. quod omnes oblaciones. donata. legata et collata Imagini Jesu Christi seu ejus altari et sancte Anne ibidem situato ex parte borieli (*sic*) in ecclesia

cathedrali predicta situato cedant et convertantur ad sustentacionem conservacionem et augmentacionem ornamentorum et paramentorum ipsius cantarie Jesu Christi ad majorem ornatum et decorem ipsius Imaginis et Capelle in qua situatur. Et post hec dicte oblaciones donata legata et collata cedant et convertantur partim in ornamentis seu paramentis in dicta ecclesia Licĥ. ad divinum cultum. Ac eciam pro parte in utilitatem fabrice ecclesie cathedralis predicte. juxta piam et sinceram devocionem Decani et capituli pro tempore personaliter residencium. prout eis melius videbitur expedire. exceptis solucionibus subscriptis. integre convertantur. juxta vim forman et effectum et conservacionem perpetuam cujusdam bulle papalis et indulgenciarum domine Sixti pape quarti. Anno pontificatus sui undecimo super predictis. pro salute animarum graciose concesse et habite ut in eadem plenius continetur. Et ad majorem effectum et complecionem intencionis ipsius bulle. dicti domini decanus et capitulum voluerunt et ordinarunt quod per eosdem et suos successores omni anno eligatur et deputetur aliquis fidedignus ad predictam recipienda. et ut prefertur distribuenda. qui in inchoacione officij sui jurabit tactis sacrosanctis Dei evangelijs coram eisdem. quod erit dicte ecclesie et in officio suo diligens et fidelis. et de receptis suis et expensis ac solucionibus suis circa premissa. in fine cujuslibet anni. fidelem reddet compotum coram ipsis Decano et capitulo. ¶ Nec grande aliquid faciet cum dictis oblatis datis seu collatis sine consilio et assensu decani et capituli Licĥ. pro tempore existencium vel majoris et sanioris partis eorundem. ¶ Qui quidem officiarius sic deputatus recipiet pro labore suo et diligencia sua hujusmodi annuatim juxta arbitrium dictorum Decani et capituli racionabiliter moderatum. ¶ Ordinarunt insuper et statuerunt dicti Decanus et capitulum quod Decanus et quilibet canonicus residenciarius qui dicto compoto prefati officiarij in loco capitulari interfuerit. et eidem diligenter et effectualiter attenderit post completum compotum percipiet per manus officiarij predicti—xij. d. et clericus capituli presens. vj. d. de receptis supradictis pro labore. ¶ Residuum vero omnium oblacionum et collatorum predictorum cedant integre usibus supradictis. ¶ Insuper prefati Decanus et capitulum. eligerunt et deputarunt eisdem die et loco dominum Johannem Wrygĥt capellarum cantarie Jesu et Sancte Anne Officiarium predictum ad premissa omnia et singula facienda coram ipsis. tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis juramentum ad tunc prestitit ad exequendum fideliter et diligenter ut prefertur. ¶ Presente Magistro Thoma Godsalf Clerico capitulari. Notorio (*sic*) publico premissa omnia vidente et audiente. die mense et anno domini supradictis.

Copia bulle papalis Indulgenciarum.

Sixtus Episcopus. servus servorum Dei. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Salvator noster Jesus Christus Dei filius summo patri consubstancialis et coeternus. ut humanum genus Ade primi parentis privaricacione. eterna morte dampnatum. salvum faceret. et ipsi patri reconsiliaret. de ejusdem patris sinu ad hujusmodi mundi infima descendere. et ex virgineo utero carnem nostram assumere. et tandem post habitam salutiferam inter homines conversacionem nobis que per eum ad eternam capescendam salutem datam plenam instruccionem. crucis patibulo affigi. et 1481.

temporalem mortem subire dignatus est. Unde nos pie considerantes humana merita ad salutem ipsam consequendam fore penitus imparia fideles quoslibet ad visitandum ecclesias et alia pia loca spiritualibus locis muneribus indulgencijs videlicet et remissionibus libenter inducimus. ut per hoc et aliarum sanctarum operacionum exercicium. eternam beatitudinem valeant feliciter adipisci. Cupientes igitur ut. altare salvatoris domini nostri Jesu Christi et sancte Anne ad quod sicut accepimus. Dilectus filius Thomas Heywod. decanus ecclesie cathedralis Lich. unam eorundem salvatoris et sancte Anne ymaginibus in eo honorifice collocatis. et aliam ad Sancti Blasij. in eadem ecclesia sita. altaria perpetuas capellanias cantarias nuncupatas cum certo honere missarum inibi perpetuo celebrandarum aliarumque devocionum tunc expressarum suis proprijs expensis construi. et edificari fecit a Christi fidelibus congruis frequentetur honoribus. ac ut debita devocione habeatur. fidelesque ipsi eo libencius devocionis causa confluant ad eandem. et ad illius ac dicte ecclesie in qua sicut eciam accepimus ossa corporis sancti Cedde confessoris honorifice recondita existunt structurarum et edificiorum reparacionem et conservacionem. Necnon calicum librorum et aliorum ornamentorum ad divinum cultum necessariorum empcionem et fulciamentum (*sic*) manus provicius porrigant adjutrices. quo ex hoc ibidem dono celestis gracie uberius conspexerint se refectos. de omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Panli apostolorum ejus auctoritate confisi. auctoritate apostolica tenore presencium statuimus et ordinamus quod omnes et singuli fideles Christi [a] vere penitentes et confessi qui altare eorundem Salvatoris et Sancte Anne predictum. in corporis Christi ac ac (*sic*) ipsius sancti Cedde. necnon sancte Anne festivitatibus. ac in die martis in ebdomada penticostes. a primis vesperis usque ad secundas vesperas eorundem festivitatum inclusive. devote visitaverint annuatim. et ad reparacionem manutencionem et fulcimentum predicta manus porrexerint adjutrices ut prefertur. septem Annos. et totidem quadragenas indulgenciarum consequantur. ¶ Quodque prefatus Thomas. et pro tempore existens dicte ecclesie decanus. et ipsius ecclesie decanatu vacante presidens capituli ecclesie prefate. quatuor confessores presbiteros seculares vel cujuslibet ordinis regulares in ecclesia predicta deputare valeat. qui omnium et singulorum fidelium eorundem ad altare Salvatoris et sancte Anne hujusmodi causa indulgencie hujusmodi consequende pro tempore confluencium confessiones audire. illisque auditis. ipsos et eorum quemlibet a quibuscumque eorum peccatis criminibus delictis et excessibus dummodo talia non sint propter que sedes apostolica esset merito consulenda. auctoritate predicta absolvere. eisque penitenciam salutarem injungere valeat. Presentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturis. ¶ Volumus autem quod oblaciones et pia suffragia que per ipsos Christi fideles pro hujusmodi indulgencia consequenda pro tempore fieri contigerit. in altarium [et] [b] ecclesie predictorum structurarum reparacionem et [conservacionem. Necnon calicum librorum et aliorum ornamentorum hujusmodi empcione et] [b]

[a] *Ipsi* in MS.

[b] The words in brackets are omitted in the MS. and are supplied from the recapitulation of the *bulla* in the succeeding document.

fulciamentum (*sic*) et non in alios usus omnino convertantur. Nulli ergo omnino homini liceat hanc paginam nostri statuti ordinacionis et voluntatis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contrarie. Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit. indignacionem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat̃ Rome apud sanctum Petrum Anno incarnacionis dominice Millesimo C.C.C.C. octogesimo primo. pridie Idus ffebruarij. Anno pontificatus nostri Anno undecimo.

Copia literarum per modum Indenture confectarum magno sigillo Capitulari sigillatarum de et super ratificacionem et collaudacionem literarum apostolicarum concessarum et indulgenciarum utlintatem[a] *visitancium omni anno Imaginem Jesu et aliqua contribuencium. et qualiter quatuor confessores deputati. eos poterint absolvere in omnibus exceptis casubus prope reservatur. et quod omnes oblaciones collata et donata cedant in usus predicte capelle Jesu sub forma et modo sequentibus.*

Universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas indentatas visuris et audituris. Thomas Heywode Decanus. Ac Rogerus Wall. Johannes Whelpedale. Thomas Milly. Ricardus Shirborne et Thomas Raynolde Canonici Residenciarij ecclesie cathedralis Licĥ. capitulariter congregati et capitulum facientes. Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Literas sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri. Domini Sixti divina providencia pape quarti. Ipsius vera bulla plumbea bullatas cum filo serico. sanas veras integras omni suspicione sinistra carentes recepimus. et diligenter inspeximus. tenorem subsequentem continentes. [*Here follows the text of the papal bull as above*]. ¶ Nos vero intime considerantes. quod pia mater ecclesia de animarum salute solicita devocionem fidelium per quedam munera spiritualia remissiones videlicet et indulgencias imitare consuevit ad debitum famulatus honorem. Deo et sacris edibus impendendum ut quanto crebius et devocius illuc confluit populus christianus. assiduis precibus Salvatoris graciam implorando. tanto delictorum suorum veniam et gloriam regni celestes consequi mereantur eterna. ¶ Cupientes igitur ut ecclesia cathedralis Licĥ. predicta in qua confratres et canonici residenciarij vicarij et alij ministri ejusdem. ipsi Jesu Christo continue sunt famulantes. congruis honoribus frequentetur. omnia et singula in dictis literis apostolicis contenta humiliter et devote acceptamus et collaudamus. Necnon ut ea in omnibus et per omnia perpetuis temporibus observentur. Nos Decanus et Capitulum supradicti pro nobis et successoribus nostris volumus statuimus et ordinamus unanimi consensu et assensu nostris. quod omnes oblaciones. donata. legata. et collata Imagini Jesu Christi. seu ejus altari. et sancte Anne ibidem ex parte boriali in ecclesia cathedrali predicta situatis cedant et convertantur ad sustentacionem conservacionem et augmentacionem ornamentorum et paramentorum ipsius Cantarie Jesu Christi ad majorem ornatum et decorem ipsius Imaginis et capelle in qua 1484.

[a] *Sic* for *utilitatem.*

situatur. Et extunc residuum hujusmodi oblacionum donatorum legatorum collatorum partim in ornamentis seu paramentis in dicta ecclesia cathedrali Lich. ad divinum cultum ac eciam pro parte (et *erased*) ad utilitatem fabrice ecclesie Cathedralis predicte juxta piam et sinceram devocionem Decani et capituli pro tempore personaliter residencium. prout eis melius videbitur expedire. Exceptis solucionibus subscriptis integre convertatur. Et ad majorem effectum et complecionem intencionis ipsius bulle ac conservacione eiusdem. ¶ Nos decanus et capitulum supradicti volumus statuimus et ordinamus quod aliquis fidedignus ad predictas oblaciones donata. legata. et collata recipienda. et ad usus in dicta bulla expressatos ut prefertur convertenda omni anno de cetero per nos et successores nostros eligatur et deputetur. qui in inchoacione officij jurabit tactis sacrosanctis Dei evangelijs coram nobis quod erit in officio suo circa premissa diligens et fidelis. et de receptis. expensis ac solucionibus suis per ipsum in hac parte faciendis. in fine cujuslibet anni fidelem reddet compotum coram nobis Decano et capitulo supradictis seu successoribus nostris. Nec grande aliquid faciet cum dictis oblatis. datis. seu collatis. sine consilio et assensu decani et capituli Lich. pro tempore existencium vel majoris et sanioris partis eorundem. ¶ Qui quidem officiarius sic deputatus salarium recipiet pro labore et diligencia sua hujusmodi annuatim juxta arbitrium dictorum decani et capituli racionabiliter moderandum. ¶ Ordinamus insuper et statuimus nos decanus et capitulum supradicti quod decanus et quilibet canonicus residenciarius ejusdem ecclesie cathedralis qui dicto compoto prefati officiarij in loco capitulari annuatim faciendo personaliter interfuerit. et eidem diligenter et effectualiter attenderit. post completum compotum percipiet per manus officiarij predicti. xijd. et clericus Capituli presens. vjd. de receptis supradictis pro labore. In quorum omnium et singulorum testimonium atque fidem. Nos Decanus et Capitulum ecclesie Cathedralis Lich. antedicte presentibus Sigillum nostrum commune apponi fecimus. Data Lichefeld. in domo nostro Capitulari xij°. die Mensis Marcij. Anno Domini Millesimo. C.C.C.C°. octogesimo quarto.

Donacio Magistri Thome Heywode decani Lich' facta Decano et Capitulo Lich' de certis Messuagijs. terris. pratis. pascuis. et pasturis in dominijs de Allerwas et Bromley Regis jacentibus prout sequitur.

Item memorandum quod Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus sepedictus dedit contulit et in sua ultima voluntate inter alia disposuit. quod messuagium cum suis pertincijs in Allerwas. terre. prata. pascue. pasture et redditus capitales. que emit de Nicholao Amys de Hondesacre in possessione juxta consuetudinem curie de Allerwas. ad opus Ricardi Welles. Laurencij Smyth coci. Willelmi Rokeley ffysshemonger. et Henrici Parker de Frodley. remaneant. et redditus ac proventus eorundem remaneant imperpetuum ad usum et proficium decani et canonicorum residenci(arior)um in ecclesia cathedrali Lich. per manus Canonici residenciarij et Communarij ejusdem ecclesie in fine anni distribuend. juxta ratum cujuslibet residenciarii. ¶ Item simili modo voluit et disposuit. quod decanus et canonici supradicti habeant et percipiant omnia Messuagia redditus prata terras pascua et pasturas in dominio de Allerwas que emit de Roberto ffysscher et juxta consue-

tudinem curie ibidem ad opus domini Willelmi Hukyns capellani. Ricardi Welles. Willelmi Fraunces. et Christofori Harper. ad proficium ipsorum dominorum decani et Canonicorum residenciariorum eciam per manus dicti communarij ad recepcionem predictorum et solucionem prefatis decano et capitulo fiend deputat. ¶ Insuper prefatus magister Thomas Decanus voluit et ordinavit. quod predicti decanus et capitulum habeant et percipiant in forma suprascripta quatuor pasturas suas quas emit de Willelmo Mogge Bocher de Lich. videlicet pasturam vocatam Hay by the brok. pasturam vocatam Nellfoder et pasturam vocatam Hethfelde. infra dominium de Bromley Regis existentes. que quidem quatuor pasture sic per ipsum empte sunt per cartas et munimenta in manibus suis una cum domino Johanne Paxson sacrista ecclesie Lich. Willelmo Rokeley ffysshemonger de Lich. et Ricardo Welles juxta formam cartarum inde factarum ad intencionem ipsius decani. ut ipse faciant juxta disposicionem suam in premissis. ut prefertur. juxta majorem confidenciam quam in ipsis pre aliis posuit et prefixit etc. ¶ Et omnes evidencias et scripturas tradidit et deliberavit eisdem. que ad predictam pertinent et concernunt ad manus Magistri Thome Mylle canonici residenciarij. ¶ Prefata vero omnia et singula dedit et concessit prefatus Magister Thomas decanus prefatis decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedrali Lich. pro tempore existentibus. ut orent pro salute anime sue. et ut supervideant efficaciter. quod omnia et singula divina servicia que ex Dei gracia fieri providit et ordinavit in ecclesia cathedrali Lich. predicta. debite et congrue exequantur et fiant juxta ordinaciones in ea parte factas. et per reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum dominum Johannem Dei gracia Coven. et Lich. Episcopum. ac Decanum et capitulum ecclesie Lich. debite et solempniter confirmatas. Ac demum per sanctissimum in Christo patrem et dominum Dominum Sixtum divina providencia papam quartum ratificatas et confirmatas. videlicet ordinaciones suas factas de duabus Cantarijs suis in ecclesia Lich. fundatis. videlicet unam in honore sancti Blasij martiris. Et aliam in honore nominis Jesu et sancte Anne matris beate Marie virginis. Ac de decantacione misse solempnis et antiphone de nomine Jesu omni die veneris per sex vicarios et quatuor choristas. Necnon misse de Requiem. cantande per quatuor vicarios statim post missam solempnem predictam. Et misse cursalis per unum vicarium ibidem perpetuo quolibet die celebrande. Ac eciam ordinaciones super solempni celebracione divinorum tempore anniversarij sui perpetuo annuatim celebrandi. Et aliorum serviciorum suorum in suis ordinacionibus nominatorum juxta corticem et formam ipsarum ordinacionum prout in eis plenius continetur. ¶ Insuper idem Magister Thomas concessit eciam, ut[a] oblaciones. legata. donata et collata Imagini seu altari de nomine Jesu et sancte Anne fundato cedant usui dicte capelle juxta concessionem summi pontificis predicti sub plumbo. quam concessionem et suam disposicionem prefati decanus et capitulum ad tunc existentes ratificarunt. et sic fieri unanimiter concesserunt. ut in eorum Registro et in literis indentatis inde confectis ac sigillo magno communi sigillatis plenius continetur.

Donacio Magisti Thome Heywode Decani facta pauperibus in domo pauperum in Bacunstrete de duabus acris prati valoris annui vij. s. prout sequitur.

Item idem Magister Thomas Heywode Decanus prefatus. Anno Domini. M°.C.C.C.C°. lxxxv°. dedit et contulit domui pauperum. sive pauperibus in Domo elemosinaria in Lichefeld. in 1485.

[a] *Premissa* added in margin in another hand.

vico vocato Bacunstrete degentibus sive existentibus. et successoribus suis. temporibus futuris et imperpetuum duraturis. duas acras suas prati in feodo de Bromley Regis jacentes in le Myllenherñ. juxta le Seggeplek. ibidem. quas nuper emit de Ricardo Ruggeley et Agnete uxore ejus. de Longdon. que quidem due acre sunt in manibus dominorum Johannis Paxson. Willelmi Hukyns. et Roberto Collet capellanorum. et Willelmi Rokeley ffysshemonger de Lichfelde juxta formam et consuetudinem Curie de Bromley Regis. ut in copia curie inde facta et habita plenius continetur. Ut ipsi pauperes percipiant per manus predicte domus custodis. supervisoris. sive gubernatoris ad eorum proficium et sustentacionem redditus inde provenientes imperpetuum. Et ut ipsi pauperes et sui successores orent pro anima dicti Magistri Thome Heywod. parentum suorum. et omnium fidelium defunctorum imperpetuum. Amen.

XIX.—*On a thirteenth-century Oak Hall at Tiptofts Manor, in Essex.* *By Professor* J. Henry Middleton, *F.S.A.*

Read November 28, 1889.

Our Fellow Mr. A. J. Butler has been kind enough to draw my attention to the very interesting old manor house of Tiptofts, near Saffron Walden, in Essex, which is now used as a farm-house, and is the property of Brasenose College, Oxford, of which Mr. Butler is the Bursar. On visiting the place I was much surprised to find that the original house, built wholly of oak, of which a considerable portion still exists, is as early in date as the second half of the thirteenth century.

I know no other existing example of domestic architecture in wood, at least in this country, of so early a date as the thirteenth century, and I have therefore thought that the following notes and the accompanying drawings might be of sufficient interest to be worth laying before the Society of Antiquaries.

The moat which surrounds this manor-house is still almost perfect, but the original building has been to so large an extent destroyed and concealed by later additions, that at first sight, from the outside, there is little or nothing to suggest the existence of any structure earlier than the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

A careful examination, however, of the interior shows that enough still remains of the original building to enable one to form a very good notion of what the whole house must have been like when first constructed.

The general plan and arrangement of the building appear to have been the same as those commonly adopted for the larger class of manor-houses in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

This type of house consisted of a large hall, for the use of the manorial lord and his retainers, as a living room, dining room, and to some extent as a sleeping place at night. It was divided into nave and aisles, like a church, with an open roof, partly resting on the two rows of columns which separated the nave from the aisles.

The great stone hall of Oakham, in Rutlandshire, is one of the most perfect

existing specimens of this type of house. It dates from about the middle of the twelfth century, and has two rows of semi-circular arches resting on circular stone columns with richly carved capitals. Almost the only point in which this noble piece of domestic architecture differs from ecclesiastical work of the same date is the internal arrangement of the windows, each of which has in its recess a stone seat.

In many other cases, as in the hall of Chepstow castle, these internal window-seats are the only things which now mark the domestic use of the building.

In addition to this large hall, the manorial house of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appears usually to have had a "with-drawing" room at the dais end, for the private use of the owner of the house, and, at the other end, a kitchen and buttery opening straight into the hall.

The screen which cuts off a passage between the hall and its kitchen, such as still exists in the old halls of Oxford and Cambridge, was a later development which was not universally adopted till the fifteenth century.

At Tiptofts little more now exists than one bay of the house, together with the cross wall pierced with two doorways at the kitchen end. (See plan on Plate XVI.)

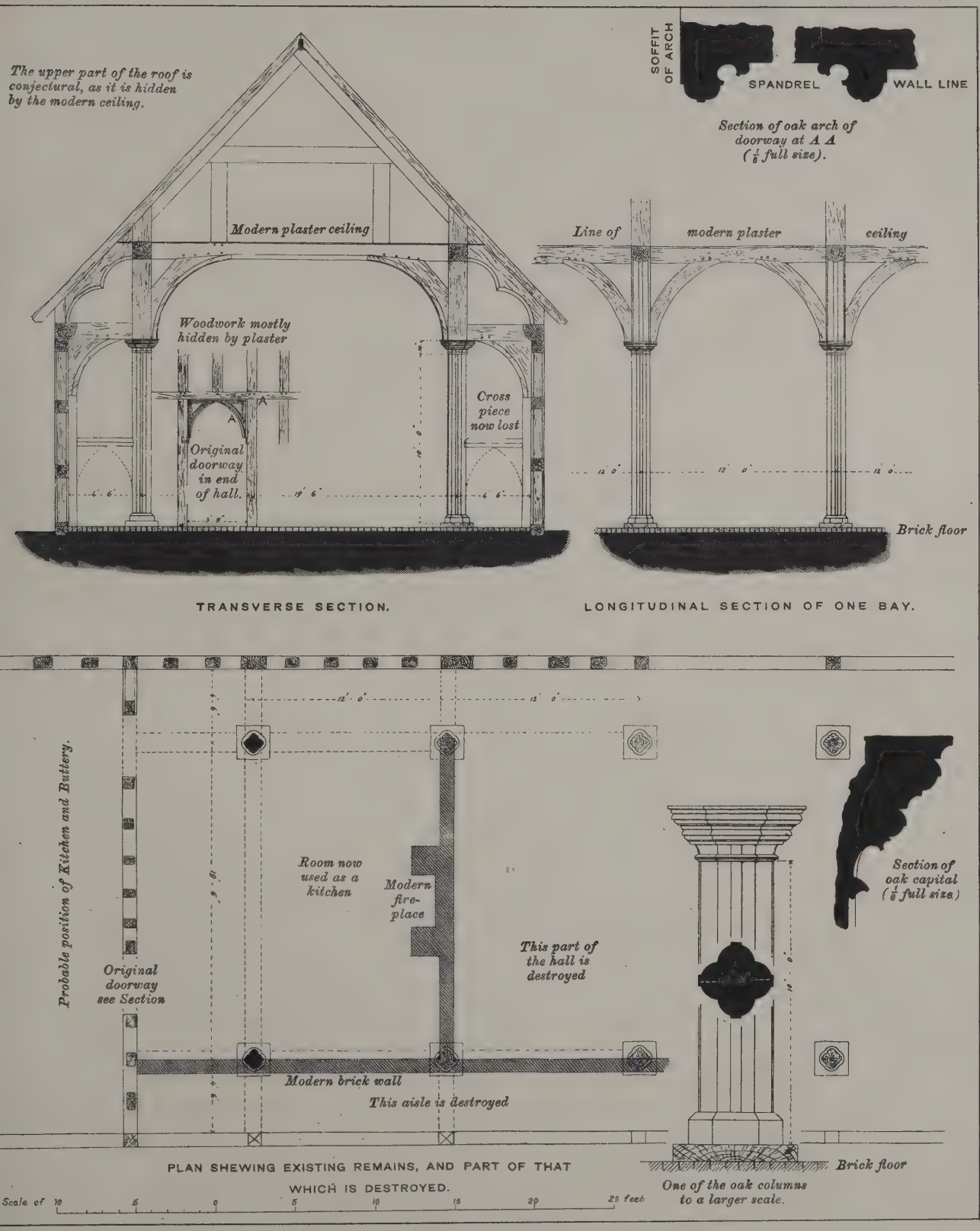
Fortunately this one bay is sufficient to give the general design of the hall, though no evidence now exists to show what its complete length may have been. The accompanying plan shows how much still remains; some of the bays which are now missing, their place being occupied by modern rooms, are indicated by the lighter tint.

The width of the central space or nave is 19 feet 6 inches measured from centre to centre of the columns; the aisles are 4 feet 6 inches wide, giving a total roof-span of 28 feet 6 inches. The intercolumniation or longitudinal distance from centre to centre of the columns is 12 feet.

The whole structure is built of oak, the external walls with massive timbers of very varying size, framed in square panels, and filled in with the wattle and dab thinly coated with plaster, which was so much used in medieval times, more especially in counties such as Essex and Cambridgeshire, where the want of good building-stone caused timber to be more largely used than in districts where good free-stone was to be found.

The pillars of the nave are remarkable for their elaborate mouldings, and their very perfect state of preservation, in spite of their being more than six centuries old.

Each is cut in the solid out of one oak tree, except the capitals and bases, which are in separate blocks. The shafts of the columns and the caps are very



TIPTOFTS MANOR HOUSE, ESSEX.

richly moulded in characteristic early-English forms. It is these mouldings which show the work to be of the thirteenth century.

As is usually the case with wood-work of this early date, the mouldings are not specially adapted to the requirements of wood; they are under-cut, and in every way designed as if they had been meant to be worked in stone.

About half way up each column the start of a horizontal strut across the aisles is worked in the solid, and a deep tenon is cut for this, and for a thinner strut under it, which was probably curved, as suggested in the transverse section. These struts are now missing.

The roof, which rests on the columns and side walls, is framed of very massive timbers, with curved and moulded struts, as shown in Plate XVI.

The upper part of the roof is now hidden by a flat plaster ceiling of modern date.

In the cross wall (at A A) there still remains half of the original early-English door-arch, with deeply-cut stone-like mouldings, as shown in Plate XVI.

The other doorway to the kitchen or buttery has been modernised, but its opening still exists.

During a severe earthquake, which in 1884 did much damage in this part of Essex, the nineteenth-century brick additions to Tiptofts were seriously split, and almost thrown down, but the thirteenth-century oak structure happily received no injury.

In the earlier part of this century a great deal more of this magnificent old hall is said to have existed, but it was unfortunately destroyed to make way for new rooms and staircase.

It is much to be hoped that the portion which still remains, being of such unique interest, may be carefully preserved by Brasenose College. At least we know that it is safe as long as the college bursar is so enthusiastic an antiquary as is our Fellow Mr. A. J. Butler.

Postscript.

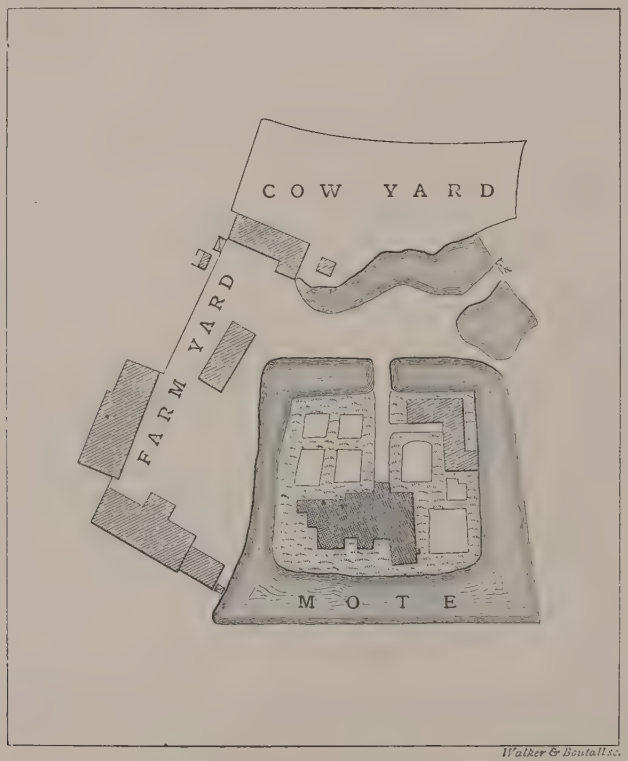
Mr. Butler has kindly sent me the following information as to the date when this house came into possession of Brasenose College:

John, Lord Mordaunt, by his last will recites that, whereas he and Lady Johane his wife and Sir Lewis Mordaunt (by the name of Lewis Mordaunt Esquire) by their indenture dated 3rd Nov. 5th year of Elizabeth (1563) did enfeoffe Sir William Peter, Sir Henry Tyrell and others (among other things) of all his manorial landes to certain use (among which), the manor of Tiptoftes for X years, then to Lord Wyndsor for X years, and then to Brasenose College.

The *Terriar* of 1602 gives the following list of the buildings which belonged to the manor :

> The scite of the sd. Mannor House, with 2 Barns, a Dovehouse, one Heyhouse, one Cowhouse, one Stable, a cartshed ; one court-yard within the moate, and outward yard, a cow-yard and one orchard.

The accompanying plan is enlarged from a college map dated 1746. It shows the moat in its complete form crossed by one bridge leading straight to the porch of the manor house, and also the farm and cow-yard with their respective buildings.



Tiptofts Manor House ; copy of plan dated 1746, in the possession of Brasenose College, showing the moat and the general arrangement of the buildings.

XX.—*On a Roman villa in Spoonley Wood, Gloucestershire; and on Romano-British houses generally.* *By Professor* J. Henry Middleton, *F.S.A.*

Read December 5, 1889.

Roman Villa in Spoonley Wood, Gloucestershire.

This recently discovered Roman villa stands at the foot of a hill, in a very beautiful situation, in one of the valleys of the Cotswold hills, about three miles from Winchcombe, in Spoonley Wood.

This elevated and yet sheltered district, with its rich soil and fine timber, appears to have been a favourite place of residence for wealthy Romans.

Remains of several other houses of Roman date have been found within a short distance of Spoonley, and no doubt many others still remain hidden below the soil.

The valley where the Roman villa I am about to describe stands is the property of Mrs. Dent of Sudeley castle, and the thanks of all antiquaries are due to her for the trouble and money she has expended, both in excavating this very perfect example of a Romano-British house, and also in roofing over and protecting in other ways the crumbling walls and mosaic pavements of the house: a very important and difficult task, which, in this case, has been carried out with unusual judgment and skill.[a]

The general plan and arrangement of the Spoonley villa are similar to those adopted for many other Roman houses in Britain, and more especially in Gloucestershire.

[a] Much of the skilful protection of the remains is due to the Rev. W. Bazeley, Hon Sec. of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, who has given much time and trouble to the superintendence of the excavations.

This plan, which appears to be a typically British one, is very unlike the usual plan of Roman villas in Italy.

Instead of rooms grouped round open atria and peristyles, with large unglazed windows or even open archways directly facing into the roofless atrium, we find a system far more suited to the colder and damper climate of Britain.

The larger villas of this type are in the form of a complete quadrangle, with a *porticus* or covered verandah, very like a medieval cloister, running round all four sides in the interior of the quadrangle. The windows of the villa opened on to the interior of the square, and were sheltered by the roof of the "cloister," as well as by being furnished with glazed casements.

The villa at Woodchester is one of the finest and most perfect of this cloistered quadrangle type.

In other cases, as we see at Spoonley, the rooms, with their sheltering verandah, only extended along part of three sides of the square; and the rest of the space was merely surrounded by a precinct wall enclosing a large courtyard in front of the villa (*see* plan, Plate XVII.).

The whole space occupied by the villa and its courtyard is (roughly) about 170 feet by 190 feet.

The villa stands facing N.W. with its back to the hill; and close by it, on the N.E. side, a stream runs, with a plentiful supply of very pure and cool water springing from the limestone hill behind the house.

The approach to the house is through a wide doorway in the centre of the wall of the courtyard, exactly opposite the main entrance through the verandah into the chief public room or *tablinum*.

A roughly-paved path led across the court from the outer doorway to the house.

The only other door into the court was near the chief furnace-room on the S.W. and was probably intended for the use of slaves passing from the interior of the villa to get wood and attend to the fire for the baths.

The general distribution of rooms appears to have been as follows:

In the central block the chief living rooms, including the winter *triclinium* and the kitchen.

In the S.W. wing, the baths, and some well-warmed apartments for winter use.

In the N.E. wing, a series of unheated rooms, perhaps for use in summer, or possibly for the slaves who attended to the indoor work of the house.

As there is no internal communication between this wing and the rest of the house, this latter supposition is perhaps the more probable.

The verandah is carried all round the three blocks, except at its two ends, where it is stopped on the S.W. side by the projecting cold bath-room, and on the opposite side by a room of similar proportions and size.

In looking at the plan as a whole, one is struck by its uniformity on the two sides of the central *tablinum* (No. 21). The architect has evidently thought that a perfect balance of wing with wing was essential to the good effect of the whole composition.

I will now give some description of the various rooms in each block, beginning with the end of the S.W. wing, by the small side door out of the courtyard.

No. 2 on the plan is a chamber for stoking the large furnace (3), which heated the baths.

This chamber has an external door, by which wood could be brought in to feed the furnace.

At 4 is the entrance to the baths from the courtyard. On the left of the entrance-passage is a cold bath, about 16 feet by 11 feet 6 inches, with, on one side, a wide opening to the passage. Two steps lead down into the bath. The floor is formed of flag-stones, covered, together with the walls, by a thick coating of the hydraulic *opus signinum*, or cement made of lime and pounded brick or pottery, a similar cement to that which is always used to line the channels of Roman aqueducts.

Vitruvius frequently recommends this use of pounded pottery, *e.g.* at II. v. § 1, "si quis testam tunsam et succretam ex tertia parte adjecerit, efficiet materiæ temperaturam ad usum meliorem."[a]

In the Spoonley villa, this *opus signinum* is also used for another purpose; it had not only the property of resisting water, but it could also resist fire, and so the interior of the stone furnaces and the horizontal smoke flues under the floors, to some distance from the furnaces, were thickly lined with *opus signinum* in order to protect the stone, which would otherwise have been calcined into lime.

Nos. 5, 7 and 8 are bath-rooms, with hypocaust floors covered with elaborate mosaics.

The whole of this group of bath-rooms is completely cut off from the rest of the house, and could only be entered from the open court.

The hypocausts of all three rooms were heated from the same furnace (3); and the smoke and hot air finally escaped in square flue-pipes up the walls of room No. 8.

[a] See also Vitruvius, VII. i. § 5. Pliny's remarks about the use of *testae tunsae* (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 54), are copied from Vitruvius, as is nearly all that Pliny wrote about architectural matters.

Beyond the bath-rooms is another range of apartments (Nos. 10, 12 and 13), with hypocaust floors heated by a second furnace (No. 11) projecting outside the house.

As in the case of the bath-rooms the hot air was carried up above the roof in flue-tiles set in the walls of the more distant rooms. These vertical flue-tiles are shown on the plan.

This list of rooms completes the S.W. wing.

The verandah (No. 9), which sheltered the inside of this wing, has its floor at a lower level than the rest of the villa. Two steps lead down to it at the end, and also at the doorway into the court. At the N.W. end the verandah is stopped by the projecting cold bath.

In the central block, No. 14 was evidently the kitchen: in it is a circular well neatly lined with stone, 2 feet 8 inches in diameter, No. 15 on the plan.

Nos. 16, 16, indicate some old stone steps which have been used to mend the paving of the kitchen and of the verandah outside it, which in other places was paved with a plain mosaic made of large *tesserae*. There was probably a good deal of traffic at this point, and hence the floor-mosaic needed repair.

At 17 are the two stone uprights of a table, of which the top slab is now missing.

The two unheated rooms by the kitchen, at the south angle of the house, were probably store-rooms for food, or other servants' offices.

Next to the kitchen comes a large chamber into which projects a small, well-heated room (No. 18), with its mosaic hypocaust floor raised 2 feet 8 inches above the general floor-level, and approached by a short flight of stone steps.

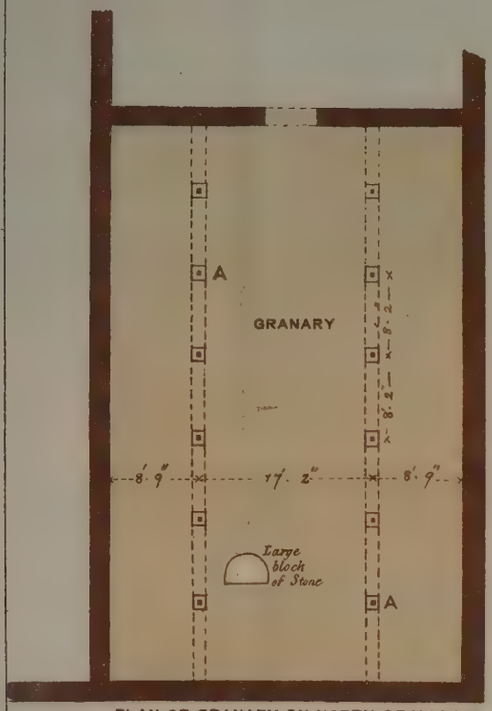
From the position of this room, near the kitchen, and the design of its mosaic floor, it was evidently the winter *triclinium*. The part occupied by the dining-tables has a mosaic of plain large *tesserae*, while the rest of the floor has a very elaborate pattern.

A projecting furnace (No. 19) heated the hypocaust of the *triclinium*, and on the opposite side is a small low arch (No. 20), opening into the space under the *suspensura* floor, to enable the slaves to clear out the accumulated soot and ashes among the *pilae* which support the floor.

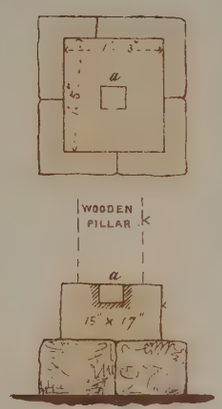
The same furnace communicated with horizontal stone flues running under the floors of several rooms (Nos. 21, 23, 24 and 25) in the central block, which were probably living rooms for winter use.

The central chamber in the central block appears to be what is usually called the *tablinum* (No. 21), a large room in two parts, with a wide opening between them.[a]

[a] See Vitruvius, VI. iii. § 5.

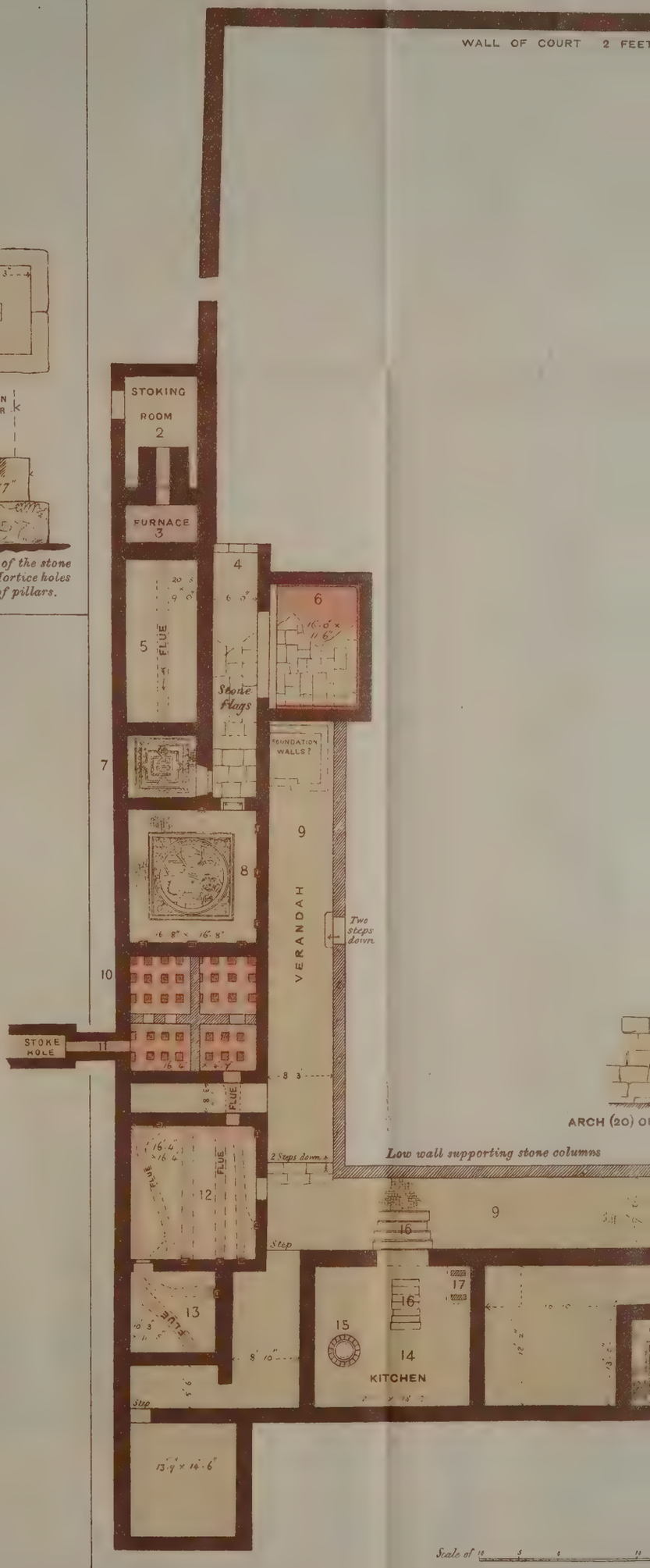


PLAN OF GRANARY ON NORTH OF VILLA



Plan and elevation of the stone bases A A. a a. Mortice holes for wood tenons of pillars.

1 *Entrance into the Court.*
2 *Stoking room.*
3 *Furnace.*
4 *Side entrance to the baths.*
5 *Bath-room with hypocaust and mosaic pavement, now lost.*
6 *Cold bath lined with "opus signinum."*
7 & 8 *Bath-rooms with mosaics on hypocaust floor.*
9 9 *Verandah with stone columns.*
10 *Hypocaust on cross stone walls and brick pilae.*
11 *Furnace.*
12 & 13 *Hypocausts on horizontal stone flues.*
14 *Kitchen.*
15 *Well lined with stone.*
16 16 *Old stone steps used for paving.*
17 *Supports of a stone table.*
18 *Raised hypocaust floor with mosaic, reached by 5 steps, probably the winter triclinium.*
19 *Furnace.*
20 *Small archway opening under the hypocaust floor; see sketch.*
21 *Tablinum.*
22 *Mass of masonry, added later.*
23 *Passage.*
24 *Hypocaust.*
25 *Lobby.*
26 *Large hall.*
27 *N.E. wing with separate entrance.*
28 *Stone base of an altar?*
29 *Central door-way.*
30 *Smaller side door.*
31 *Pathway to central entrance.*



PLAN OF A ROMAN VILLA IN SF

J. Henry Middleton, Aug. 1889.

ONLEY WOOD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

The main entrance to the house (No. 29) is opposite the *tablinum* door.

No. 22 shows a block of masonry which at some time has been added, blocking up the walk along the verandah, for what purpose it is impossible now to say.

Beyond the group of well-heated rooms, at the end of the central block, is a large hall (No. 26), 41 feet long by nearly 18 feet wide, which has no hypocaust or hot-air flues under its floor. It is difficult to say what its use may have been.

The N.E. wing has no internal connection with the rest of the house, and consists of rooms with no hypocaust floors or other visible means of heating. This may have been the range of working and living rooms of the household slaves.

The verandah along this side is stopped by a projecting room, which balances the cold-bath room in the opposite wing.

A low solid mass of masonry at the end of the N.E. wing (No. 28) may possibly have been the base of a domestic altar.

The rest of the circuit of the court is merely enclosed by a single wall, 2 feet thick.

It appears probable that the owner of this house possessed a sufficient number of slaves to cultivate a farm of considerable size.

The large granary, shown in my plan a short distance from the house, bears witness to this, and there are probably considerable further remains of farm buildings to be discovered below the present level of the ground.

Very little of the existing walls of the house were standing to a greater height than from two to three feet.

The whole upper surface of the walls has now been carefully levelled, by using the old stones which had fallen down, in order to protect the exposed walls from further injury.

Materials and Construction.—As is usual with Roman work this villa is almost wholly built with the nearest local materials.

The walls, which average about 2 feet thick, are built of the soft oolitic limestone of which the Cotswold hills mainly consist. The blocks are small and roughly squared; the mortar, being made of the inferior "fat" lime, obtained by burning the same oolitic stone, has almost wholly perished, as also the stucco which once covered the walls.

In fact, the only cement which still remains is part of the *opus signinum* mentioned above, in which the pounded pottery has given strength and durability to the soft local lime.

Bricks appear to have been rare, and are very sparingly used for the *pilae* of one or two of the hypocaust floors, especially that of room No. 10 on the plan.

The vertical flue-tiles up the walls of some of the rooms are all of burnt brick of the usual type, about 7 × 5 inches in section.

The few *pilae* bricks which have been found average 12 to 16 inches square by about 1½ inch thick.

The upper story with the sleeping apartments appear to have been of wood.

The whole of the roofing was covered with the "Stonesfield slates," which were so much used by the Romans in this district of Britain.

Numerous quarries where this "Stonesfield slate" could be obtained exist among the Cotswold hills—one of them within two or three miles of Spoonley Wood.

These slates were cut into a lozenge shape, about 16 to 17 inches long by 11 or 12 inches wide. Each was drilled at its upper angle and fastened by a very massive iron nail, as is shown on the drawing of the verandah.

The best-preserved mosaics have been roofed over by Mrs. Dent to protect them; sufficient of the original Roman slates were found in a perfect state to cover most of these new roofs, which thus show in a very interesting way what the original appearance of the Roman roofing must have been.

At the same time this has proved the best way to save the Roman slates from injury or loss.

The verandah (9, 9) which sheltered the inside walls towards the court appears to have consisted of rows of stone columns resting on a dwarf wall, and supporting a lean-to roof, as I have shown in the accompanying restoration (Plate XVIII.).

Almost the only doubtful point is the distance at which the columns were spaced from centre to centre.

These columns are worked in the local oolite, with very delicately-moulded capitals and bases. In some cases the whole was worked out of one block of stone.

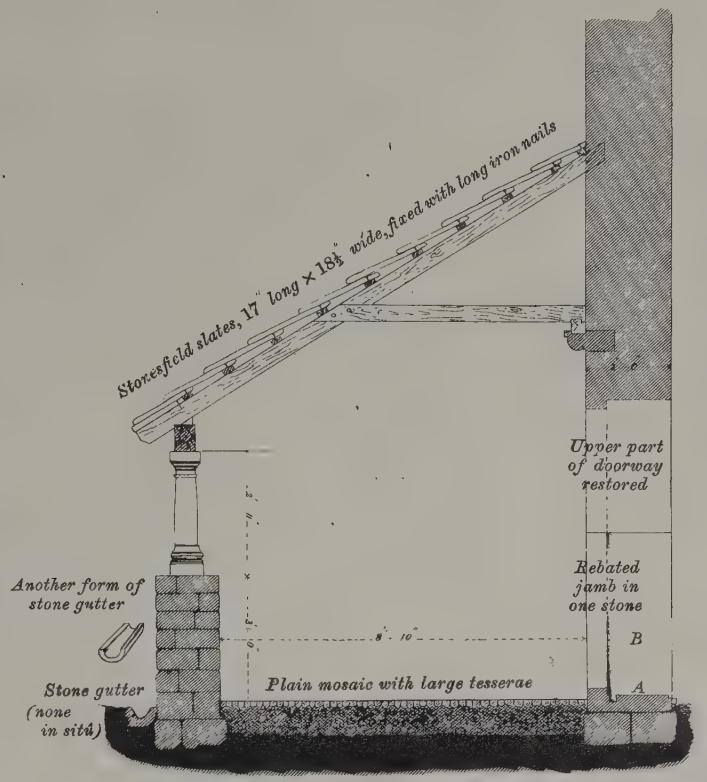
The mouldings, of which I have given sectional drawings (Plate XIX.), are very interesting from the great minuteness of their members, and their unlikeness to any capitals or bases which are found in Italy. Of all the classical styles they approximate most nearly to the Roman Doric, but at the same time the designs show distinct local peculiarities.

In many respects these mouldings resemble some of those used in medieval English Gothic work more closely than any of the usual classic forms.

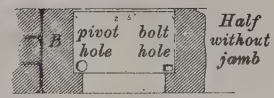
As is often the case with Roman columns, these from the Spoonley verandah appear to have been worked, mouldings and all, on a lathe.[a]

[a] See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 19.

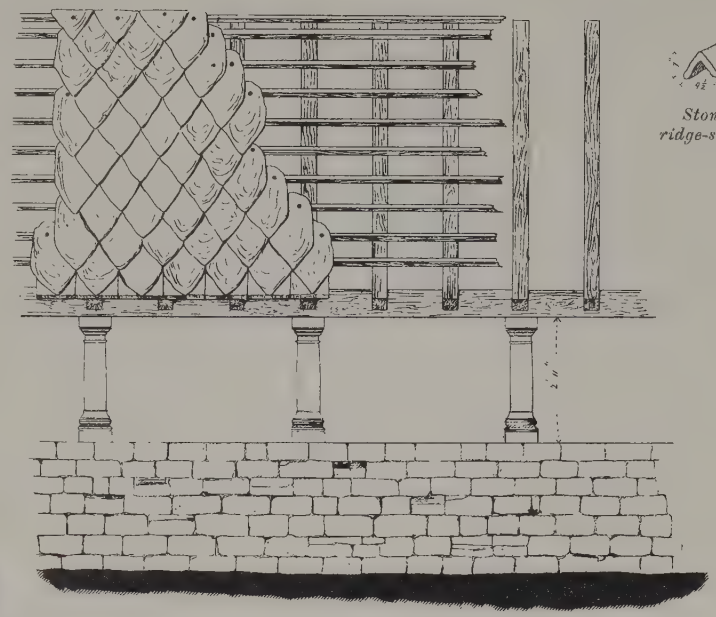
Note.—The woodwork of the roof is conjectural.



SECTION OF THE VERANDAH, RESTORED FROM EXISTING EVIDENCE.



Plan of door sill at A



ELEVATION OF THE VERANDAH OUTSIDE.

Most of the low wall exists: the columns have fallen, and many hundreds of the Stonesfield slates were found scattered about.

Scale of 0 3 6 9 12 15 18 21 24 feet

SPOONLEY VILLA, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. — SECTION AND ELEVATION OF THE VERANDAH.

FIGS. 1—4, SECTIONS OF CAPITALS AND BASES FROM THE SPOONLEY VILLA.

FIGS. 5, 6, SECTIONS OF BASES FROM THE GREAT WITCOMBE VILLA.

(All the above are half full size, except Fig. 5, which is quarter full size).

The floors of most of the rooms appear to have been of mosaic, but, in some cases, stone flags were used.

In the verandah the floor was of mosaic, without any pattern, made of grey and white *tesserae*, about an inch square.

In some of the rooms very delicate mosaics were found, with elaborate patterns of the usual kinds, but formed with unusually small *tesserae* very carefully fitted. This minuteness of workmanship in mosaic is usually a proof of early date.

Under the earlier emperors small well-jointed *tesserae* were used, but in the second century A.D. the mosaics became rapidly coarser, with large carelessly-fitted *tesserae;* till, under Diocletian, at the end of the third century, Roman mosaics reached their lowest point of degradation, both in design and in workmanship.[a]

With such very beautiful and delicate mosaics as these in the Spoonley villa, we may, I think, safely date the building before the year 100 A.D.

The minutely-worked mouldings of the verandah columns afford another proof of early date, as, in the case of Roman mouldings, we find a rapid degeneration taking place in the second century, just like that of the mosaics. The mouldings get steadily coarser, their members larger, and the execution rougher.

As I have already mentioned, the space under the tables in the winter *triclinium* has quite plain mosaics, while the elaborate pattern is concentrated in that part of the room where the floor would be most visible. In the same way in the bath-rooms (Nos. 7 and 8) a wide plain border round the walls probably marks the place where benches for the bathers were placed.

Great variety and brilliance of effect is gained in these very beautiful mosaics by means of very simple colours and materials. The red is of burnt brick, very bright in tone; the white is a very fine close limestone; blue-grey a hard lias limestone; pale blue another variety of limestone; and pale yellow, a very hard close-grained stone. Great skill is shown in the way these various tints are arranged so as to enhance each other's chromatic value, and the general effect of these stone and brick mosaics is quite as rich as that of the most costly marble *tesserae* of Italy or Numidia.

The patterns, too, are exceptionally rich and graceful, in most cases geometrical or conventional floral designs, which in the hands of Roman artists were always very superior to their rather clumsy subjects with figures of gods, men, or animals.

[a] The most minutely delicate mosaics in Rome are those of buildings dating from the reign of Augustus, as, for example, the Regia and the temple of Castor in the Forum, and in the so-called House of Livia on the Palatine hill.

A very rude panel with the bust of a man holding a rake was found in room No. 5. This has been taken up and framed; as the rest of the mosaic in that room was too much broken up to be saved or repaired.

Unfortunately the mosaics were not bedded in the cement made with pounded brick which was used for the furnaces and the cold bath, and so the whole of the *rudus* and *nucleus* is now in a soft, pasty state; and there is nothing to hold the *tesserae* in their place.

Heating Arrangements.—With regard to the system of heating employed in the Spoonley villa we find that a very large proportion of the house was heated, and that three distinct furnaces were provided.

In many cases, instead of the usual hypocausts with *suspensurae* supported on rows of *pilae*, the rooms were warmed by horizontal stone flues, about 6 by 8 inches in section, running under the floors, thus giving a much more moderate heat than when the whole space under the floor was hollow and filled with hot air from the furnace. Various gradations of heat were given to different rooms by building more or fewer of these horizontal flues.

In some rooms only one flue seems to have run straight across, while in others the flues branched off in different directions leading to the vertical flue-tiles at various points in the walls; thus giving a much larger surface of heated floor.

In room No. 24 this complicated system of flues (shown on the plan) must have given nearly as much heat as the *suspensura* and *pilae* system.

In the heated rooms great care was taken to make the door fit closely, so as to keep out the cold air. The door-sill and jambs were formed of large blocks of stone with a rebate, against which the door shut, carried all round the doorway. This is shown on the drawing of the verandah.

Each sill has in it a round hole to receive the bronze pivot on which the door worked, and, at the other end, a square hole for the bolt to drop into.

Granary.—At a distance of 50 or 60 feet to the N.W. of the villa are remains, not yet completely excavated, of part of the farm buildings which belonged to the owner of the house.

The chief part which is now visible is a large barn or granary, about 54 feet by 34 feet 8 inches wide (*see* plan).

This seems to have been very like a medieval barn, with two rows of wooden pillars supporting the roof, and dividing the building into a "nave" 17 feet 2 inches wide, with "aisles" 8 feet 9 inches wide.

The side walls are now only about 2 feet high, and the wooden pillars are, of

course, wholly gone, but many of their stone bases remain, each formed of one block resting on a rough foundation. In the top of each block is cut a mortice-hole to receive the tenon of the wooden post to which it formed a base (*see* plan).

Vitruvius (VI. vi.) gives an interesting description of the farm buildings, which were usually adjuncts of a country villa, the *granaria*, *horrea*, the stables for cart horses and cattle, and other buildings of the same class.

Among the various objects discovered during the excavation of the Spoonley villa none are of any exceptional interest.

In metal, were some iron knives and tools, door-hinges, and a very pretty little bronze bowl plated with silver, like a mirror.

The pottery is of common Roman forms, including some fragments of so-called Samian; and of local ware some urns, two-handled cups, and *mortaria*, the interiors of which are studded with grit in the usual way, to facilitate the bruising of soft cooked vegetables.

Many pieces of window-glass were found, and a fragment of a glass *patera*, with a simple pattern of rings and lozenges cut with the lapidary's wheel.

A large number of small bronze coins were dug up here, and at other places in the neighbourhood, mostly of Tetricus, Victorinus, Claudius Gothicus, and Constantine, together with a few of Carausius and Allectus. A large number of bronze coins of the last two emperors have recently been found in various parts of Britain, so that they are now much less rare than they used to be.

Roman Houses in Britain.

I may perhaps be allowed to add to these notes on the Spoonley villa a few general remarks on Roman houses in Britain, and the chief points in which they differ from Roman houses in Italy. These differences fall naturally under two separate heads: first, those due to the colder climate, and second, those which came from the use of different local materials.

I. *Climate.*—Though devoid of originality or even of good taste in artistic matters, the Romans were above all things a thoroughly practical people; skilful engineers rather than graceful designers, and so it is natural to find that their first thought was to build their houses in the manner which was most comfortable and convenient in the special country where each was situated.

Thus we find that, as early as the time of Augustus, Vitruvius writes (VI. i. § 2) "sub septentrione aedificia testudinata et maxime conclusa et non patentia, sed conversa ad calidas partes oportere fieri videntur." That is to say, that houses in northern countries were to be wholly roofed over,[a] and as much shut in from the cold as possible, as well as being set facing a warm aspect.

I may here remark that many writers on Roman houses seem to have fallen into two errors—first in thinking that the Romans had one fixed type of house, and, second, in writing as if all the rooms of a Roman house, bedrooms included, were on the ground floor.

Now the truth is, that even in Italy the Romans built their houses, especially the country villas, with very great diversity of plan; each house was designed specially to suit its site, aspect, the lie of the ground, the best views that could be got, and many other practical considerations, so that it is a serious error to treat this subject as if any one fixed type existed. Again, with regard to the upper stories, the ancient Romans seem to have had nearly as much objection to sleeping on the ground floor as the modern Italians have, and a house of any importance which had no upper story was probably as rare as it is in England now. In Pompeii every house had at least one upper floor.

In many cases, even remote from crowded cities, houses of great height, with three or four stories, seem to have been frequently built by the Romans.

Very interesting evidence of this was supplied by a mosaic picture found a few years ago in Algeria, but now destroyed.[b]

This mosaic, dating from the fourth century A.D., was one of those found in the large villa of a Roman pro-consul of Northern Africa; the picture itself gave a perspective view of the exterior of the house which contained it. The house is of great extent and height, with square tower-like projections at the angles; it varied from four to five stories in height, with large latticed windows in the upper stories, and very few windows with iron gratings on the ground floor. The general aspect of the house is not unlike that of a medieval palazzo in Italy.

In Britain the reasons for not sleeping on the ground floor would be no less strong, and though in many cases the upper stories of Romano-British houses

[a] Vitruvius uses the word "testudinata" for roofing generally not necessarily implying a curved vault. Cf. VI. iii. § 2.

[b] Drawings of this valuable mosaic were published by the French Archaeological Society at Constantine, under the title *Les Mosaiques d'Oued Atmenia.* In other cases, such as in reliefs, when houses are represented, we nearly always see the same system of having the large well-lighted rooms on an upper floor.

were built of wood, yet we must not expect to find sleeping apartments among the ground-floor rooms, which are, in Britain, all that we can ever hope to see still in existence.

The main difference that the colder climate of Britain caused in the plan and arrangement of Roman houses was that the roofless *atrium*, so common in Italy, was usually omitted.

The Roman *atrium* was surrounded by rooms which had large unglazed openings facing straight into the roofless space. This, at least, was the Roman custom during the early years of the empire, as we see in the so-called "House of Livia" on the Palatine hill; a method only suited to a hardy race of people living in a mild climate.

Instead of rooms opening on to these roofless *atria*, we find in Britain that the windows of the house were much more universally glazed, and in a large number of cases a further protection against cold and rain was given by a sheltering verandah, which was carried along the whole line of building.

The villa at Spoonley is a good typical example of this system: the further development of this plan was such an arrangement as we see at Woodchester and Lydney in Gloucestershire, where the buildings form a complete quadrangle round which the verandah is carried like a monastic cloister.

It is interesting to note that there is in Rome one house which is designed rather in the British than in the usual Italian fashion.

This is the House of the Vestals, of which I have published a plan in *Archaeologia*.[a] This house was built for the use of six wealthy and luxurious ladies, and that is probably the reason why the plan adopted is the warmest and most comfortable that could be devised, quite unlike the usual airy open houses of Italy.

In the Vestals' house the verandah round the quadrangle consisted of a magnificent marble peristyle, with two orders of columns, one above the other, but, in spite of this difference of material, the plan as a whole is far more like that of a British than of an Italian house. Even in the Vestals' house, however, the central *tablinum* was open to the peristyle, whereas in Britain it would probably have had a door and glazed windows, as is the case at Spoonley.

Though many windows in Roman houses in Italy were filled in with glass, set in casements of wood or bronze, yet it seems not to have been uncommon, at least in early times, to omit the glass, and merely fill in the opening with a metal grill or a thin slab of marble pierced with holes, forming some simple grill-like pattern.

[a] Vol. XLIX., p. 391 *seq.*

In Britain, on the contrary, the use of glass for windows seems to have been far more common. Sheet, crown, and even cast slabs of plate glass were used. Even ground glass for obscured windows has been found.

In most instances the panes of glass seem to have been set in wooden casements, but in some cases the casements were of bronze, very like the one found in Pompeii, divided by "glass bars" into four small panes, which were kept in their place by a moveable screw nut, so that a broken pane could be readily replaced.[a]

It is not usually known that even stained glass windows were used by the Romans. Considering their wonderful skill in making glass of various brilliant colours, it would have been strange if they had never used coloured glass for windows.

These stained windows appear to have developed out of the use of pierced marble slabs for filling in window openings. At first the piercings were left open, but then in some cases bits of brilliant coloured pot-metal were cut to the right shape, and fitted into the holes in the marble, different colours being selected for various parts of the open pattern, thus giving a rich jewel-like effect, very like the glass and stucco windows used by Moslem races in Egypt, Persia, and elsewhere.[b]

In Italy plates of talc (*lapis specularis*) and other natural transparent substances were used for windows, especially in early times, but in Britain the use of glass appears to have been universal. Pliny[c] mentions a special blue glass called "cylon" which was used for windows. Another point in which Romano-British houses differed from those in Italy was the far more general use of methods of artificial heating.

In Italy we usually find that a very small part of the house possessed hypocaust floors.

For example, in the large and magnificent villa of the younger Pliny, at Laurentium, so minutely described by him in one of his letters,[d] only two small rooms appear to have had any arrangement for heating.[e]

He describes one of them thus: "Adhaeret dormitorium membrum, transitu

[a] The use of the screw (*cochlea*) was known to the Romans, though during medieval times it seems to have been forgotten.

[b] Justinian's church of St. Sophia at Constantinople had pierced marble windows filled in with pieces of coloured glass: some which exist are of cast, not blown glass, of a deep sapphire blue; each piece is about 9 × 7 inches.

[c] *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 162. [d] *Ep.* ii. 17.

[e] See Haudebourt, *La Laurentine Maison de Pline*, Paris, 1838.

interjacente, qui *suspensus et tubulatus* conceptum vaporem salubri temperamento huc illuc digerit et ministrat." The phrase *suspensus et tubulatus* would mean "having a hypocaust floor and flue-tiles up the walls," but this reading is a purely conjectural one which does not occur in any of the MSS. and the word "tubulatus" is not used in this sense by any other writer. All that can be said is that the emendation is a possible one.

In this respect, as well as in plan, the House of the Vestals is very like a Romano-British house.

Not only on the ground floor, but even upstairs, there are whole suites of rooms which have hypocaust floors, giving an amount of heated space which is far in excess of what was usual in Italy.

In some Romano-British villas more than half the rooms are provided with hypocausts.

In this respect also the Spoonley villa is a good typical example of its class. A reference to the plan will show how large a proportion of floor-space is heated, either with hypocausts or with horizontal smoke flues.

Moreover, in Italy, it is, as a rule, only in hot baths that we find the square flue-tiles, which were fixed against the walls and so caused not only the surface of the floor, but also the whole area of the wall to radiate heat.

But in Britain, as for example at Spoonley, we find many cases in which the wall flue-tiles are used not only in the baths, but also in the living rooms of houses, and in many other ways far greater care was taken to heat the houses in this country than those in Italy.

It had for long been a very doubtful question how the smoke from hypocausts and wall-flues was finally discharged into the air above the roof of the house. No existing Roman house is sufficiently perfect to solve the problem, but fortunately very clear evidence on this point is given by the Algerian mosaic picture mentioned above.

This shows a regular series of chimney-stacks, exactly like those we build now, rising above the roof, and each surmounted by a chimney-pot, or smoke-cowl, very clearly shown.

This shows us that the smoke, after passing up the walls in the various square flue-tiles, must have been collected in some horizontal or upward sloping channel, and so brought to a common exit in the chimney-stack.

As wood was the usual fuel, and what little soot there was would collect under the *suspensurae* of the hypocaust, there can have been no necessity for sweeping the wall-flues, a thing which must have been almost impossible.

In a few cases in Britain, as for example, in the villas near the Roman coal mines in the Forest of Dean, coal seems to have been sometimes used instead of wood to heat the hypocaust furnaces; in these cases it is probable that inconvenience was found to arise from the choking of the wall-flues.

In most places however in Britain (as in Italy) wood was the only fuel used by the Romans in their houses, and it was not till comparatively modern times that coal was used in the better class of houses.[a]

II. *Peculiarities caused by different local materials.*—The main differences in the construction of Romano-British houses as compared with those in Italy arose from the absence of the *pozzolana* (*lapis Puteolanus*), which, when mixed with lime, made the strongest and hardest concrete and cements, of the highest durability, and with perfect hydraulic properties.

Having to use the ordinary sands and limes of Britain, which make a very inferior kind of concrete, the Romans built their walls of stone or brick throughout, not of concrete merely faced with bricks, as in Italy.[b]

Thus, instead of triangular bricks, which were universally used in Rome, rectangular bricks were employed in Britain, and the wall was built of solid brickwork throughout, or else, more commonly, with two or three "lacing-courses" of brick at regular intervals in the height of stone walls.

When stone was used, either alone or with brick "lacing-courses," the blocks were usually not very large, and only the external blocks were squared more or less accurately and finally dressed on their exposed face. The internal mass of the wall was of rubble, very inferior in strength and cohesive power to the concrete of Italy.

Finely dressed ashlar was rarely used, as in almost all cases the surface of the wall was covered with stucco.

The character of the stone masonry of the Romans in Britain varies very much in accordance with the nature of the local stone.

In very few cases has stone been brought from any distant quarry, the Roman rule being always to use as much as possible the local materials.

[a] In the fourteenth century the evils of coal smoke were beginning to be felt, so that the citizens of London petitioned the king to prohibit the import of "sea-coal," on the reasonable ground that its smoke sullied the purity of the snow-white houses of London.

A few years later an Italian, who visited England on an embassy to the Court, wrote down in his notes that some of the English were so poor that they used "black stones" instead of wood for fuel.

[b] The Roman method of facing concrete walls with triangular bricks is described in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LI. p. 41 *seq.*

Considering this, the uniformity of the character and design of Roman work, wherever it is found, is very remarkable, and shows wonderful skill in the adaptation of very different local materials to the special Roman notions of what was desirable in a building.

On account of the inferiority of the concrete made with British materials we find that vaulted ceilings are much less common here; *contignationes* or wooden floors being used where concrete vaults would have been used in Italy.

And, partly owing to the weakness of the Romano-British rubble walls, it was far more common in this country to construct the upper stories of wood, probably overhanging the ground floor, as we see still existing in a few cases at Pompeii. The construction of wooden storeys with framed timbers filled in with two layers of "wattle and dab," and then covered with stucco, is described by Vitruvius.[a] The method employed was like that of many fifteenth-century timber houses in England.

These over-hanging timber storeys appear to have been called *maeniana*, the projecting joists on which the front wall rested were *contignationes pensiles*.

In Italy the roofs were usually covered with tiles of baked clay, or, in the more splendid palaces and temples, with slabs of white marble like those used by the Greeks, or with plates of bronze thickly gilded.

In south-west Britain the commonest form of roofing seems to have been slabs of the so-called "Stonesfield slate," cut in lozenge form and nailed with very large iron nails. The drawing of the Spoonley verandah gives the usual shape and arrangement of these stone slates.

This highly laminated limestone is found in a great many places in England.

One large quarry worked by the Romans was at Kineton Thorns in Gloucestershire, where long ranges of barrack-like stone sheds for the workmen have been found.

In some places in Britain clay tiles were used, like those in Italy, but they are comparatively rare.

The construction of hypocaust floors in Britain was modified on account of the inferior nature of the concrete of which the *suspensurae* were made. In Italy the pozzolana concrete was so strong that few *pilae* were needed to support the concrete floor, and, in some cases, the *pilae* were wholly omitted, the floor being then a solid slab of concrete, like a block of stone, supported only at its edges.

Again in Italy the *pilae* seem to have been always formed of baked brick, but in some parts of England, especially in Gloucestershire, bricks seem to have been

[a] II. x. § 20.

costly, and are very sparingly used. Thus at Spoonley, and at the fine villa at Chedworth, in the same county, nearly all the *pilae* are made of stone, in spite of the local stone being a soft oolite which has no great power of resisting fire.

At Chedworth some of the *pilae* are square monolithic pillars, with a very rough cap and base worked out of the same block, but it was more usual to build up the *pilae* of several courses of roughly squared stone; large slabs of stone were then laid on the tops of the *pilae* to receive the thick bed of concrete which formed the *suspensurae*.

In some cases these stone *pilae* and the inside of the furnace and stoke-hole were lined with *opus signinum* to protect the stone from the fire, which otherwise might have burnt it into lime. This was the case at Spoonley, as is mentioned above.

Another British peculiarity was the heating of floors, not with *suspensurae* resting on *pilae*, but merely by horizontal flues, like drains, running under the floors. These were built of rough stone, and the number of flues in each room varied according to the amount of heating power that was desired.

In some cases only one flue crossed the room, in other cases the flues were so numerous that nearly as much heating surface was given as if a regular hypocaust had been made.

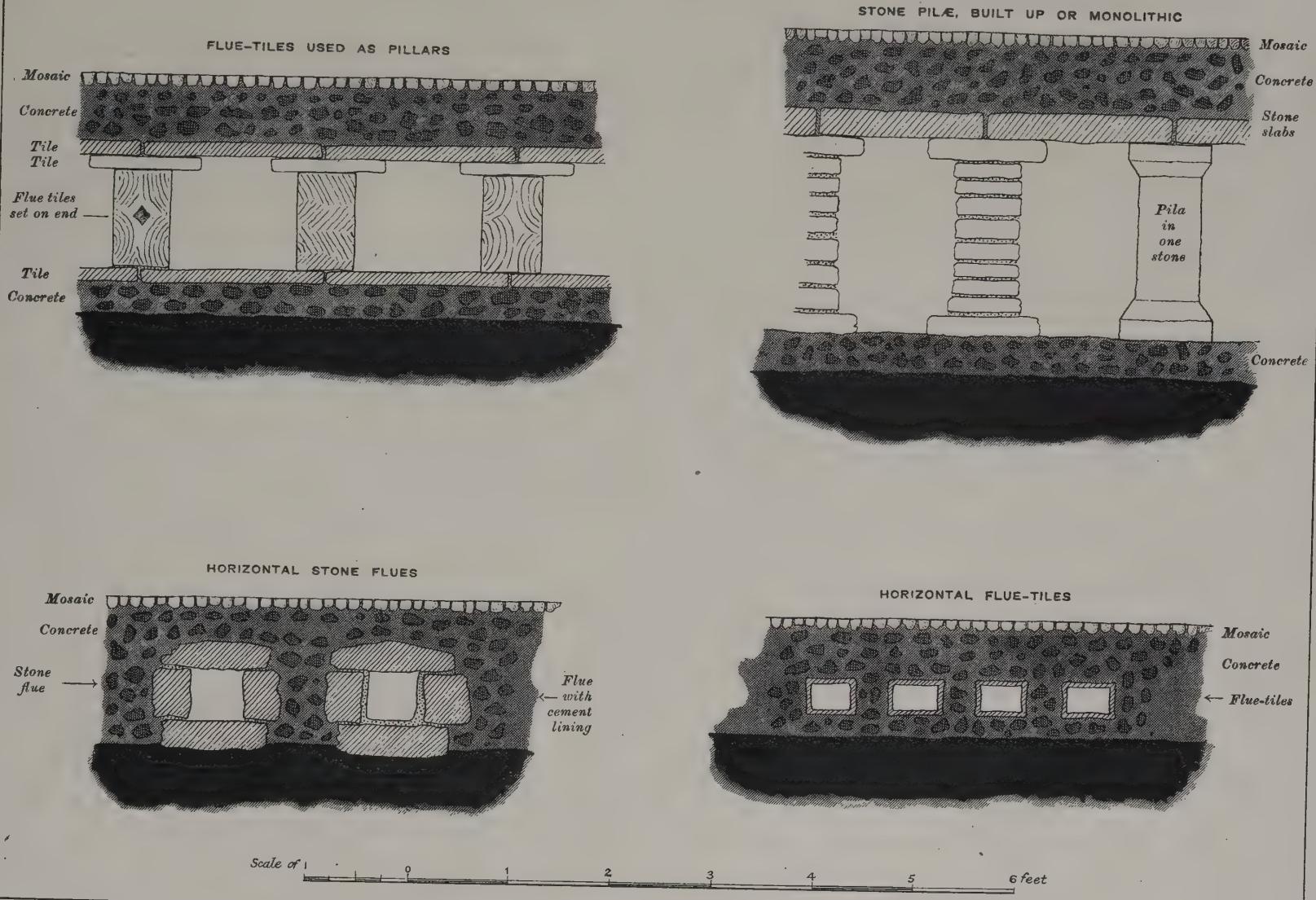
Another method occasionally used in Britain was to rest the concrete floor on rows of wall flue-tiles laid horizontally instead of vertically. The hot air from the furnace first passed under the floor along these flue-tiles, and then went upwards in similar flues set in their usual position against the face of the walls.

In a few cases, as, for example, at Bath, a very curious use was made of these flue-tiles, probably in places where they were specially abundant, that is, they were used as *voussoirs* for arches and vaults, for the sake of combined strength and lightness, just as concrete made of pumice-stone was used in the vaults of houses in Rome.

All the various ways of constructing hypocausts described above are shown in Plate XX.

Water supply.—In certain parts of Britain, especially in Shropshire and Somersetshire, the water supply to the houses and public baths was exceptionally complete.

In Italy lead was costly, as it had to be imported mostly from Britain or Spain, but in the neighbourhood of the rich lead mines in the Mendip hills and elsewhere lead was so cheap and plentiful that it was used in a much more lavish



FOUR METHODS OF CONSTRUCTING HYPOCAUST FLOORS USED IN ROMANO-BRITISH VILLAS.

way than in Italy for supply-pipes, cisterns, and even for lining large baths.[a] One of the large public baths at Bath offers a most remarkable example of this; it was wholly lined with great plates of lead, 10 feet long by 5 feet wide and about half an inch thick.[b]

The lead supply-pipes were larger and of thicker lead than is usual in Italy, and more of them were used.

Some British examples are as much as 14 inches in diameter, in these cases the pipe is rectangular in section, made of two plates of thick lead, one forming the bottom and sides of the pipe, while the other is a flat plate soldered across to form the top or lid of the large box-like pipe.

In most cases however the pipes are formed, like those in Italy, by bending a sheet of lead 10 feet long round a circular wooden core, which allowed the sheet to be hammered into circular or rather oval shape. The edges were then brought together and securely soldered.[c]

In British towns, as in Italy, large lead mains were laid under the paving of the streets, and rising mains branched off right and left to the houses, leading up to cisterns on the upper floors, from whence descending supply-pipes were laid on to various parts of the house, exactly like the modern system. Air-chambers were often introduced to diminish the risk of pipes bursting from the hydraulic pressure, the confined air acting as a spring.

A cubical lead box was usually placed at the point where the rising main to the house branched off from the main in the street; this seems rather a clumsy way of making a junction, but it apparently answered its purpose very well.

Very neatly made water-cocks and draw-taps of bronze were used, the *epistomiae adplumbatae* of Frontinus; the turn-cocks in the mains had moveable key-handles like those now in use. In the public baths at Bath the largest water channel, which was cut in stone, had a sliding bronze sluice-door working in a grooved bronze frame fixed in its place with lead; this regulated or wholly shut off the supply.

The draw-taps were very like those used in Italy, often formed in the shape of an animal's head, with handles either fixed or more often moveable; they are frequently very graceful in form, and are always very skilfully made and fitted so as to avoid leakage.

[a] In Italy pipes of clay or even of stone were frequently used for the water supply: Vitruvius calls these *tubuli*, and uses the word *fistulae* for lead pipes; see Vitr. VIII. vi.

[b] The whole of this lining was stripped off and sold by the Corporation of Bath for old lead; a quite inexcusable act of vandalism.

[c] See Vitruvius, VIII. vi. § 4.

Methods of decoration used in Britain were as much like those in Italy as the nature of the local materials would allow.

Almost the only sign of provincial influence is the general low standard of the Roman sculpture in Britain, and the peculiarities of the British mouldings, which are frequently very unlike those used in Italy.

The mouldings of the Spoonley verandah columns are a good example of this (see Plate XIX.), they are more varied and more delicate in execution than those of Italian houses.[a]

This is not however always the case with Romano-British mouldings; they are often very coarse and heavy, especially during the third and fourth centuries.

Stucco reliefs and mural paintings in Britain are very like those in Rome, and the general design of the mosaic pavements is closely similar in all Roman houses, whether the house is built in Britain, Gaul, Greece, Africa, Spain, or Italy.

The only difference is the use of British stone and burnt brick, instead of marble for the *tesserae*.[b]

In a few places imported marble has been found in Britain, both in solid blocks and in thin slices (*crustae*) for floors or wall linings, but this is quite exceptional; as a rule only local materials occur, especially in the private houses of the Romans.

The chief cases where marble has been found were in the "Basilica" at Silchester, which was, in part at least, lined with veneers of white Luna marble, and in some of the temples in the south of Britain, where solid blocks were used.

It seems strange that the richly coloured serpentines of Cornwall, and the alabaster of Derbyshire, were so little used by the Romans, who were usually keen to discover any new decorative material.

I have seen what was apparently Cornish serpentine among the ruins of the Flavian palace on the Palatine hill, but I know no example of its use in a Romano-British building.

A great deal more might be said about the construction and arrangement of Romano-British houses, but I believe the above brief notes give the main differences between the houses of the Romans in Britain and in Italy.

[a] There is a special interest in these Romano-British mouldings owing to their great likeness to many of the mouldings used in England by the Norman builders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A direct classical influence is clearly to be seen in many of these.

[b] See above the materials of which the Spoonley mosaics are made.

XXI.—*On the sculptured alabaster tablets called Saint John's Heads.*
By W. H. St. John Hope, *M.A., Assistant-Secretary.*

Read January 16, 1890.

Scattered up and down England in museums, churches, and private collections, are a number of small sculptured tablets or panels of alabaster, of which the principal feature is a head lying on a dish or charger, generally flanked by figures of saints and sometimes with other accessories.

These tablets have been more or less a puzzle to antiquaries for a long time, and various conjectures have been put forward as to the meaning of the subjects represented.

Most of the known examples bear traces of painting and gilding, and they appear to be of the same date, and many of them from the same workshop.

The earliest notice of these tablets that I have come across is that by Dr. Stukeley in his *Palæographica Britannica*, No. ii. published in 1746. Opposite page 52, he gives an illustration of one of these tablets, then in his possession, which he thus describes:

> I have some elegant pieces of old sculpture in alabaster, in *mezzo relievo*, which I take to have been portable or private altars high raised. one of them, has belonged to some chapel dedicated to St. *John Baptist*. It was given me by my worthy and learned friend, *Samuel Gale*, Esq; 'tis exactly a foot in height, below, is the whole figure of the *Baptist* in prison, his hands bound: above, his head in a charger, but of a larger size. the bare head is three inches and a half in height, incompass'd with saints and martyrs. the beard in both these figures, is represented short, broad, and even at bottom. for the readers curiosity the sculpture of it is here exhibited.

On November 12th, 1789, one of these tablets was exhibited to the Society of

Antiquaries by the Rev. John Pridden, who described it as representing "the head of St. John the Baptist on a discus and surrounded by five figures." This tablet is figured in Schnebbelie's *Antiquaries Museum*, published in 1791, and in Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*,[a] published in 1811; and in both cases is described as the head of St. John the Baptist.[b]

The next notice of these sculptures is in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824,[c] where the late Mr. J. B. Nichols, in a letter to the editor, takes exception to Mr. Pridden's description of the tablet exhibited to the Society in 1789, adding: "The foregoing will, I think, be found to be by no means the truth." After stating that he possesses two sculptures in alabaster of very similar design, he quotes a long letter from Dr. Meyrick, who gave him one of the panels, putting forward what he calls a "more correct account of the design" of the sculptures. Dr. Meyrick's theory was that "The Carving represents the Syrian legend of the image of Christ, which originated probably soon after the siege of Edessa in 540, and which asserts that Christ gratified the faith of King Abgarus by granting to him his picture, the perfect impression of his face on linen, his having invoked his healing power, and offered the strong city of Edessa to protect him against the malice of the Jews."

The theory put forth in Dr. Meyrick's letter was immediately challenged, also in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824[d] by the Rev. Edward Duke, the possessor of another of these tablets. Mr. Duke reviews the descriptions of the other tablets given by Nichols and Stukeley, as well as Dr. Meyrick's theory, and suggests that the sculptures were really intended to represent "*the personification of the Holy Trinity*, surrounded by saints, martyrs, and defenders." This theory he based on the idea that the central head is that of God the Father, that God the Son is typified by a figure in base, and God the Holy Ghost by a representation of the soul at the top.

The correspondence was continued by the owner of another tablet, who signed himself "T. A.," and by another writer under the initials "E. I. C." Both these writers urged that the central subject represented the Vernicle or image of Our Saviour's face.[e]

[a] Vol. iv. part ii. page 461.

[b] It is also engraved in Fosbroke's *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, published in 1825, but is there described as representing the Syrian legend of the head of Christ, a theory put forth by Dr. Meyrick in 1824.

[c] Part i. 397.

[d] Part ii. 209.

[e] *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824, part ii. 292, 293.

In 1850, the late Mr. John Gough Nichols contributed a valuable note on these tablets to the volume of *Bury Wills and Inventories* published by the Camden Society, in which he upholds the old theory that these carvings represent St. John's head, surrounded by figures of other saints.[a] I shall have to refer to this note again.

In 1855, our Fellow Mr. J. E. Nightingale exhibited to the Archæological Institute one of these tablets, which is described and figured in the *Archæological Journal* as the head of St. John the Baptist.[b]

In 1871, our late Fellow Mr. Albert Way communicated some remarks on these tablets to the Royal Archæological Institute, in a description of a sculptured image of St. John the Baptist found in Easton church, Hants. Mr. Way's remarks are as follows :

> Numerous small tablets of alabaster have been noticed and figured in archaeological works, and of these several have been brought before the Institute, in which various figures of saints are found introduced, mostly as accompaniments of a peculiar subject that has been regarded sometimes as the vernicle, or the *verum icon*, the head of our Lord, but which appears undoubtedly intended to represent the severed head of St. John the Baptist in a charger—the *caput Johannis in disco*—a subject of frequent occurrence in various works of an ornamental character, and amongst these upon seals and personal appliances. It may be here remarked that certain objects of this description have been regarded, it is believed with much probability, as having been associated with some special feeling of veneration connected with the *cultus* of St. John the Baptist.[c]

The latest contribution on the subject is a paper in the *Transactions of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society* for 1886, by our Fellow the Rev. J. Charles Cox, LL.D, describing an example belonging to the vicar of Findern, Derbyshire. Dr. Cox reviews the various theories already put forth, but accepts none of them, suggesting instead the entirely novel one, that the sculptures represent some version of the so-called "St. Gregory's Pity."[d]

We thus have five explanations of these carvings to consider :

1. That they represent the head of St. John the Baptist in a charger, with figures of saints, etc. ;
2. That the central subject is the image of our Lord's face given to Abgarus after the siege of Edessa ;

[a] *Bury Wills and Inventories* (Camden Society), 255. [b] *Archaeological Journal*, xii. 184.

[c] *Archaeological Journal*, xxix. 93.

[d] Since the present paper was written Dr. Cox has expressed to me his entire concurrence with my explanation of these sculptures.

3. That the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are represented;
4. That the central head and disc represent the vernicle, or imprint of our Saviour's face;
5. That the sculpture represents a variety of "St. Gregory's Pity."

This last theory has been worked out by Dr. Cox with much care and ingenuity, and, despite the fact that the so-called "St. Gregory's Pity" is invariably represented differently in English art, we might be disposed to accept it, had we not strong evidence in support of another explanation.

On the same grounds we cannot accept either of the two seemingly reasonable theories that the principal subject represents our Lord's face.

The theory that the three Persons of the Trinity are represented, though ingenious, will not hold, since several of the tablets have no third subject which can symbolize one of the three Persons.

The remaining theory, that the sculptures represent the head of St. John the Baptist in a charger, accompanied by figures of saints and other accessories, is, as I hope to show, not only the most likely, but one that is supported by very strong evidence.

In the cathedral church of Amiens is preserved as a most precious relic the front part of a human skull, brought thither from the East in 1206, and reputed to be part of the skull of St. John the Baptist. It heads the list of relics in an inventory of 1347, but is simply described as "caput beati Johannis Baptistæ."[a] The inventory of 1419 calls it "faciem beati Johannis Baptistæ," and describes it as set in a silver dish adorned with precious stones, and furnished with a jewelled cover, also of silver, in the form of a man's face.[b] The inventory of 1535 describes it in great detail as being enclosed in a covered vessel of gold, given by king Louis XI. (1461-1483), and adorned with divers jewels and pearls, all of which are enumerated.[c] The relic was in much the same state when Du Cange

[a] *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, x. 254.

[b] 1419. In primis habemus faciem beati Johannis Báptiste incastratam in pelvi argentea munita per ora lapidibus preciosis. videlicet. saphiris. smaragdis. granatis. thopasionibus et pellis. et in summitate faciei subtus cristallum sunt lapides incastrati saphiri et smaragdi et quinque grosse pelle. Item super dictam faciem est facies hominis de argento in qua sunt multi anuli infixi de auro et monilia sunt etiam alii plures lapides preciosi inter quos est unus grossus saphirus in fronte dicte faciei. et in dextera parte faciei ipsius est unus magnus camaheu cum facie hominis ligata ad modum Sarracenorum.—*Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, x. 277.

[c] 1535. Ung vaissel d'or de viij carres a quatre pietz avec le couverchel tout dor donne et offert a lhonneur de Dieu et monseig. St. Jeh. Baptiste par deffunt de bonne memorie le Roy Loys xj de ce nom pesant ensemble 1 marcz x unches.

published an engraving of it in 1665, in his *Traité historique du chef de S. Jean Baptiste*, which is reproduced in vol. xxv. of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

It is not necessary to enter at length into a history or description of the relic; I must, however, call attention to one feature.

Du Cange, in describing the relic itself, says:

Au dessus de l'oeil gauche est un petit trou en longueur, qui a donné suiet à quelques-uns de dire, que comme Herodias, suivant le rapport de Saint Hierosme, ayant reçeu la testle de Saint Precurseur, en perça de l'éguille de ses cheveux la langue, de laquelle ce Saint avoit repris

Aud. vaissel et couverchel sont quatre unches et deux estrelins dargent dore qui font la cloture du couverchel sur ledit vaissel lesquelz sont prisiez aud. poix pour x.

Item dedens ledit vaissel dor y a ung plat dor auquel repose le face du chef monseig. saint Jeh. Baptiste pesant xviij marcs deux unches et sur le bord dud. plat y a deux esmeraudes six saphirs deux amatistes deux topasses et trente deux perles en unze assietez les armes de France environnees de xiij perles et une petite esmeraude sur le couronne pesant xviij marcs.

Aud. grant vaissel dor sur led. plat ou repose ladite face y a ung visage enrichy de plusieurs pierres precieuses et deux chapiaulx dor ausquelz y a plusieurs pierres precieuses tant perles rubis saphirs que aultres petites pierres comme cy après sont specifiees. ladite face avec ses joiaulx qui y sont attachez pesant quinze marcs dor.

Au couverchel du dessusd. grant vaissel dor y pendent et sont attachies six agnus dor dargent lun grant lautre moyen blanc et les quatre aultres dargent dore avec affique dargent dore a ung gros doublet avec quatre perles.

Et primes en hault et au millieu de lad. face y a une fleur dor et six pampes emmailles de blanc et rouge au dessus ung escu couronne les armes de France en laquelle fleur a ung ballet prisie ix^{c}. ou mil escus.

Aupres de lad. fleur du coste dextre a ung gros saphir brut mis en or a quatre crampons lun pardevant a este prisie xxx escus.

Item en hault du coste dextre aupres dudit grant saphir a ung fort maillet garny de douze perles trois saphirs et ung ruby au millieu . . . . . .

Item au menton dudit chef pend une grande pieche dor en laquelle est emprint d'un coste un Eloy assiz soubz un pavillon et a laultre coste une saint Andrien.

Item une nostre dame en forme dun tabliau garnie de plusieurs perles a lentour.

Item du coste senestre aupres du ruby ballet ung catton dor garny dun grant saphyr.

Item un fort maillet dor garny de six grosses perles au millieu dudit maillet a ung ruby ballet et au dessus une pointe de diamant ou une fleur blanche.

Item une aultre fort maillet dor garny de douze perles quatre esmeraudes et au millieu un ruby ballet.

Au dessous du menton de ladite fache est ung sanctuaire de cristal qui se baise et est ou on fait les estanemens.

Item un noble a la rose—ung noble Henry—ung lyon—un real—un demy escu de Roy—ung philippus—un escu au soleil—ung demy noble Henry—ung petit tableau auquel est ung saint Jehan icelluy tableau garny de trois perles.—*Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, x. 350.

ses incestueux adulteres, elle luy en donna aussi dans les yeux, et que mesme elle porta le coûteau sur le sourcil.[a]

In confirmation of the story told by Du Cange, I exhibit a photograph of part of the magnificent carved screen on the north side of the choir-stalls at Amiens, begun in 1531, where in one of the panels Herodias is shown in the act of striking St. John's head with a knife over the left eye. Below the carving is the title:

> Le chef saint Ihan fut a table pose.
> Puis dun cousteau dessus loeul incise.

In an excellent description of these sculptures by MM. Jourdain and Duval,[b] particular attention is drawn to the incident of Herodias and the knife, and the writers add in explanation:

> L'os frontal qui constitue la majeure partie de la relique de S. Jean-Baptiste conservée dans le trésor du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens, paraît en effet percé au dessus de l'œil gauche comme par un coup de poinçon ou stylet. Le trou est de forme circulaire et peut avoir une ligne de diamètre.[c]

Now in most of the alabaster panels under notice the head has a deep oblique cut on the forehead over the left eye, and in one case this is indicated by painting. Since this can in no way be connected with the head of Our Lord, it is quite clear that it represents the place where Herodias is said to have struck the head of St. John with her knife.

I have no doubt many instances in illustration can be found, but it will suffice for my purpose to quote one.

Among the subjects embroidered on one of the splendid herse-cloths belonging to the Merchant Taylors' Company are four figures of angels, each holding a charger with the head of St. John Baptist, the patron saint of the Company. In each case the head has a bloody wound over the left eye, and on an accompanying scroll are the words:

CAPAT (*sic*) IOHIS BAPTEST (*sic*) · I̅ · DISCO[d]

[a] *Traité historique du chef de S. Jean Baptiste* (Paris, 1665), 135.
[b] *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, ix. 161.
[c] *Ibid.* ix. 228.
[d] See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. vi. 245.

But the fact of these sculptures representing St. John's head is placed beyond all doubt by one of the tablets before us, that belonging to Lord St. Levan. This has round the edge of the dish whereon the head lies traces of a black-letter inscription, of which the important words ſĉi iohis B are plainly visible on close examination. Another example has the head circumscribed: Caput ſancte 'iſtorie.

It should also be noticed that in the tablet belonging to the Rev. B. W. Spilsbury, the head is plainly shown with a severed neck.

I think it may now be taken as proved that the head is not that of Our Lord, but of St. John the Baptist.

That the head of St. John the Baptist in a charger was a favourite subject in medieval art in sculpture, seals, paintings, and personal and domestic ornaments is well known. An excellent example in stone may be seen in the east alley of the cloisters at Christchurch, Oxford, where it is carved on one of the keys of the vault. The head of St. John the Baptist also occurs on the thirteenth century seals of the prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England. Among the ornaments in the cathedral church of Exeter in 1327 were ten cushions embroidered with the head of St. John and five shields;[a] and "vj silver spones with Sancte John heddes of them" occur in a will of 1527-8.[b] The will of John Fell, chantry priest of St. William's altar in York Minster, dated 1506, contains an entry of special interest as connecting the St. John's heads with the famous relic at Amiens:

> To my lord Robert Wannop, abbot of Sanct Mary Abbay at York, to dispose aftur his mynd, a Sanct John Baptist heid of Amyas, liyng in a platur of tree, gyltid and gratid with stonys.[c]

There was also "a Saint John's hed of wood" in the misericorde of Westminster Abbey in 1540.[d] The splendid inventory of Henry VIII.'s jewels and plate in the Society's possession[e] also contains several rich examples of St. John's heads:

[a] 1327. Inventory of the cathedral church of Exeter.

Decem cervicalia, unde quatuor debilia, unum coopertum ex altera parte cum panno de samito, broudata cum capite Sancti Johannis et quinque scutis.—Oliver, *Lives of the bishops of Exeter*, 314.

[b] *Test. Ebor.* v. 237.

[c] *Ib.* iv. 244.

[d] *Trans. London and Middx. Arch. Soc.* iv. 357.

[e] MS.

Item a litell tablet of golde of Saynte Joħns Hedde (f. 139b).

Item an Image of saynt Joħns hedde set in a disshe of Agathe garnysshed w^{t} golde and set w^{t} divers small rubies (f. 195b).

Item Saynt Joħns hedde in a disshe of Agathe garnysshed w^{t} silver guilt and set upon a foote of silver guilte[a] (f. 196).

One of the companion volumes now in the British Museum also contains the entry:

Item a picture of Sainte Johns headde in a dishe of carthe.[b]

This was probably one of the painted terra-cotta tablets made in large numbers at Lyons about the end of the fifteenth century, of which an imperfect specimen is in the British Museum. It consists of a square frame, represented as jewelled and enamelled, enclosing a circular dish with the head of St. John the Baptist circumscribed:

INTERNAT · MVLIER · NO · SVRG · MA · IOħA · BAP.

(*i. e.* Inter natos mulierum non surrexit major Johanne Baptista.)

A cast of the central portion of one of these tablets was lately presented to the Society by our Fellow the Rev. J. T. Fowler, M.A.

I have also met with a Scottish example:

1542. Inventory of James V. King of Scotland.
Item sanct Johnis heid with ane perle.[c]

The following miscellaneous entries from inventories and other documents are interesting:

1446. Will of Joan, widow of Nicholas Blackburn of York citizen and mercer.
To her maid Joan Gray, a St. John's head with all its appendages.[d]

1453. Inventory of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.
An old pall for Saynt Johnys hedd.[e]

[a] One of these is doubtless the "litle Cup of Agath with a hed lying in it" among the effects of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, about 1540. *Misc. Gen. et Herald.*, iv. 5.

[b] *Harl. MS.* 1419 A. f. 133.

[c] *A Collection of Inventories and other records of the Royal Wardrobe, etc.* (Edinburgh, 1815) p. 66.

[d] *Test. Ebor.* ii. 19.

[e] *Ecclesiologist*, xx. 313. Probably the St. John's head was fixed up in the old chapel, as it is not mentioned elsewhere in the inventories.

1466. Inventory of Ewelme hospital, Oxon.

Item a Seynt Joñes hede, peynted with silver foill.[a]

1468. Inventory of Elizabeth Sywardby.

In the chapel:

De j capite Sancti Johannis Baptistae depicto iijd.[b]

1472. Will of John Baddesworth, rector of Laxton, Notts.

Communitati cantariarum (apud Suthwell) j magnum caput Sancti Johannis Baptistae in uno tabernaculo.[c]

1479. Goods of Henry Higgin of Nottingham, butcher.

Unum caput Sancti Johannis Baptistae, pretii vs.[d]

1499-1500. Goods of Nicholas Wildgoose of Nottingham.

j. cofera et vj. capita Sancti Johannis Baptistae valent viij d.[e]

1523. Will of John Drake of Rochester.

Item lege dompno Nicholao Dersingham monacho capud Sancti Johannis Baptistae.[f]

1524-5. Inventory of John Grene of York, glover.

A Sancte John hede ij s.[g]

1534. Inventory of the goods of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, in his palace at Rochester.

In the brode galary.

Item a saint Johnes hedde standing at thende of the altere.

Item a boke pontificall lying vnder the same saint Johnes hedde.[h]

1536. Letter from Anne Ronand (Madame de Bours) to Lady Lisle, March 24th.

Mentions that her daughter "sends you a little silver cup and a head of St. John to put in a cabinet."[i]

1538. Inventory of Grey Friars, Winchester.

ij seynt John headys ij d.[k]

1539. Will of Nicholas Metcalfe, archdeacon of Rochester.

Item I bequeth to Mr psone of Westhamfield the table of seynt Johñ baptist in the hall.[l]

1554. Inventory of Thurstan Tyldisley.

In the chapel at Myerscough,

One saincte Johns Hedde.[m]

[a] Napier, *Historical notices of Swyncombe and Ewelme*, 128.

[b] *Test. Ebor.* iii. 163.

[c] *Ibid.* iii. 202.

[d] *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, iii. 22.

[e] *Ibid.* iii. 72.

[f] *Rochester wills* (Somerset House), vii. f. 305.

[g] *Test Ebor.* v. 195.

[h] *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 2nd S. v. 297.

[i] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic* (Henry VIII.), x. 213.

[k] *Archaeologia*, xliii. 246.

[l] *Rochester wills* (Somerset House).

[m] *Lancashire and Cheshire wills* (Chetham Soc. xxxiii.), 112.

There can be little doubt that some of these entries relate to such alabaster tablets as those before us, although nothing is said about the material, nor any hint given of the design.

Fortunately one entry has been found which describes one of these tablets in terms which leave no doubt as to its identity with the St. John's Heads now under consideration; it forms the text for Mr. Nichols' admirable note in the Camden Society's *Bury Wills and Inventories.*[a]

By will dated September 2nd, 1522, Agas Herte of Bury St. Edmunds, widow, bequeaths *inter alia* to her son Richard Jaxson:

> a Seynt Johis hede of alabast w^t^ Seynt Pet and Seynt Thom^s^ and the fygur of Cryst, w^t^ a choche of red sarsnet and grene ffrengyd.

She also leaves to another person:

> a lytyll Seynt John's hed of alabaster w^t^ a scriptur, *Caput Sci Johis Baptiste,* w^t^ a clothe of golde w^t^ romayn letters of blacke weluet.[b]

The first example, it will be noticed, exactly describes several of the tablets exhibited, and it is within the bounds of possibility that one of them may be the actual tablet formerly belonging to Agas Herte.

The second example gives the complete inscription on the tablet already described as bearing the words "ſcī ioh̄is B."

The earliest notice I have found of a St. John's head of alabaster appears to be in an inventory of St. Kerrian's church, Exeter, 1417, which, after describing two images "de alabastre," mentions:

> unum discum cum capite Johannis Baptistae.[c]

but the fact of its being alabaster is not stated.

A will, dated 1432, of Isabella Hamerton of York, widow, contains an undoubted example. Among her bequests to Dan John Branthwate, chaplain, is:

> unum lapidem alabastri secundum formam capitis Sancti Johannis Baptistae.[d]

[a] Appendix, 255.
[b] *Bury Wills and Inventories,* (Camden Soc. 49), 115, 116.
[c] Hingeston-Randolph, *Register of Edmund Stafford* (bishop of Exeter), 483.
[d] *Test. Ebor.* ii. 23.

A St. John's head of alabaster was also among the ornaments of St. Katharine's chapel, Bridport, in 1473.[a]

An exceedingly fine example is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, consisting of the head only, with the hair and beard disposed in wavy curls. It is of fifteenth century date.

The alabaster, of course, came from the well-known pits at Chellaston, near Derby, now unfortunately almost exhausted, but which formerly yielded the whole of the material for the alabaster slabs and monuments to be found in various parts of England. It was even exported to France and elsewhere.

A number of documents have lately come to light which show not only the source of the alabaster, but that these St. John's heads were carved and painted in large numbers in the town of Nottingham. The documents referred to occur amongst the corporation muniments, and have lately been printed in the useful series of volumes entitled *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*.

The earliest of these documents is the record of an action brought on October 31st, 1491, by Nicholas Hill against William Bott for the value of fifty-eight St. John's heads, part of them in tabernacles and "howsynges," delivered to him to sell, and of which the said William will not render his account, wherefore the said Nicholas is injured, and has damage to the value of five marks, etc.[b]

In January, 1494-5, the same Nicholas Hill, described as an "alablasterman," or worker in alabaster, and elsewhere as an imagemaker, figures as defendant in an action brought against him by one Robert Tull, "husbondman," for non-payment of 12*d.* still due to him out of his wage of 3*s.* for carrying divers images and heads of St. John Baptist from Nottingham to London.[c]

In 1499, Nicholas Hill, "alablasterman," again appears as defendant in a suit brought against him by Thomas Grene of Beeston, "playsterer," for a head of St. John the Baptist, price 16*d.*[d]

We thus have proof of St. John's heads of alabaster constantly issuing from one workshop alone, for a period of at least eight years, of their being sent to London and probably elsewhere, and of so large a number as fifty-eight at a time being delivered to a salesman to dispose of.

In 1530, John Nicholson, "steynour," brought an action against John Cottyngham, "ymagemaker," for detinue of a St. John's head, and half a quarter

[a] *Hist. MSS. Commn., Appendix to the 6th Report*, 488.

[b] *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, iii. 18.

[c] *Ibid.* iii. 28.

[d] *Ibid.* iii. 499.

of gold, price 10*s*., which head had been delivered to Cottyngham to be painted, but had not been returned.[a]

In the same year William Walsh of Chellaston sued the same John Nicholson, "steynour," for 18*d*. due to him

> pro cariagio unius plaustrati lapidis de alabaster a Chellaston usque Notyngham.[b]

How far we are justified in assuming that the alabaster tablets before us were all produced by the Nottingham alabastermen and imagemakers,[c] I am not prepared to say. Their probable date agrees very well with the time when large numbers were being carved at Nottingham, and their curious general similarity of arrangement is suggestive of their issuing from one workshop or common centre.

The examples of these tablets that have come under my notice are twenty-seven in number, but four of these, as well as another doubtful example, are at present missing, and I have not been able to find any traces of them.

The tablets are all oblong in form, and range in size from $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 18 inches in length.

They may be divided into four classes:

A. In which the head alone occurs, with an accessory in base;

B. In which the head is flanked by two saints, and has an accessory in base;

C. In which other accessories are added at the top;

D. In which two more saints are introduced above the other pair;

The smallest tablets mostly belong to classes A. and B., and the largest to class D.

The central subject in every case represents the head of St. John the Baptist, lying on a plain round dish. In at least six of the tablets the cut in the forehead over the left eye is shown, and in another instance is represented by painting. Where the colour remains the eyes are depicted as open. The hair and beard are varied in treatment, and usually gilt; and the edge of the dish sometimes has a narrow band of gold or colour.

[a] *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, iii. 180.

[b] *Ibid.* iii. 182.

[c] Other Nottingham "alablastermen" and imagemakers, though not mentioned in connection with St. John's heads, were: Nicholas Godeman (1479), John Lingard 1495), Walter Hylton (1496), Thomas Hill (1499 and 1502), and Richard Starky (1529).

The dexter saint in tablets of classes B and C, and also of class D, where he always forms one of the lower pair, is in every instance I have seen St. Peter with a key and book. He is usually represented standing, but occasionally sitting, and he sometimes wears the triple-crowned tiara as bishop of Rome.

The sinister figure corresponding to St. Peter is in every case an archbishop, in albe, cope, and mitre, holding a cross and book. This is a usual way of representing St. Thomas of Canterbury. In an example figured by Stukeley, and now missing, the sinister figure is shown as St. Paul.

The accessory at the base of all four classes is either:

(1) A half-length figure of Our Lord standing in a tomb; or

(2) The Holy Lamb.

A solitary example has instead of either of these a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin with the infant Saviour.

The example figured by Stukeley has a whole length figure of Christ.

The figure of Christ is invariably represented as naked, and wearing the crown of thorns. The position of the arms is constantly varied, scarcely any two examples being alike; and the hands are either bound, or so disposed as to show the print of the nails, or to point to or hold open the wound in the side. In no instance is the right hand raised in benediction. The idea is clearly therefore to symbolize our Lord's Death and Passion, and not His triumphal Resurrection from the sepulchre.

The figure of the Holy Lamb conveys the same idea.

The accessory at the top in tablets of classes C and D consists generally of two angels holding up in a cloth, or in a pointed oval, a small naked figure to represent a soul.

In two cases an angel's head and wings occur, and in one instance a row of five angels.

One very fine example has the rare individual figures of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity.

In four of the six tablets of class D one of the upper pair of saints is St. Katharine, and two have figures of St. James the Great.

In such panels as retain traces of their original colouring the field is painted green, and diapered with groups of five white spots encircling a red spot. This peculiar device is characteristic of medieval sculptures of alabaster of the date of these tablets, which probably came from the same workshops.

The back of nearly all the tablets is flat, but roughly cut away for some reason at the bottom. They also all have two or more stumps of latten wire

fastenings run in with lead. This appears to have been the usual way of securing sculptured panels and images in position, and reference to it is occasionally found in churchwardens' and other accounts, as, for example, in those of Leverton church, Lincolnshire:

> For lattyn wyer for ye ymage of alybaster.[a]

Of tablets of type A only five examples are known: of types B and C seven and eight examples of each respectively; and of type D five, to which we may perhaps add a sixth. There is also a record of one very doubtful example.

It will be convenient to describe the several panels in detail before propounding any explanation of the meaning of the sculptures.

1. (*Type* A.) *John Parker, Esq. F.S.A.*

A "St. John's Head" of alabaster in the possession of John Parker, Esq. F.S.A. (½ linear.)

Height, 7 $\frac{13}{16}$ inches; width, 5$\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

This is the most simple in style and character of all the examples of these tablets that have yet been noticed; it also differs much from them in style and execution, and perhaps it is a little earlier in date.

It is, as usual, of alabaster.

The device consists of the head of St. John lying on a plain charger; with, below, a small figure of the Holy Lamb lying on a mount and looking up at the saint's head. The head has a short rounded beard, and long hair parted in the middle and hanging down on each side. There is no cut over the eye.

The back has the stumps of two latten wire fastenings run in with lead. Two of the corners as well as one side at the back have been cut or scraped away. This was probably done for medicinal

[a] *Archaeologia*, xli. 350.

purposes, as an example in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (No. 5, p. 17, *post*) bears an inscription stating that "powder of it is said to have done great service to sore eyes, especially where there was a white speck."

The panel under notice, like all the other examples, has been painted, but only very slight traces of the colour now remain.

2. (*Type* A.) *Stonyhurst College.*

Height, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

This is by far the smallest of these tablets that has yet come to light. It is as usual of alabaster, and retains a good deal of its original colouring.

The saint's head lies on a plain charger, 4 inches in diameter, with a narrow red edge, and has the hair parted in the middle and hanging down straight on each side. The beard is simply pointed, and with the hair bears considerable traces of gilding. The features are somewhat rubbed, but there seems to be a small cut over the left eye.

Immediately below the saint's head is the Holy Lamb, lying on a mount. Its head is somewhat broken.

The field and mount are painted dark green with the characteristic groups of five white spots round a central red one.

The back of the tablet is deeply scored with lines, and is cut away at the bottom. It has two lead plugs with ends of latten wire, one at the top, the other just below the middle.

3. (*Type* A.) *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

Height: $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

A very good example, preserving its original colouring, as well as its case or "housing." (Plate XXI. fig. 1.)

The head has the hair and beard gilt, over red-brown paint. The hair is disposed in five pointed locks across the forehead, but is straight at the sides. There is no moustache except above the corners of the mouth, and the beard is straight and apparently rounded. The eyes are painted as open, but there are no traces of the wound having been represented over the left eye. The dish is plain, with the edge painted red.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ issuing from the sepulchre, wearing a

heavy crown of thorns. The left hand is upraised, and the right pressed against the side; but there are no marks of the nails. The hair and beard are painted black. The tomb is quite plain; and on either side of it is a tree, perhaps in reference to its being in a garden.

There are no side figures.

The upper part of the field is covered with a gold diaper, but the lower part is painted dark green with groups of a central red and five encircling gold spots.

This panel retains its original case. It measures $11\frac{1}{8}$ inches long by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, but has unfortunately lost its doors, which opened in the manner of a triptych. They did not close flat, but, when the panel is laid on its back, they are like the two sides of a sloping roof, the top and bottom of the case being gabled. The inside of the case is painted dark green, but has at the top a sloping piece coloured yellow or gilded with a stellate pattern in lozenges. The outside is uncoloured, save at the top, which is painted red. The wire hinges of the doors remain, and on the back is part of a leather strap for suspension.

The case should be compared with the perfect example of precisely similar fashion belonging to the St. John's Head in the Leicester Museum (See No. 10).

4. (*Type* A.) *Beaumont College, Old Windsor.*

Height, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

This is an interesting example, but has unfortunately been broken into three pieces, one of which is lost and restored in plaster. The original colouring has also been more or less restored.

The head has the hair and beard disposed in wavy locks, now painted brown, but probably originally gilt. There is no moustache except over the corners of the mouth. The eyes are not now painted, and the wound on the brow is not shown. The dish is quite plain; it measures $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ in the tomb, holding up his left hand, and with the right touching the wound in the side. Round the head is a heavy dark-green torse. The hair bears traces of brown paint. The tomb is mottled in imitation of marble, and has on each side a conventional tree.

There are no saints at the sides.

The field is painted green with the usual groups of spots.

2

1

EXAMPLES OF "ST. JOHN'S HEADS."

1. ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD (No. 3).
2. RADCLIFFE COLLEGE, LEICESTER (No. 7).

The back of the panel is roughly cut away at the bottom, and has an upper and lower plug of lead with ends of the latten wire fastenings.

5. (*Type* A.) *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

A fragment only, measuring $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Part of the central subject remains, showing that the head had long spiral curls of hair, and that the beard terminated in two similar curls.

The *caput in disco* was held up by two angels kneeling on one knee. Only the sinister one remains. He is covered with gold feathers or scales, and has two pairs of wings, one on the shoulders, the other on the hips, painted red, with peacock's feathers.

In base is the Holy Lamb, couchant and regardant.

The field is powdered with groups of seven spots, the central one red, the outer white or gold, on a dark-green ground.[a]

Fragment of a "St. John's Head" of alabaster in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. ($\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

On the back is an inscription stating the sculpture to be a fragment of a representation of Saint John's head in a charger, etc., and concluding; "Powder of it is said to have done great service to sore eyes, especially where there was a white speck. Given by Dr. Huddesford, President of Trin. Coll. and keeper of y^{e} Museum Oct. 11. 1746. in whose family y^{e} whole formerly was."

It is possible that if complete this panel might belong to one of the more elaborate types.

6. (*Type* B.) *Rev. W. B. Spilsbury.*[b]

Height, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, 7 inches.

An almost perfect example, retaining its original colouring. (Plate XXII. fig. 1.)

The head lies on a plain dish, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with narrow gold border, and differs from all other examples in its peculiar pinched-up look, and in

[a] These do not show in the engraving.

[b] Vicar of Findern, Derbyshire.

showing the neck cut off. The hair is parted in the middle, and hangs down on each side, and the beard is full and rounded; both hair and beard are gilt. Over the left eye is a long deep cut. The eyes are shown open.

Below the head is the Holy Lamb, couchant and regardant, lying upon a closed book with red cover and gilt clasp and edges.

The dexter figure is St. Peter in white under-robe with gold border, and white cloak or cope,[a] edged with gold and lined with red. In his left hand he holds a closed book with blue covers and gilt edges, and in his right hand a large gold key. His hair and beard are gilt.

The sinister figure is an archbishop in an albe with gold border, and white cope edged with gold and lined with blue. The hair and the edges of his mitre are gilt. In his left hand he holds a long gold cross, and in his right a closed book bound in red, with gilt edges.

The back ground is painted dark green, upon which may be traced the usual groups of spots.

The back of the panel is flat, but chiselled away at the bottom. It has two holes one above the other, with lead plugs for wire fastenings.

This panel was purchased by the owner's great-grandfather at the sale of Sir Ashton Lever's museum.[b]

7. (*Type* B.) *Ratcliffe College, Leicester.*

Height, $9\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

An almost perfect example, with its original colouring. (Plate XXI. fig. 2.)

The head lies on a perfectly plain dish, $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, and has the eyes painted as open. The hair falls in three pointed locks over the forehead, and is wavy at the sides; the moustache issues from the upper corners of the mouth, and is long and curly, and the beard is partly divided into two short wavy curls. Both hair and beard have been painted some dark colour, and then gilt. Over the left eye is a deep cut.

Beneath the head is a half-length figure of our Lord standing in the tomb, wearing the crown of thorns and a loin cloth. The head is inclined to the right;

[a] There are some slight indications of this having been once coloured blue.

[b] A chromolithographed representation of this panel will also be found in the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, vol. viii.

1

2

EXAMPLES OF "ST. JOHN'S HEADS."

1. THE REV. W. B. SPILSBURY (No. 6).
2. BRITISH MUSEUM (No. 17).

the left arm with open hand, showing the nail-print, is extended downwards; and the right hand touches the breast. The hair, beard, and crown of thorns are painted black. The tomb has a moulded edge and base, and is painted blue, with groups of white spots.

On the dexter side of the panel is a tall figure of St. Peter, in a red robe with gold collar and border. His hair is also gilt. In his left hand he holds an open book, and in his right a large key.

On the sinister side is a tall archbishop in mitre, gold amice, albe, and blue cope. In his left hand he holds a long cross, and in his right a closed book with a spray of foliage on the cover.

The field is painted dark green, with groups of five white spots enclosing a red one. Above the dish the field is not coloured.

The back is flat, roughly cut away at the bottom, and has two lead plugs, one on each side, with the ends of fastenings of latten wire.

8. (*Type* B.) *The Right Rev. Bishop Butt, St. George's, Southwark.*

Height, 10 inches; width, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The head, of unusual breadth, lies on a plain dish, $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, with traces of a red border. The hair is parted in the middle and hangs down on each side. The moustache is long and curly, and the beard is disposed in two curly locks. Both hair and beard were gilt. There is no wound over the left eye.

In base is an elongated figure of Our Lord in the tomb, with black hair, beard, and crown of thorns, and girt with a red loin cloth. The head is slightly inclined to the right, and the arms are extended full length and crossed over the front of the tomb. The nail prints are not shewn. The tomb has a moulded top and base, and was originally coloured black.

On the dexter side is St. Peter, holding a closed book and long key. His hair was gilt, and his robes bordered with gold, and the outer one lined with red.

On the sinister side is an archbishop in mitre and choir cope, originally with blue lining. In his left hand is a tall cross, and in his right a closed red book with white spray on the cover.

The field above the head is plain, but below is coloured dark green with characteristic groups of spots.

The back is flat, cut away at the bottom, and has on each side a lead plug with remains of wire fastenings.

This panel formerly belonged to the Rev. Dr. Rock.

9. (*Type* B.) *The Very Rev. Canon Stokes.*[a]

Height, $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

An unusually fine and large, as well as perfect, specimen. (Plate XXIII. fig. 1.)

The head lies on a plain dish, $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter, and has wavy hair parted in the middle and curled back to the sides. The moustache issues from the corner of the nostrils, leaving the lips bare, and is long and wavy, as are the whiskers. The beard is full and wavy, and partly concealed by the figure in base. The hair and beard are gilt, the eyes are half-closed, and over the left eyebrow is an oblique cut. The features wear a pained expression, and are very carefully chiselled.

In base is a half-figure of Our Lord in the tomb, with the arms crossed in front. The crown of thorns is painted black, and the short beard and long wavy hair are gilt. The tomb has a deep hollow round it.

On the dexter side is a figure of St. Peter in a long girded robe, and cope or cloak once lined with red and edged with gold. His hair and beard are gilt. In his left hand is a closed book with dark green cover, and in his right a large gold key. His feet are bare.

On the sinister side is an archbishop in large mitre, plain albe, and cope, holding a long cross and book. The mitre, hair, cross, and the edge of the cope bear traces of gilding. The book and pointed shoes have been painted dark green.

The lower part of the field is painted dark green with the usual groups of spots. The upper part of the field is plain.

Across the top of the panel is a plain and massive double canopy, with embattled top and short round pinnacles. The coving has no ribs, but is painted red. The canopy itself has also traces of gold and colour.

The back of the panel is flat and has three lead plugs, one at the top and two at the bottom, for wire fastenings to fix it. It is also scratched with the names of former possessors, all apparently of seventeenth century date. Among them are:—"Thomas Warren fecit 1635," "William Lambert 1638," "Henry Brown 1640," "John Rodgers 1640" or 1649, "ffrancis ffryth 1642," "S. Hynam," etc.

[a] Weston Underwood, Olney.

1

2

EXAMPLES OF "ST. JOHN'S HEADS."

1. THE VERY REV. CANON STOKES (No. 9).
2. FORMERLY MISS KNIGHT'S, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (No. 22).

10. (*Type* B.) *Gloucester Museum.*

Present height, $7\frac{3}{8}$ inches; width, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

This example is unfortunately broken at the top, and its exact height cannot be ascertained. It has also been painted white, and all traces of the original colouring are thus obliterated; there are however signs of the usual groups of spots powdered on the field.

The saint's head lies on a plain dish $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The hair is parted into three locks on the forehead, and the beard is divided in the middle.

In base is a figure of the Holy Lamb, couchant on the ground, but its head has been broken.

On the dexter side of the panel is St. Peter with a long key and book; and on the sinister side an archbishop in albe, cope, and mitre, and carrying a cross and book.

The back is not cut away at the bottom, and has towards the dexter lower corner a lead plug with latten wire stumps.

11. (*Type* B.) *The Right Rev. Bishop Virtue, Portsmouth.*

Height, 10 inches; width, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

The saint's head is somewhat smaller than usual. It has no wound over the eye, and the hair is divided into pointed locks arranged round the head. The beard is short and slightly divided.

The charger is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and, unlike any other example, has been painted round the rim with groups of spots like those on the field.

Below the head is the figure of Christ in the tomb; the front of which he grasps with the left hand, while the right touches the wound in the side. The hair falls down over the shoulders and is encircled by a heavy torse.

On the dexter side of the panel is a tall figure of St. Peter holding a fragment of a key and an open book. His outer robe is lined with blue, and seems to have been painted red.

The sinister figure is the usual one of an archbishop in albe, cope, and mitre. The gloved right hand is raised in benediction, while the left holds a tall cross.

The whole of the panel has, as usual, been painted; the field dark green with groups of spots, and the hair of the three saints with gold.

The back is cut away at the bottom and partly up each side, and has two lead plugs with remains of the wire fastenings. The lower of these has been replaced by one of a pair of clumsy modern screws.

This panel was found lying on top of a beam in the cellar of a house at Waltham Holy Cross, but was unfortunately repainted by the person who discovered it. He afterwards gave it to the present owner, who removed the new paint, and was rewarded by finding beneath it the considerable traces of the original colour and gilding which may now be seen.

12. (*Type* B.) *St. John Baptist's church, Bristol.*

This example is known to me only from a coloured drawing in the Society's possession, by James Holland, F.S.A., described as a "Fresco painting in the church of St. John the Baptist, Bristol, 1828." Apart from the shading in the drawing, there can, however, be no doubt that this is one of the sculptured alabaster St. John's Heads.

The size of the tablet in the drawing is $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height and $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width. This is certainly not full size; but in the absence of any scale it is impossible to say how large was the original, which is unfortunately lost.

The saint's head lies on a round dish, painted grey with red sprigs, and has the hair parted off the face, and a short full beard. The hair and beard seem to have been gilt, as usual.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ in the tomb with his hands crossed in front of him. The tomb is coloured light brown, and mottled to represent marble.

On the dexter side is St. Peter with key and closed book, in a white undergarment, and cloak or cope of white with red lining.

On the sinister is an archbishop in mitre, plain albe, and white cope with gold border and red lining. He holds a long cross and closed book.

The upper part of the field is pale brown or deep yellow, with groups of five dark spots inclosing a red one. The lower part is painted dark green, with the usual groups of white and red spots.

Below the figures is a handsome double canopy of open tracery with embattled cresting. The set-offs of the pinnacles are coloured alternately red and green.

Behind the tracery the ground is dark green. The coving of the canopy is painted red with a lozengy pattern in yellow.

On comparing the drawing with the fine tablet from Amport church (see No. 25) it will be seen that the two tablets are by the same hand. The canopy is exactly similar in design and colouring, and it is possible that, as in the Amport example, the Bristol canopy was on a separate piece of alabaster, and is wrongly placed (as drawn) below instead of over the panel.

Nothing is known of the whereabouts of the panel, which is not preserved in the church.

13. (*Type* C.) *Rev. W. K. Chafy-Chafy.*

Height, $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width, $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

An interesting and originally very fine example, forming a transition from type B to type C. It has unfortunately greatly perished through long burial in moist ground.

The saint's head lies on a flat dish, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and has the hair hanging down at the sides. The moustache is long, and the beard is forked, with the ends turned slightly outwards. The forehead and other features are decayed.

In base was a figure of the Holy Lamb couchant, beneath some sort of canopy.

On the dexter side is a sitting figure of St. Peter in albe, chasuble, etc., wearing the triple-crowned mitre. His hands, and the objects held by them, have perished.

The sinister figure is a seated archbishop in cope, with mitre and cross.

Above, on either side, is the figure of an angel, unfortunately much mutilated, holding the dish on which the saint's head lies.

All remains of colour have perished.

This panel is now framed.

It is said to have come from the site of Pershore abbey, and has certainly been exposed to long-continued moisture.

14. (*Type* c.) *Leicester Museum.*

Height, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

This is a very fine example, with its original painting and gilding in good preservation. (Plate XXIV.)

The saint's head lies on a plain charger, $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter, with the edge painted red. The eyes are shown as open, and in the centre of the forehead is painted a bloody gash from which streaks of blood descend on each side of the nose. The hair is parted in the middle and disposed on either side of the face; and, with the beard, is thickly gilt.

In base is a half-figure of Our Lord in the tomb, the front of which he grasps with the right hand; the left hand is uplifted. Round the head is a torse from which issue drops of blood, and the hair and beard are gilt. The wound in the side is indicated with red paint. The tomb is painted light brown with black drops.

On the dexter side of the panel is a figure of St. Peter, clad in a white robe with gold borders and buttons, and a white cloak edged with gold and lined with red. The saint holds a large key, and a black book with gilt edges. His hair and beard are also gilt.

The sinister figure is, as usual, that of an archbishop in white mitre with gold orphreys, amice, albe with gold border and three large red buttons down the upper part, and white cope with gold border and red lining. In the left hand is a tall gold cross with spirally painted staff, and in the right hand a closed book.

Above the saint's head appears a cherub's head and outstretched wings, the hair and wings being gilt; and over this, again, is a flat canopy with gold battlements and powdered with black spots.

The field is painted green, and is without the usual spots.

The back of the panel is quite flat, with two lead plugs with ends of latten wires.

This example is specially interesting from preserving entire its original case or housing.

This is an oaken box, 12 inches high and $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches across, with sloping sides and double doors. The top and bottom are not carried straight across, but rise from the sides to the centre, so that the closed doors, when the panel is laid on its back, resemble the gabled roof of a house. The outside of the case is quite plain,

14. (*Type* c.) *Leicester Museum.*

Height, 9½ inches; width, 6⅝ inches.

preservation. (Plate XXIV.)

The saint's head [illegible] on a plain charger, 4⅞ inches in diameter, with the [illegible] painted red. The eyes [illegible] and in the centre of the fore[illegible] [illegible] descend on each side of the [illegible] other side of the face; [illegible]

[illegible] hound the head is a circle of [illegible] issue drops of blood, and the hair and beard are gilt. The wound [illegible] drops.

[illegible] and beard are also gilt.

The sinister figure is, as usual, that of an archbishop in [illegible] amice, alb with gold border and three large red buttons [illegible] and white cope with gold border and red lining. In the left [illegible] [illegible] and in the right hand a cl[illegible]

[illegible] appears a crozier's head and outstretched [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] cross.

This example is specially interesting from [illegible]

[illegible] oaken box, 12 inches high and [illegible] doors. The top and bott[illegible] the ends to the centre, so that the closed doors [illegible] the gabled roof of a house. The outside of the [illegible]

A "ST. JOHN'S HEAD" OF ALABASTER.
IN THE LEICESTER MUSEUM, WITH ITS ORIGINAL CASE (No. 14).
($\frac{1}{2}$ *linear*)

but the inside still retains its original painted and gilded decoration. The top, sides, and bottom are white, with black and red leafwork; and a similar pattern is painted on a wooden block upon which the tablet stands. The doors are painted with an upper and a lower panel, divided by a broad strip with black and red leaves on a white ground and bordered, as are the doors, with red. The panels are painted green, with red cusped tracery, and have in the centre a gold ring of gesso work with slightly raised bosses. On the dexter door the upper ring contains a white rose on a black ground; and the lower ring a gold star or estoile of eight straight and as many wavy rays on a red ground. On the sinister door the star is in the upper panel and the rose in the lower. These devices possibly represent the white rose and blazing sun of the House of York.

The back of the case is of modern deal, and the original wire hinges have been replaced by others of brass.

Nothing appears to be known of the history of this example, nor does there seem to be any record of how the Leicester museum came by it.

15. (*Type* c.) Penes *T.*[*homas*] *A.*[*dderley*] *in* 1824.

This example is missing.

It is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824,[a] by "T. A." who purchased it about fifty years before at a sale of the effects of the Rev. Mr. Wickham, of Horrington, Somerset.

The head of the saint he describes as corresponding exactly with the engraving of Mr. Nichols' example on page 209.

The flanking saints were St. Peter and the archbishop.

In base was the Holy Lamb and at the top the head of an angel (probably as in the Leicester example).

16. (*Type* c.) *British Museum.*

Total height, 14 inches; width, 6 inches.

The saint's head lies on a plain circular dish with, originally, a narrow red edging, and has the hair arranged in short curly locks round the head; the

[a] Part ii. p. 292.

beard is short and rounded, and, together with the hair, was at one time gilt.

The wound over the left eye is plainly shewn.

The figure of Christ in base is, as usual, shewn as issuing from the tomb, the edge of which is grasped by the left hand, while the right is placed against the wound in the side. The long black hair falls over the shoulders and is encircled by a heavy dark-coloured torse.

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side of the panel is vested in a girded albe, and cope with red lining. In his hands are the key and book. His hair and beard are gilt.

The archiepiscopal figure on the sinister side is habited in amice, albe, and white cope edged with gold and lined with red, and holds in his right hand a book and in his left a tall gold cross.

At the top of the panel are two angels issuing from clouds painted red. They are clad in albes and have red wings with eyes thereon like peacock's feathers. The angels hold between them a napkin from which issues a human head. The background to this is gilt.

The field of the panel is painted green, with the characteristic groups of red and white spots, which in this example are rather larger than usual.

The back of the panel is apparently cut away at the bottom, but the hollow is now plastered up. There is also one of the lead plugs for latten wire towards the upper part of one side.

To the bottom of this panel there is attached by plaster a block of alabaster with embattled top and simple bands down the middle and at the sides. It is slightly hollowed beneath, and is clearly a plain canopy for the panel now wrongly attached to the base. The mouldings bear traces of gilding, and the battlements were picked out with red.

This example originally belonged to Mr. J. B. Nichols, F.S.A. and is one of the two referred to by him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824.[a]

17. (*Type* c.) *British Museum.*

Height, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

This interesting example (Plate XXII. fig. 2) was formerly in the possession of the late Mr. J. B. Nichols, F.S.A. and is one of the two referred to by him in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824,[b] where it is also figured.[c]

[a] Part i. page 397. [b] Part i. page 397. [c] Part ii. page 209.

The saint's head lies on a plain dish with gilt edge, and has the hair and beard disposed in corkscrew curls, which bears traces of gilding. There is no cut on the forehead.

In base is a figure of the Holy Lamb, couchant to the dexter.

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side represents him as a pope in amice, girded albe, fanon, and white cope edged with gold and lined with red, and wearing the triple crown or mitre. His beard is gilt and in his hands are a book and key.

The archbishop on the opposite side wears an albe, and white cope lined with red, and holds in his left hand a tall cross.

In the upper part of the panel are two angels with gilt hair and red wings with white "eyes," holding between them a cloth or bag, from which issues a small human figure with gilt hair.

Over all is a projecting tester or canopy with embattled edge, and painted with black stripes on top. The under side is splashed with black.

The field of the panel is, as usual, painted green with groups of white and red spots.

The back of the panel is slightly cut away at the bottom, and has two lead plugs for wire fastenings, one on each side. At the sides the alabaster has been scraped away somewhat, probably for medicinal purposes.

Below the panel there is now a modern block of soft deal cut in imitation of the canopy fixed to the base of the last-mentioned example.

18. (*Type* c.) *Salisbury Museum.*

Height, $10\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, 7 inches.

This example has unfortunately been damaged at the top, and the colouring has all perished.

The head of St. John the Baptist lies on a plain dish, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and has the hair parted off the face in small wavy curls. The moustache is long and drooping. The beard is nearly covered by the figure of Christ below.

Our Saviour is represented from the waist up issuing from a long tomb. The hair is bound with the crown of thorns and falls over the shoulders, and the hands are extended on each side to show the nail-prints

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side is represented in a girded robe and cloak, and holding a large key and book.

The opposite figure is the usual one of an archbishop in mitre, albe, and unclasped cope, holding a book and long cross.

Both figures had the outer vestment lined with red.

At the top of the panel are two angels issuing out of clouds, and holding up a large pointed oval with an erect naked figure of a soul therein. The angels' wings have been painted red; their heads have been broken off.

The back of the panel is flat, with the usual rough chopping away at the bottom, and has two lead plugs for wire fastenings.

Engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, xii. 185.

Presented to the Salisbury Museum by J. E. Nightingale, Esq. F.S.A.

19. *(Type* c.*)* *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

Height, $11\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

A fine example, preserving much of its original colouring.

The saint's head lies on a plain dish, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, with traces of an illegible black-letter inscription round the rim, and has the hair parted in the middle and hanging down straight on each side. The moustache appears only above the corners of the mouth, and the beard is formed of two portions each turned outwards, but apparently not divided. The eyes are open, and there is no cut on the forehead.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ with long hair and short beard, wearing the crown of thorns and standing in the tomb, the front of which he grasps with both hands.

The central subject is flanked by two saints; on the dexter by St. Peter in a blue robe, and holding a key and book; on the sinister by an archbishop in a red cope, with cross and book.

Above are two angels, unfortunately headless, with red wings, holding up a pointed oval with a naked soul.

The background of the panel is painted dark green, with groups of five white and central red spots.

20. *(Type* c.*)* *Rouen Museum.*

This example, although now in France, is clearly one of this series of English sculptures.

It has the head of St. John Baptist on a dish in the centre, with the figure of Christ below, and across the top a row of five angels.

The flanking saints are St. Peter and the archbishop.

21. (*Type* D?) *Formerly in the possession of David Wells, Esq., F.S.A.*

Height, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches; width $5\frac{7}{8}$ inches.[a]

Exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on November 12th, 1789, by the Rev. John Pridden, F.S.A., and described by him as

An antique piece of sculpture in marble, an ICUNCULA composed of various figures in alto-relievo and grouped together without any meaning, unless it was to represent the tutelar saints belonging to the Family original Possessor of it. In the middle is placed the head of St. John the Baptist on a discus and surrounded by five figures the head of St. John is considerably larger than the figures; on the dexter side is a whole length figure of St. Peter holding a key in his right and a book in his left hand, and over him is a half length figure of St. Catherine with a wheel in her right hand; on the sinister side is another whole length figure mitred &c, and supposed to be an archbishop from his holding a pontifical cross in his left hand instead of a Crozier, the crosier only being appropriated to Bishops and Abbots. the half figure over this is broken off and nothing remains but the left hand, at the bottom and between St. Peter and the archbishop is a figure of a Person rising out of a tomb, the head gone intended for Lazarus there being no traces of a nimbus. The whole of this group has been painted, and the cross on the archiepiscopal staff gilt. This last piece of sculpture is accompanied with a drawing, the size of the original, and which represents a facsimile, it was preserved for many years as a curiosity in the mansion house of a respectable family in Staffordshire, and most probably was originally placed in some small chapel or closet oratory. It now . . . . forms part of the Collection of David Wells of Burbach in the County of Leicester Esq.; a Gentleman well known for his literary talents, and antiquarian researches.[b]

This panel is engraved by Schnebbelie in his *Antiquaries Museum*, published in 1791, and also by Nichols in his *History of Leicestershire*.[c] Nichols says it was exhibited to the Society in 1789 by Mr. Wells, who communicated the following description of it:

It is inclosed in a box, or tabernacle, with double doors, after the old manner of pictures, the better to preserve it from injury and dust, to be opened and shut occasionally. Such representations were formerly often placed in small oratories or chapels. The middle figure is the head of St. John the Baptist on a discus, etc.

The rest of his description is to the same effect as that in our minute book.

[a] These dimensions are from the engraving given by Nichols, which appears to be full size.

[b] Minute Book, xxiii. 177.

[c] Vol. iv. part ii. page 461.

Mr. Wells died without issue in 1790, when his property descended to his nephew, who sold it in 1795. Since then the tablet has been lost sight of.

The plate engraved by Nichols also appears in Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*,[a] published in 1825, where it is described as representing the Syrian legend of the image of Christ, a theory first suggested by Dr. Meyrick in a letter to Mr. J. B. Nichols, printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824.[b]

This tablet is of the same character as others of the series, and has the field diapered with the usual groups of spots. The figure of Christ in base has the bands crossed in front of the body. The head of St. John has the head parted off the face and the beard divided. The original tablet has evidently suffered considerable injury, especially at the top, and it is doubtful whether it belongs to type D or is an example intermediate between that and type C.

It is possible that this example may be the one described in the following note, for which I am indebted to J. E. Nightingale, Esq., F.S.A.:

Copy of a Note of mine in *Catalogue of the Manchester Exhibition*, 1857.

"Alabaster St. John—same size as mine—more in relief—heavier art, more German—figures the same, with two saints, St. Catherine and St. Peter—a deep gash cut in St. John's forehead—a canopy placed over but not attached, might be different work—faces generally ugly—charger distinctly seen—called a 'Tryptic' (it has wings in wood), labelled,

'German or Flemish, late 15th cent^y.'

HENRY BOWDEN, Esq."

No particulars given in Catalogue. J. E. N.

22. (*Type* D.) *Miss Knight.*[c]

Height, $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches; width, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

This is an almost perfect example, but has been denuded of all its original colouring. (Plate XXIII. fig. 2.)

The head of St. John the Baptist is represented lying on a plain round dish, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, with the hair arranged in pointed curls across the forehead and at the sides of the face. The moustache is long and drooping, and the

[a] Vol ii. page 683.

[b] Part i. page 397.

[c] This example has since been acquired by the British Museum.

beard is short and disposed in two wavy curls. There is no cut over the left eye.

In base is the figure of Christ in the tomb. The hands have the nail-prints, and are bound with a cord in front of the body. The head has long hair bound with a torse as the crown of thorns, and is inclined to the right. The tomb has plain mouldings round the top and base.

The dexter figure is, as usual, that of St. Peter, in girded albe and choir cope, holding a large key and closed book.

The sinister figure is that of an archbishop, with mitre, albe, and choir cope, holding up a book in his right hand and in his left a long cross. The staff of this had the part below the hand made of a separate piece of alabaster, now lost.

Over St. Peter is a figure in gown and tippet holding a closed book, and in his right hand a staff. The head of this is broken, and it is therefore difficult to identify the saint.

The opposite figure is that of St. James the Great as a pilgrim, with a shell on the front of his hat, and holding a book and bourdon.

Over the head of St. John are two small angels with long hair, holding up a pointed oval formed of rays, on which is a small naked figure with long hair of the fashion prevalent in the reign of Edward IV.

The back of the tablet is flat, cut away roughly at the bottom, with two lead plugs for the wire fastenings down the centre line.

23. (*Type* D.) Penes *Rev. W. Stukeley, F.S.A., in* 1746.

This example is known only from the engraving of it, already mentioned, in Stukeley's *Palæographica Britannica*, published in 1746.

It is described as exactly 12 inches in height, which gives the width, according to the drawing, as 7 inches.

The head of St. John the Baptist lies on a plain charger, and has the hair shown as hanging straight down.

In base is a whole-length naked figure of Christ sitting on a rock, or some such seat, his hands bound with a long cord, and a torse round the head.

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side has the triple crowned mitre as bishop of Rome. He holds in the left hand a model of a church with a spire, and in his right a key.

The sinister figure represents St. Paul with open book.

Above St. Peter is St. Katharine, crowned, and holding a spiked wheel and sword; and above St. Paul, a crowned figure of St. Margaret with long cross and open book.

At the top of the panel are two angels issuing from the clouds, and holding between them a pointed oval with a naked figure therein.

It is much to be regretted that this panel cannot be found. It will be seen to differ from other examples (1) in the representation of the figure of Christ as whole length, instead of in the tomb, and (2) in having St. Paul in place of the archbishop.

Mr. J. G. Nichols, in his note in *Bury Wills and Inventories*, suggests that the figure of St. Paul is "probably the draughtsman's misapprehension, from the crosier of St. Thomas having been broken in the original."[a]

24. (*Type* D.) *Rev. Edward Duke.*[b]

Height, 12½ inches; width, 8 inches.

This is a very good example, but has lost every trace of its colouring.

The saint's head lies on a plain dish, 6¼ inches in diameter, and has the hair disposed in pointed locks round the face. The moustache and whiskers are curled, and the beard is divided into two large curls. There is no cut on the forehead.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ in the tomb, wearing a crown of thorns, represented as a torso, and a loin cloth. The hair falls over the shoulders. The left hand is broken off, but the right is shown holding open the wound in the side. The tomb is plainly moulded, and placed obliquely.

The figure of St. Peter on the dexter side is represented in gown and long cloak or cope, and holding a closed book and key.

The sinister figure is, as usual, that of an archbishop in mitre, ungirded albe, and cope, holding a long cross. The right hand, now broken off, was raised in benediction.

Above St. Peter is a figure of St. Katharine, crowned, and holding a wheel and sword.

[a] *Bury Wills and Inventories* (Camden Society, 49), 255.

[b] Lake House, Salisbury.

The opposite figure is that of St. Dorothy. Her hair is long and encircled by a fillet. In her right hand is a basket of flowers, and in the left a spray of three roses on one stem.

At the top of the panel are two angels issuing from clouds, and holding up between them a pointed oval, on which lies a small naked figure with long hair. This perhaps represents the soul of the lady who originally owned the tablet.

The panel is now affixed to a thin slab of slate.

Engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1824, part ii. page 209.

25. (*Type* D.) *Amport church, Hants.*

Height, 18 inches; width, 9½ inches.

This very fine example is not only quite perfect, but it retains the whole of its original colouring in an unusual state of preservation. (Plate XXV.)

The tablet is formed of two separate pieces: one, 14 inches high, with the sculptured head and figures; the other, 4 inches high, is a handsome canopy.

The saint's head has the hair disposed in three pointed locks on the forehead, with two long wavy locks at the sides. The moustache is short but wavy, as are the whiskers. The beard is divided into two forked wavy curls. The hair and beard are thickly gilt. The eyes are painted with blue irises, and open; the lips and eyebrows are also painted. There is no cut on the brow.

The dish under the head is 6¼ inches in diameter. It has the edge painted red, and round the rim is the inscription:

+ Caput —— + —— fancte ⌟
'istorie +

which may be translated:

The head of holy writ.

In base is a half-length figure of Christ in the tomb. The eyes are painted blue; the hair and beard are gilt, and a dark green torse encircles the head, which inclines to the right. The right hand appears to grasp the flesh of the lower part of the chest; the left hand grasps the front edge of the tomb. The body is quite naked, with the exception of a loin cloth edged with blue. The tomb is placed obliquely, and is painted black with white drops.

The dexter figure represents St. Peter in white robe and mantle, both bordered with a gold band edged with blue; the mantle is lined with red. The hair and beard are gilt. In the left hand is a dark blue book with a white leaf pattern and gilt edges, and in the right hand a gold key.

The opposite figure is that of an archbishop in plain gold-edged mitre, albe, and white cope. The vestments are bordered like St. Peter's, and the cope lined with red. In the left hand is a tall gold cross with dark-coloured staff. The right hand, which is covered with a white glove with blue tassel, is raised in benediction.

Above St. Peter is a crowned figure of St. Margaret, holding in her right hand a large gold cross-staff, and in her left a book bound in red with white leaves and gilt edges. The hair and crown are gilt.

The figure over the archbishop is that of St. Katharine, crowned, and holding in her right hand a spiked wheel, in her left a sword. The hair and crown are gilt. The wheel is painted dark brown. The sword has a green hilt with white lattice-pattern and gold pommel and quillons; the sheath is coloured green with a white twisted pattern, and white lines along the edges.

Both St. Margaret and St. Katharine have white dresses laced up the front with blue, and white mantles edged with gold and lined with blue.

Above the head of St. John are two demi-angels in white albes and amices, and red wings with eyes like peacocks' feathers. Between them they hold up a white cloth edged with red, in which is the bust of a small figure to represent a soul.

The field has the lower half painted green, with characteristic groups of spots and white branches; the upper half is coloured deep yellow with red branches, and at the top has a narrow black engrailed border.

The canopy consists of three panels of pierced tracery, with intermediate pinnacles. These have little gilt gables, the set-offs alternately green and red, and pendants painted brown. Across the top is an embattled cornice decorated with blue, red, and gold. The under-part of the canopy is a coving painted red with yellow strips in imitation of ribs; the interspaces have white branches.

This tablet is said to have been found in a house at Amport some twenty or thirty years ago. It is now cemented to a black marble slab, and fixed to the wall in the south transept of the church over a fire-place in the Marquess of Winchester's pew.

A "ST. JOHN'S HEAD" OF ALABASTER.
IN AMPORT CHURCH, HANTS (No. 25).
(½ *linear*).

26. (*Type* D.) *Lord St. Levan.*

Height, $14\frac{5}{8}$ inches; width, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

This example as a work of art is certainly the finest of these tablets. It is also of interest as presenting several unusual features. The colouring has almost entirely perished. (Plate XXVI.)

The saint's head has the hair disposed in pointed locks across the face and at the sides, and the beard is divided into two wavy locks. The hair and beard were gilt, and the eyes painted as open. There is no cut over the eye. The dish is 6 inches in diameter, and originally had a narrow red border. It also bore the inscription in black-letter:

[Caput] ſci iohis B[aptiſte]

Instead of the Holy Lamb or figure of Christ in base, this example has a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin, crowned and holding in her left hand a sceptre, with the infant Christ on her knee. The Saviour holds in his left hand an orb, which he is touching with his right as if blessing it. His head, which was worked separately and fixed by a wooden peg, is lost. The colour of Our Lady's gown cannot be ascertained, but its lining was certainly red. Her mantle or over-garment was wholly red. The hair, crown, and sceptre were gilt.

On the dexter side of Our Lady is a sitting figure of St. Peter with closed book and key. His hair and beard have been gilt and the book painted red.

On the sinister side is a sitting figure of an archbishop, in mitre, albe, gold amice, and cope with gold border. In his left hand is a long cross; the right is raised in benediction. His gloves have blue tassels.

The figure above St. Peter is that of St. Christopher carrying Our Lord across the water. He wears a cap, an outer robe lined with red and edged with gold, and holds in his right hand a branch of a green tree, which is broken. The hair is gilt. With his left hand he upholds the infant Saviour, who has an orb in his left hand, and his right raised in benediction.

The figure opposite is that of St. James the Great, in pilgrim's hat with shell in front, and holding a book and staff, the latter is unfortunately broken. His hair was gilt, and the book and lining of his outer garment painted red.

At the top are the half-length figures of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity,

represented as bearded, with long hair, and gold crowns; the hair and beards are also gilt. At the back of each figure is a large flat disc or nimbus, with traces of red colouring. The figure of God the Father, on the sinister side, has the orb in the left hand; the right was raised in benediction, but is broken. The figure of God the Son, on the dexter side, has the left hand upraised, and the right grasping a cross staff, which is mutilated. He also has a torse round the temples, to represent the crown of thorns. The central figure, of God the Holy Ghost, has the right hand raised in blessing; the left is broken off. The ground between these figures is gilt.

The field of the panel is coloured dark green, with the usual groups of white and red spots.

The back of the panel is flat with the bottom cut away; it has also two wide and deep chases at the sides. The top is cut carefully into a three-lobed head following the outline of the figures in front. The four corners as well as the top have each a lead plug, with fragments of the latten wire for suspension.

This fine panel is now preserved in the chapel at St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall.

27. *Winchester, St. John's Hospital.*

All that is known of this doubtful example is the following notice of it in Milner's account of the hospital:

> In the dust hole near the apartments of the widows, amongst other curious antiques, was to be seen, 'till of late, the figure of St. John the Baptist's head in the dish; being the bust of the holy patron of the house. This formerly stood over the principal doorway.

In a note is added:

> In the course of last year it was removed from its disgraceful situation, and erected in one of the cloisters of the house, by order of the Mayor.[a]

[a] Milner, *The History civil and ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester* (Winchester, 1809), ii. 208.

A "ST. JOHN'S HEAD" OF ALABASTER.
LORD ST. LEVAN (No. 26).
(½ *linear*).

We now pass to the consideration of the meaning of the sculptures of these panels.

This is a subject beset with difficulties, and after much research I am afraid I cannot offer a really satisfactory explanation.

That there is a close relation between the principal subject and the accessory in base appears certain, since, whatever be the variations in the other features, the head of St. John is always accompanied by the figure of Christ or the Holy Lamb.

For a long time I despaired of finding a clue, but it at last occurred to me to see what could be found in the old English service-books. The Sarum books yielded nothing, but in the York porthos, in the fourth lesson for the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, I found an explanation :

> Caput Johannis in disco: signat corpus Christi: quo pascimur in sancti altari: Et quod ecclesie gentium tribuitur in salutem ac remedium animarum.

But though this explains the association of the head with the figure of Christ or Holy Lamb, I cannot see any connection between St. John the Baptist's head and the Sacrament of the altar.

Apart from this, the occurrence of the explanation in the York service-book alone is of considerable interest, for since, as we have seen, large numbers of these tablets were carved at Nottingham, which was then in the diocese of York, the particular phrase employed may have suggested the association of the emblems to the first designer of the tablets.

The figure of the Holy Lamb may of course also be given as the emblem of St. John the Baptist, but the final meaning conforms to that of the figure of Christ, whether as the suffering Man, or the Infant on His mother's knee.

The accessory or accessories at the top of the panels do not appear to have any special significance. That of most frequent occurrence, the representation of the soul held up by angels, may have reference to the saint, but it more likely represents the soul of the donor or possessor of the tablet, who thus desired to shew that he or she placed himself or herself under the saint's protection, and in more than one example the long hair shews that the figure is that of a woman.

The choice of the figures of saints is not easy of explanation, nor can I suggest the reason why the head of St. John the Baptist should be surrounded by figures of other holy men and women.

St. Peter was doubtless chosen as chief of the apostles, and St. Thomas of Canterbury as the saint whom Englishmen looked upon with such profound feel-

ings of veneration. It is, however, possible, that St. Peter was selected from his association with the church of York, and that the archbishop is St. William; in which case the two York saints would form fitting supporters for a subject derived from the York porthos, and carved by Nottingham "alablastermen" in York diocese.

The other saints represented are SS. Katharine (four times), James (twice), Margaret (twice), Dorothy, Christopher, and two others not easily identified. The choice of them does not appear to have been guided by any particular rule. It should be noticed, however, that St. John the Baptist and St. Katharine were very frequently associated together in medieval art; why, I know not. A beautiful little gold pendant, having St. John the Baptist on one side and St. Katharine on the other was exhibited before the Society in 1876, and is engraved in *Proceedings*,[a] and the same two saints are sculptured on the curious lantern pendant in Patrington church, Yorkshire.[b] In 1380 Edmund earl of March bequeathed to Sir Hugh de Boraston "un tablet ove les images de Seint John et Seynt Kateryne par dehors,"[c] and in the inventory of the cathedral church of Exeter for 1506 one of the rector's staves is described as:

> j baculus de buxo cum j pecia argentea et ymaginibus Sancti Johannis Baptistae et Sanctæ Katerinæ de ebore et duo capita draconum in summitate[d]

and belonging to St. Paul's altar in the same church was

> j front de panno lineo stayned cum ymagine beatæ Mariæ in medio et ymagine Johannis Baptistæ et Sancti Antonii ex j latere et ymagine Sanctæ Katerinæ et Sancti Nicholai ex altera.[e]

As to the particular reason why these panels should have been so popular I cannot say. The Sarum and York service books show that the saint's head was held in high repute, and the sequence for the feast of the beheading on Aug. 29 in the York mass-book speaks of it as:

> O beatum caput dignumqué reverentia,
> Quod in disco matri tulit feralis bellua,
> Quod tam multos instruxerat de Christi notitia.

[a] 2nd S. vi. 510.
[b] *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, i. 203.
[c] Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 115.
[d] Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, 329.
[e] *Ibid.* 360.

Here again we have the veneration paid to the head cropping up in the diocese of York, and it is worth noting that the town of Halifax is said by some to take its name from "the real face of St. John Baptist, hence called Hallifax, or Holy-Face," reported to have been preserved there.[a] Beyond, however, the fact of the parish church of Halifax being dedicated to St. John the Baptist, there appears to be no foundation for the story.

The only place of pilgrimage to St. John's head that I have met with in England was at Trimingham, Norfolk, concerning which Blomfield says:

> In this church was (as pretended) a famous relick in times of popery, the head of St. *John* the Baptist, to which pilgrimages, great worship, and offerings were made. In one of the will books at *Norwich* is that of *Alice Cook* of *Horstead*, wife of *Robert Cook* of *Crostwheytin*, in 1478;—"It. I wyll have a man to go a pilgrimage to St. *John* hys hede of *Trymmyngham*."[b]

St. John's head in a charger is carved in one of the spandrils of the screen in Trimingham church,[c] which is also dedicated in the saint's honour.

I have now laid before the Society all that I have been able to learn as to the history and meaning of these sculptures.

They are curious examples of a medieval tablet in which the same design was copied and multiplied, and it is clear that they were not panels for reredoses, but devotional tablets of a special kind that could be hung up, perhaps favoured by the members of some large gild.

The object of veneration, as I have shown, is not solely the head of St. John the Baptist, but in some mystical way at present unknown a connection of it with the sacrament of the altar.

Until further evidence is forthcoming, it would be useless to speculate what the gild was which favoured this particular device. I am, however, inclined to look for it in Yorkshire; and maybe it was the famous guild of the Corpus Christi in the city of York itself. This theory, which was also independently suggested to me by Mr. Micklethwaite, has these points in its favour:

1. The tablets seem to have been restricted to private use, since they are not found in church inventories;
2. The device is a proper one for members of a Corpus Christi gild;

[a] Watson, *History of Halifax*, 207, 331.
[b] *History of Norfolk*, viii. 179.
[c] *Norfolk Archaeology*, vii. 353.

3. The explanation of the device occurs only in the York service-books;
4. St. Peter is the patron saint of York;
5. In 1478 the master, wardens, and brethren of the ancient hospital of St. Thomas of Canterbury at York[a] transferred their house and possessions to the Corpus Christi gild, and so we have a reason for the figure of the archbishop on the panels;
6. Several of the examples from the inventories which I have quoted belonged to persons whose names occur in the roll of the Corpus Christi gild.

Unfortunately neither the records nor inventories of the Corpus Christi gild afford any further help, and so the case must stand where it does.

[a] This hospital of course continued to exist, and most fortunately was not suppressed with the gild in 1547. It was remodelled in after times, and still flourishes for the benefit of the poor of York.

XXII.—*On the use of the terms Crosier, Pastoral Staff, and Cross.*

By the Rev. J. T. Fowler, *M.A., F.S.A.*

Read June 19, 1890.

Having for some time been collecting evidence on the use of these terms, I think it may be acceptable to our Society to have the results brought before them in a systematic form, and the more so, because we find what I cannot but regard as mistakes on the subject, not only made but defended, in quarters where we should least of all expect anything of the kind.[a] I think I am able to show conclusively that, except during the last half-century, the terms "pastoral staff" and "crosier" have all but invariably been applied to the same thing, namely a bishop's crook, and that the term "crosier" was scarcely ever applied to an archbishop's cross until about 1826. About ten years later, the new nomenclature all at once manifested extraordinary vitality, and was regarded by Anglican ecclesiologists as strictly "correct." We find it even in the writings of Blore, M. H. Bloxam, J. H. Parker, the younger Pugin, Dr. Hook,[b] Webb, Haines, Boutell, Browne of York, Lee, Blunt,[b] Shipley, Marriott, Mackenzie Walcott, Mrs. Jameson, and Fairholt, also in several dictionaries, though not in that of Skeat. Roman Catholic writers of the old school, unaffected by the Anglican eccelsiological revival, such as Bishop Milner, used the terms in the old English way. But Dr. Rock, while rightly calling the archiepiscopal cross a "cross," and never a crosier, seems shy of calling a bishop's crook a crosier, and always uses the

[a] See particularly *Archaeologia*, li. 351-381.

[b] In the latest editions of Hook's *Church Dictionary* and of Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, the term "crosier" is used in the ancient and proper way. See below, section 5.

term "pastoral staff." Dr. Husenbeth, in *Notes and Queries*, Feb., 1859, p. 178, says of the latter, "Some have lately affected to call it the pastoral staff," but expresses his preference for "crosier," as hallowed by long usage. In *Notes and Queries* for December, 1886, p. 435, he says he is "aware" that in strictness the term crosier belongs to a cross, but that by long usage it has been applied to a bishop's crook; this only shows that by that time he had been to some extent influenced by the prevailing fashion.

Let me now endeavour to establish by quotations and references the main points of my contention.

1. *Croce, croche, crosse, etc., a bishop's crook.*

The usual old English word for a bishop's crook was croce, croche, or crosse, in a number of similar monosyllabic forms (1330-1672).

1330. Rob. of Brunne, *Preface*, p. 195 (here used in sense of episcopal appointments).
On þe forth day gaf he giftes gode, kroces and clerkes of pris.

1377. Langland, P. Pl., B. viii. 94, a bisshopes crosse; 1393, C. xi. 92.
Dobest bere shold þe bisshopes croce and halye with þe hoked ende.

c. 1430. *Pilgrimage of the Lyf of the Manhode*, B. III. ch. 6.
Of bishopes croos he made his howwe [hoe] and his pikoyse [mattock]. Pikoise was the sharpe ende, and howwe the krookede ende.

1431. Inventory of St. Peter, Cheap, London.
A crose for the bysshope.

1440. *Promptorium Parvulorum*, s.v. Croce of a bysshope, *pedum*.

c. 1450. *Castle Howard MS. Life of St. Cuthbert* (Surtees) 6247-51.
He had a dreme þe same nyght:
A bischop, in his vestement dyght,
Stode be his bed syde,
And with his croche on him he putt,
And strake þar with, all full butt.

1451. Inventory of Adam de Moleyns, bishop of Chichester, (quoted in *Archaeologia*, li. 375).
Item a croke heyd with saynte George and ye sarpente.

1460. Capgrave, *Chronicle*, Rolls edition (1858) ,134.
Prelatis, with here crosses and croses (croyses, MS. C.C.C.)

c. 1460. *Medulla Grammatica*, (quoted in Way's *Prompt. Parv.* p. 80, note).
Cambuca, a buschoppys cros, or crokid staf.

1466. Inventory of St. Stephen's Coleman Street, London, in *Archaeologia*, l. 42.
j staf with a croyse for Synt nicñus bysshupe.

1481-1509. Inventory of Tewkesbury Abbey, (quoted in *Archaeologia*, li. 379.)
"Seuen staffys" with "crockkheddys and haftes of sylu̅."

1483. Caxton, *Golden Legend*, f. cxxiii. col. 1.
A stroke wyth hys croche.

1483. *Catholicon Anglicum* s.v. A cruche, *cambuca*, *pedum*.

15th c. *Vocabulary* in Wright's *A. S.* and *O. E. Vocabularies* (1884), 569. Cambucca, a busshopys cros. Cambuccarius, a Croser.

1500-33. *Ortus Vocabulorum* s.v. *Cambuca*, a crutche.

1525-36. Tyndall, *Obedience of a Christian Man*, Parker Society (1848), Works, i. 252.
Is not that shepherd's hoke, the bishop's crose, a false sign?

1528. Roy, *Rede me, etc.* (Arber) 31.
Adeu forked mitres and crosses of gold.

1530. Palsgrave, s.v. Crosse for a byshope, *crosse*.

1536. Inventory of Whalley Abbey, in *Trans. Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Chesh.* N.S. vii. 107.
j Crowche of silver and gilt with a staff of silver. Another Crowche of silver and gilt set with safours without a staff.

c. 1539. Westminster Inventories, in *Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* iv. 318, 319.
Crosse staff, Crosse, Crose, crose stayff (referring to abbots' crosiers).

1539. Fountains Abbey Inventory, in Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 144.
One cruche head gilt. One head of a cruche of silver.

1547. (Written 1550.) Inventory of Henry VIII's Jewel house, f. 144b.
Item one Crosier staffe with a Crosse of silver gilte—the Crosse lacking viij Braunches, etc.

1552. *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, Allhallows Day.
The prebendaries of Pawles left of their hoodes, and the Bishops their crosses.

1563. *Bishop Pilkington's Works*, (Parker Society) 586.
This (bishop) has neither cruche nor mitre.

1593. *Rites of Durham*, 46, *pr. manu*, "crutch or staffe," altered in the Cosin MS. to crosier in the same hand but with different ink; cf. p. 49 (Surtees ed.)

1593. *Ib.* 88, with his crutch in his hand.

1627. *Minshæi Emendatio*, s.v. Croce, also crosier.

1672. Davies, ed. of *Rites of Durham*, 157.
His crutch (or crosier-staff) in his hand.

2. *The bearer of it called a crocer or crossier.*

Any one appointed to carry it for the bishop was called his crocer, croyser, or crossier. (1290-1585.)

1290. *Liber de miraculis Tho. Ep. Herefordensis*, MS. quoted in Jacob's *Law Dictionary*, s.v. *Crociarius.* Clericus Episcopi Dunelm. quem vulgo Crociarium ejus vocant.

1360-80. Wyclif, *Tracts* (1879), xiii. 210.

> ȝe, prelatis & men of singuler religion þat takes þe charge to ben procuratouris & dispenderis of þore mennus liflode, cloþen fatte horsis & gaie sadlis & bridlis, & mytris, & croceris[a] wiþ gold& siluer & precious stonys, & suffren þore men & children perische for cold.

1440. *Prompt. Parv.* Crocere, crociarius, cambucarius.

15th c. *Vocab.* (See above, Section 1.) Cambuccarius, a Croser.

1558. *Machyn's Diary*, Camden Society, 171.

> My lord of London crossear, Master Mortun, on of the gray ames of Powlles.

1585. Higins, *Junius' Nomenclator*, 313. (quoted in *Pr. Parv.*) Lituus, a crosiers staffe, or a bishops staffe.

3. *The same term was used for an archbishop's (or pope's) cross-bearer.* (1440-1661 and 1858.)

c.1380. P. Plowman; *Text* C. vi. 113. (E.E.T.S. 1873.)

> And reson reuested, ryȝt as a pope, and conscience his crocer by-fore þe kynge stande.

1440. *Prompt. Parv.* Crocere, crociarius, cambucarius, *crucifer.*

1483. *Cath. Angl.* A crocer, *cruciferarius, crucifer.*.

1483. *Golden Legend.*

> One Syr Edwarde gryme that was his croiser put forth his arme with the crosse, etc.

[a] At first sight this word would certainly seem to mean *crook*, but I have not been able to find another example of "crocer" in any sense other than that of croce-bearer or cross-bearer, which is probably its meaning here. Wyclif may have introduced it by way of a fling at bishops having "crocers" to bear their "croces" for them instead of bearing them in their own hands.

c. 1485. Leland, *Collectanea*, iii. 192.

The archbishop's "suffragan was croyser, and bar the Archbishops crosse."

1516. *Golden Legend*, as above, fol. lxvj.

1551. MS. in Fiddes's *Wolsey* (1726) ii. 201.

The Bishop of Rochester was Crosier to my Lord of Canterbury during the Masse.

1563? (date of 1st ed.) 1583. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* s.a. 1164.

He taketh from Alexander his crosier, the crosse with the crosse-staffe . . and carrieth it himselfe (the other Bishops following him and saying) he did otherwise then became him. Amongst other Robert bishop of Hereford offred himselfe to beare his crosse rather then he should so doe.

In the edition of 1854 the words *the cross with the cross staff* are put in parenthesis-marks, the editor having imagined that they were a gloss.

1576. Lambarde, *Peramb. of Kent* (1596), 85.

The crossier of Canterbury should go before, and the other come behind, for feare of Iustling.

1586. Holinshed, *Description of Ireland*, 32.

The canon law, that admitteth the crosier to beare the crosse before his archbishop in an other prouince.

1661. Sylvanus Morgan, *Sphere of Gentry*, bk. ii. ch. i. p. 17.

He being the first Scripture worthy that bore the Cross . . . went without a Croisier, and returned a Palmer.

1858. Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, 18.

The archiepiscopal cross is never carried by the Archbishop, but by one of his chaplains, chosen to act as cross-bearer or "croyser."

"*Cross-bearer*," *was also in use.*

1576. Lambarde, *Peramb. of Kent* (1596), 85.

Their crosse-bearers should go togithir.

1577-87. Holinshed, *Chronicle*, v. 3, p. 290, col. 2. He had two crossebearers, and two pillerbearers.

1679. Baker, *Chronicle*, 57.

It is said, his Cross-bearer and some other about him blamed him for that he had done.

1726. Ayliffe, *Parergon*, 94.

He has . . . the bishop of Rochester (Time was) for his Cross-bearer.

1845. Knight, *Old England*, i. 151.

The faithful cross-bearer, Edward Gryme.

1858. Purchas, see just above.

4. A bishop's staff was called a crosier's staff or crosier-staff.

A bishop's staff was commonly called a croyser staff, crosiers staff, crosier's staff, or crosier staff, as if people connected it more closely with the clerk who commonly carried it than with the bishop himself. (1488-1767.)

1488. Inv. of St. Christopher le Stocks, London, in *Archaeologia*, xlv. 119.
A miter for a bisshop . . . and a croyser staffe hed gilte thereto.

c. 1511. *First Eng. book on America* (Arber) Introd. xxxi. col. i.
Theyr bysshops clothed . . . with the croysers staffe and rynge.

1535-6. Inv. of Langley Abbey; in *Reliquary*, N. S. iv. 158.
A crosiar staff.

1547 (written 1550) Inv. of Henry VIII's jewel house, fol. 144b.
Item j. Crosier Staffe wth a Crosse of Silver gilte (cf. section 1., under dates 1525, 1552.) . . . the staffe conteyneng v. peces. Item one gilte crosier staffe wth a staffe made of three peces all gilt wth a pike of silver at thende.

1552. Inv. of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, in *Ecclesiologist*, xvii. 125.
A Crosier-staff with a picture of S. Nicholas on one side and S. Peter on the other side.

1552. Inv. of Winchester Cath. Ch., in *Archaeologia*, xliii. 235.
j. myghtar of perle and a crosyar staffe of silvar and gilt.

1570. Googe, *Popish Kingedome* (ed. Hope), 10.
Now last of all his crosiar staffe in hande he holds upright.

1572. Gascoigne, *Flowers*, quoted by Skeat.
Because a crosier staffe is best for such a crooked time.

1580. Hollyband, *Treasurie of the French Tong*.
Vne croce, a crosier staffe.

1585. Higins, *Junius' Nomenclator*, 313.
Lituus, a crosiers staffe, or a bishops staffe.

1593. *Rites of Durham*, Cosin MS. Description of Bishop Beaumont:
His crosiers staffe in his hand. (N.B. Crosier's, in Surtees ed., p. 13, l. 15, is crosiers in the MS.).

1593. *Rites*, Surtees ed., 41.
A crosier staffe in his left hand.

1611. Jewel, Sermons, *Parker Society* (1847), ii. 1020.
Their crosier's (*sic*) staff signifieth diligence in attending the flock of Christ.

1611. Speed, *Hist. Great Britain*, Bk. ix. ch. iv. sec. 53.
And lastly, the bishops with their crosier staues.

1613. Inv. of John Barnes, (brother of Bp. Barnes) in *Durham Chronicle*, Nov. 28, 1890, p. 8, col. 6.

A crozier staff, gilt, with case, 6s. 8d.

1614. Raleigh, *Hist. of World*, Bk. II. 503. Crosier staffe (used figuratively).

Rome . . . having bin unfortunate, at length betakes herselfe againe to the crosier staffe.

1626. Hegg, *Legend of St. Cuthbert*, ed. 1824, 167.

As if at that tyme he had seene him in his Myter and his Crosier Staffe.

c. 1640. Cosin, *Notes on Bk. of C. P.* 3rd Ser. Wks. v. 439.

The bishop's crosier staff.

1641. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* s. a. 1555, iii. 174. Crosier-staff.

When he should have given Doctor Taylor a stroke on the Breast with his Crosier staffe.

1660. Hexham, *Englisg und Netherduytch Dictionarie.* A crosier-staff, Een kruyserr stock.

1663. *Certificate in College of Arms*, quoted in *Hier. Angl.* 84.

Elias Ashmole, Esq, Windsor Herald, carried the pastoral staff or crosier staff.

1671. Skinner, *Etymologicon*, s. v. A crosier staff, *pedum episcopale.*

1671. Davies, *Rites of Durham*, 157. Crutch or Crosier staff.

1673. (Rd. Leigh), *Transposer Rehears'd*, 95.

Lord Viscount Falkland in a sharp speech [in 1641] against them [bishops] confesses, "that some of them . . . . . being neither Ambitious before nor Proud after, either of the *Crosier Staffe*, or *White Staffe*."

1691. Childe, T. *New English Dictionary*, (printed for). A Crosier staff . . . q. d. a Bishop's Pastoral-staff.

1733. *Rites of Durham*, 1st ed. 19.

Crosier staff. (The second ed. of 1743 is only the same with a new title).

1767. *Rites of Durham*, Sanderson's ed., 18. Crosier staff.

5. *And then, simply a crosier.*

The second member of the term, viz., "staff," was gradually dropped, and what had at first been called a croce, and then a crosier staff, was called simply a crosier, which use has continued to the present time.[a] (1530-1891.)

[a] I find that this conclusion, at which I arrived independently, is in accordance with that of Wedgwood (*Etymological Dictionary*, 1872, s.v.). "Hence OE. *crocer* or *crosier* was properly the bearer of the bishop's staff, but the term was subsequently applied to the staff itself."

1539-40. St. Osyth's Inventory, in *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* v. 55.
A Crosyer of syluer gylte.

1539 40. Waltham Holy Cross Inventory, *ib.* 260.
A Crosyer with iij pecs of a staff for the same of syluer gylte.

1539-40. St. Alban's Inventory, in *Reliquary*, XIV. 25.
A Crosyer of syluer gilte.

1547. (written 1550), Inventory of Henry VIII's Jewel-house.
Item a Crosiar of silver and gilte.

1554. *Marriage of Queen Mary*, in Opuscula appended to Lel. Coll. IV. 398, ed. 1770.
The Bishops . . . all with their Crosiers borne before them.

1574. Studley, in *Southey's Common Place Bk.*, Ser. II. 1849, p. 48.
Ember days, croziers, polaxes, dirges, etc.

1576. Lambarde, *Peramb. of Kent* (1596), 247.
Not for the Crosse (for that is the Archbishops warre) but for the Crosier of the Bishop of Rochester.

1588. Marlowe, *Faustus*, 2nd version, 117.
Enter the Cardinals and Bishops, some bearing Crosiers, some the pillars.

1593. *Rites of Durham*, 41. A crosier or pastorall staffe in his lefte hand.

c. 1600. *King John and the Abbot*, in Parry's *Legendary Cabinet* (1829), 114.
With crozier and mitre and rochet and cope fit to appear fore our father the Pope.

1601. Godwin, *Bishops of England*, 230.
He restored him (Bishop Remigius) to his ring and crosyer againe.

1611. Cotgrave, *Dictionary*, s. v. Croce. A Crosier or Bishop's staffe. 1660, a Crosier or Bishop's staffe.

1617. Minsheu, *Guide*. Croce is a shepheards crooke . . . . hence the staffe of a bishop.

1627. *Minshæi Emendatio*, s. v. A Crosier or bishop's staffe.

1647. Nath. Bacon, *Historical Discourse*, page preceding "Contents" (used figuratively).
My aim in this Discourse is neither at Scepter or Crosier.

1650. J. Gregorii, *Opuscula*, 113. Crosier or pastoral staff of a bishop.

1660. Roger Coke, *Elements of Power*, etc., 108.
Per traditionem baculi (viz.: the crosier) et annuli (viz.: the ring).

1660. Howell, (Cotgrave), *French and English Dictionary*. A Crosier or Bishop's staffe, *Croce*, *Crosse*.

1667. *Certificate in College of Arms*, quoted in *Hierurg. Angl.* 85.
Carrying before it the crosier . . . provided by the said Bishop (Wren, of Ely).

1671. *Certificate in College of Arms*, quoted in *Hierurg. Angl.* 86.
Then York Herald bearing the crosier (at Bishop Cosin's funeral).

1674. T. B(lount), *Glossographia*. Crosier, a Bishop's staffe.

1678. E. P(hillips), *World of Words* (as in Blount).

1679. Gwillim, *Display of Heraldry*, 206.
The . . . . Shepherd, of whose Crook this Croysier hath a resemblance . . . . He beareth . . . . three Croysiers Or.

1679. Miege, *Dictionary of Barbarous French.* Crosier, or Bishop's staff. Crosse Episcopale.

1685. Guy Miege, *English and French Dictionary.* Crosier, *Crosse, bâton Pastoral.*

1685. Coles, *Dictionary.* Crosier, a bishop's staff.

1688. Torriano, add. to Florio, *Vocabolario.* A crosier or bishop's staff, il pastorale.

c. 1690. Torre, *Notes of Glass at York, passim.*

1696. E. P(hillips), *World of Words*, 5th ed. (as in 1678).

1696. Coles, *Dictionary.* As in 1685.

1708. *Ib.* a Bishops-staff.

1708. Kersey, as in 1721, q. v.

1717. Blount, *Law Dictionary.* Crosier, the pastoral staff of a Bishop.

1721-1790. Bailey, in the many editions as in the folio, 1764, q. v.

1721. Kersey, *English Dictionary.* Crosier, a Bishop's Staff, made in shape of a Shepherd's Crook.

1727. Boyer, *Dictionary Royal.* Crosier, subst. [a Bishop's Staff] crosse, d'Evêque ou d'Abbé, Bâton Pastorall.

1727. Cowel, *Law Dictionary.* As in Blount, 1717.

1738. E. Chambers, *Cyclopædia.* Crosier or Crozier . . . . crooked a top.

1741. Fenning, *English Dictionary.* Crosier, the pastoral staff of a bishop.

1755. Johnson, *Dictionary.* The pastoral staff of a bishop, which has a cross upon it.

1762. Jacob, *Law Dictionary*, s. v. Crocia. The Crosier or pastorall staff. (So in 1756).

1764. Bailey, *Dictionary* (folio). Crosier, a bishop's staff, made in the form of a shepherd's crook.

1766. Sewel, *Dictionary of English and Dutch.* Crosier, een Bisschops staf, krotse.

1774. *Address and Queries relative to Durham*, 5.

The Coffin-fashioned Tomb with no figure at all, or only a Crosier.

1775. Ash, *Dictionary.* Crosier, the pastoral staff; the staff of a bishop, or abbot, having a cross upon it.

1777. Dyche, *English Dictionary.* Crosier, a bishop's staff in the form of a shepherd's crook.

1778. Chambaud, *Dictionaire François-Anglois.* Crosier, s. [a bishop's staff] Crosse, f.

1780. Mark Noble, *Two Dissertations*, 61.

The upright of the cross . . . . ends in an ornamented crosier.

1782. Barclay, *Dictionary.* Crosier, the pastoral staff of a bishop.

1782. Priestley, *Corruptions of Christianity*, vol. ii. pt. 10, p. 251.

The crosier, or pastoral staff, was the lituus of the Roman augurs.

1783. Morell's *Ainsworth's Dictionary.* A crosier [bishop's staff], Pedum episcopale.

1789. *Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries*, xxiii. 177.

On the sinister side is another whole length figure mitred, etc. and supposed to be an archbishop from his holding a pontifical cross in his left hand instead of a Croizer, the crosier only being appropriated to Bishops and Abbots.

1801. Lysons, in *Archaeologia*, xiv. 152.

On his right side lay a plain crosier of wood.

1808-31. Scott, *Marmion*, canto ii. 31.

The altars quake, the crosier bends.

1809. Milner, in *Archaeologia*, xvii. 38. (See also below, p. 23.)

The Bishop is directed to turn the crook of his crosier . . . . forward.

1809. Newman, *New Dictionary of Spanish and English*. Crosier, Cayado ó báculo pastoral de obispo.

c. 1813. *Fasti Herefordenses* (1869), 148.

On the place of the right breast lay the head of the crosier . . . . to the crosier was attached, by a skein of silk . . . . the bull of Pope Clemens the VI.

1814. Kerrich, in *Archaeologia*, xviii. 188.

The crosier I thought uncommonly elegant.

1817. *Archaeologia*, xviii. 442.

The head of an ancient crosier.

1817. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, 145.

Then he (the Abbot) took his crosier. (See too p. 156.)

1819. Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s.v. Crosier or crozier. . . the pastoral staff of archbishops, bishops, abbots, abbesses, as also of certain priors and prioresses. (*Cf.* section 6, s.a.)

1820. Clarke, in *Archaeologia*, xix. 392.

Its form is so accurately preserved in the old episcopal Crosiers.

1820. Rudge, in *Archaeologia*, xx. 568.

The crozier lay on the right side.

1821. *Monasticon Anglicanum* (new edition), iii. 498.

An abbat . . . . the left holding a crozier.

1825. Fosbroke, *Encycl. Antiq.* i. 258.

Crosier. . . one part was crooked, to draw the meek. (*Cf.* Langland, section 1, s.a. 1377.)

1826. Blore, *Mon. Remains*, 9. Description of William of Wykeham's tomb.

The effigy of the bishop in his pontificals, with his crozier under his left arm. (*Cf.* section 6, s.a.)

1826-29. *London Encyclopædia*, s v. Crosier. The pastoral staff of a bishop. . . crooked at the top.

1829. Clark, *Introduction to Heraldry*, 120.

Crosier. This staff . . . was given to bishops.

1831. Davies, *Materia Medica*, 425.

Filices . . . leaves alternate, rolled up like a crosier before their expansion.

1832. Doune, *Letters*, i. 152.

It contains a curious wooden figure of a bishop, with a crosier in left hand.

1832. Madden, in *Archaeologia*, xxiv. 222.

They (bishops) hold a crosier with one, or with both hands. See 255 and note.

1834. Clark, *Introduction to Heraldry*, 112.

Crosier. This staff (according to Polydore Virgil) was given to bishops to chastise the vices of the people. It is called Baculus Pastoralis.

1837. *Penny Cyclopædia*, viii. s.v. Crosier, a pastoral crook or staff.

1837. Ingram, *Memoirs of Oxford*, St. John's College, p. 13.

The crosier, or pastoral crook, of Archbishop Laud.

1838. Britton, *Dictionary of Architecture*.

1838. *Fasti Herefordenses* (1869), 148.

An ancient crosier, an episcopal ring (etc.)

1838. Parker, *Glossary*, s.v. Crozier, the staff or insignia of a bishop or mitred abbot, the head of which is in the form of a cross; it is usually confounded with the pastoral staff, the head of which is in the form of a shepherd's crook, but both were carried in procession before the bishop on state occasions.

1840. Parker, *Glossary* (also archbishop's cross). To the same effect as 1845, q. v.

1844. Richardson, *Dictionary*. Crosier, an episcopal staff.

1844. Barrington, *Lectures on Heraldry*, 44.

The arms of Cairncross, Archbishop of Glasgow, timbred with the mitre and crosier (shown in Plate as crook).

1845. Preface to *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdon.* (Spalding Club), i. x.

The legend adds, that Columba admonished him to found his church, when he should arrive upon the bank of a river, where it formed, by its windings, the figure of a Bishop's crosier.

1845. Petrie, *Trans. R. Irish Acad.* 309.

The crook, or upper portion of the crozier, represents a serpent.

1845. Parker, *Glossary*. See section 6, 1845.

1845. *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, Vol. 17, s.v. The form of the Crosier was that of a Shepherd's Crook.

1847. Barham, *Ingoldsby Legends* (1877), 275.

With mitre, and crozier, and rochet, and stole on.

1847. (Parker) *Glossary of Heraldry*, 95. Crosier, or Crozier. This word is properly restricted to the crook of a bishop or abbot. (But in this work archbishop's crosses, etc. are described under the same head).

1850. N. in *Notes and Queries*, Nov. p. 412.

Hence it appears that crozier does not refer to a cross but to a crook.

1850. Mackenzie Walcott, in *Notes and Queries*, Oct. p. 313.

The crozier of Matthew Wren was of silver. (*Cf.* section 6, s.a.)

1852. Council of the Society of Antiquaries, in *Archæologia*, xxxiv. 407.

The crook of the crosier is of oak.

1853. Fox, *Monks and Monasteries*, 127.

The crozier (of the abbot) which denoted pastoral care.

1853. Baldeschi, Ceremonial according to the Roman Rite, translated by Dale.
The Bishop, having given up the crosier and mitre, commences the Mass.

1854. *Ecclesiologist*, xv. 346.
A crosier for the Bishop of Grahamstown, designed by Mr. Street.

1854. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v.

1854. McCulloch, *British Empire*, ii. 259.
Investing them (bishops) by the ring and crosier.

1855. Labarte, *Arts of Middle Ages* (translation), 126.
The fine crosier . . . belonging to Ragenfroi, Bishop of Chartres.

1858. *The Popular Encyclopædia*, s.v. Crosier, a tall staff of silver or gold, curved at the upper end, which is carried before bishops, abbotts, and abbesses.

1859. F. C. H., in *Notes and Queries*, February, p. 178.
It has always been customary to call the crook the crosier.

1862. Eadie, *Biblical Cyclopædia*, s.v. The form of a crosier was that of a shepherd's crook.

1863. *Tonge's Visitation*, (Surtees Society) Editor's notes, 43, etc.
Azure, a bend, and over all a crosier in bend sinister or.

1863. Wordsworth, *Tour in Italy*, 52.
Might not they . . . have left . . . the episcopal crozier.

1863. Burton, *Book Hunter*, 24.
The handle was of a peculiar crosier-like formation in cast iron.

1865. F. C. H., in *Notes and Queries*, October, p. 329.
It is easy to adduce examples of abbots represented with the crosier in the left hand.

1865. Franks, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. iii. 9 .
The crozier of an Englishman, St. Malo, Bishop of Aleth in Britany.

1866. Piggott, in *Notes and Queries*, November, p. 356.
An Abbot's Crozier, or Pastoral Staff, how carried.

1866. Scharf, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. iii. 354.
Part of the head of a crozier of ivory (in coffin of an abbot).

1867. Morrell, *History of Selby*.
The abbat . . . . holding his crozier in his right hand.

1868. *Official Catalogue*, Art. Exh. at Leeds, 215. Crozier Head, in the volute St. Michael and the Dragon.

1870. Lacroix, *Arts of Middle Ages*, English Translation, 138.
An Abbot's Enamelled Crozier. A Bishop's crozier.

1872. Shipley, *Glossary*, 53. The crosier is described in the line, curva trahit, etc. (But see below, under 1872, in section 6).

1872. Halliwell, *Dictionary*, s. v. Cruche. A bishop's crosier.

1872. Leahy, *Sermon at consecration of Dr. Moran* (R. C. Bishop.)
That he will wield the crosier of St. Kyran.

1872. Wedgwood, *Dictionary of English Etymology.* Crosier . . . a bishop's staff (the representative of the shepherd's crook).

1873. *Ceremonial*, for the use of the Catholic Churches (U.S.A.).

He (the crosier-bearer) holds continually in his hand the Bishop's crosier.

1874. Deutsch, *Remains*, 233.

To snatch the crosiers from the hands of the Bishops of his rival.

1874. Lyell, *Elements of Geology*, ch. 15, p. 230.

The "croziers" of some of the young ferns are very perfect.

1874. Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, Introduction, xcix.

The crosier of Columkille.

1875. Fowler, James, in *Yorks. Arch. Jour.* iii. 218.

There is no doubt, however, that crozier . . . is the proper term.

1875. Sibthorp. Letter referring to the R. C. Bishop Milner, in *Fowler's Life of Sibthorp* (1880) 282.

His crozier was a walking stick, with the crook in his pocket, which he stuck on when needed.

1877. Micklethwaite, in *Archaeologia*, xlvi. 192.

The crozier is a simple crook like that of Bishop Flambard.

1877. Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, iii. 247.

This prelate (Bishop James Smith, 1688) was robbed of his beautiful silver crozier.

1877. Fowler, J. T., in *Yorks. Arch. Jour.* iv. 332.

A nimbed and mitred bishop . . . holds a crosier in his left hand.

1878. Lees, *Abbey of Paisley*, 224.

A figure of St. Mirin as a vested Bishop, his right hand raised in benediction, and his left holding a crozier.

1879. Fowler, J. T., in *Archaeologia*, xlv. Pl. 31.

Crosier head and ferules, see p. 403.

1879. Stormonth, *Dictionary*, 5th edition. Crosier, a bishop's staff or crook.

1881. Micklethwaite, in *Archaeologia*, xlvii. 375.

A bishop . . . with crozier in his right hand.

1881. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, 218.

A pastoral staff, commonly, though not with strict correctness, called a crosier.

1882. Jessopp, *Husenbeth's Emblems*, 260.

Crosier . . . held by a bishop . . . S. Gracian, B. C.

1882. Skeat, *Dictionary.* Crosier, a staff with a curved top.

1882. Bloxam, *Principles of Gothic Architecture*, ii. 208.

S. Blaise, B. M, with mitre and crosier. Also p. 209: S. Etheldreda, V., crowned with crosier.

1883. Bellett, *Pellicia*, 85.

The crozier, or pastoral staff, is the next ornament used by Bishops.

1883. J. T. F. in *Church Times*, Feb. 23, p. 125.

"Crosier" is a synonym for "pastoral staff," and is not the proper term for an archbishop's cross.

1884. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, revised ed., 718.

Crozier, the Diocesan, curved, staff or Pastoral Crook.

1884. Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dictionary*. Crosier or Pastoral Staff. The staff given to the bishop at his consecration.

1884. Burke, *Encyclopædia of Heraldry*, xvi. Crosier, the staff of a prelate.

1886. Webster-Mahn, *Dictionary* (archbishop's cross, see section 6). Crosier . . . also the pastoral staff of a bishop.

1887. Hook, *Church Dictionary*. Crosier, the pastoral staff of a bishop, crooked at the top and pointed at the bottom.

1887. Church, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. xi. 407. The head of the crosier was found in a coffin.

1888. *Archaeologia*, li. Pl. IV. Head of a Crozier found at Wells.

1888. *Athenaeum*, May 12th, p. 604.

It is surprising to find that Mr. Birch still adheres to the exploded notion that an archbishop's cross is a crosier (in *Catalogue of Seals* at British Museum).

1888. Macgeorge, *Old Glasgow*.

Like other ancient croziers, it is very short . . . such was probably the pastoral staff of Kentigern.

1888. Milne, *Readable English Dictionary*. Crosier, a bishop's crook or staff.

1888. J. T. F. in *Church Times*, October 5th, p. 846.

Fourteen are represented with a crosier only, six with both crosier and cross.

1889. *The New English Dictionary*, s. v. Circinate. Rolled up . . . like a crozier, as in most ferns.

1889. *Index to Archaeologia*, s. v. Cleystaff. A crook, a crozier.

1890. H. L. J. in *Church Times*, February 21st.

Crosier, as being handier, and at least equally correct, should be used to denote the pastoral staff.

1890. Nuttall, *Standard Dictionary*. Crosier, a bishop's crook.

1890. Gibbs, H. H., *Screen of St. Albans*, 35.

St. Nicholas, Bishop . . . bears his crosier in his hand.

1891. *Church Times*, Answer to Correspondent.

The modern custom of having the crozier carried before the Bishop takes away its meaning as a pastoral staff.

1891. J. T. Fowler, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. Additional Notes on the St. Cuthbert window. (*In the press.*)

The Abbess Ælflede . . . her left arm raised, and her crosier resting on the same arm.

1891. G. W. Marshall, Rouge Croix. Letter quoted in note on section 8.

Here then are 184 examples of a use of the word "crosier" which is said to be "inexact, loose, and erroneous," but which has continued unbroken from 1530 to 1891.

6. *A new fashion of calling an archbishop's cross a crosier.*

Since 1826, a fashion has sprung up, and has been very generally adopted, of calling an archbishop's cross a "crosier." (1826-1890). The only earlier instances I have found after much searching appear to be quite isolated.

1704. Cocker, *English Dictionary*, s. v.

1715. Cocker, *English Dictionary*, s. v.

1724. Cocker, *English Dictionary*, s. v.

1819. Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, s. v. The crosier of an archbishop consists of a lofty, processional cross, with a single bar to it. *Cf.* Section 5, s. a.

1826. Blore, *Monumental Remains*, 8. Description of Archbishop Warham's monument. Under his right arm is the pastoral crozier, surmounted by a cross of extremely rich workmanship. *Cf.* section 5, s. a.

1834. M. H. Bloxam, *Monumental Architecture, etc.* 34.

> The pastoral staff has been often confounded with the crosier; the latter was, however, essentially different in form, being a staff, headed with a cross instead of a crook, and this was carried by the Archbishops, being peculiar to their rank, and, as such, is to be met with on their monuments only.

1840. Parker, *Glossary* (also bishop's staff). To the same effect as 1845, q. v.

1842. Hook, *Church Dictionary* (also in many later editions, but corrected 1887).

1844. Pugin, *Glossary*. Crozier, a Cross on a staff, borne by an Archbishop. This has often been confounded by modern writers with the Pastoral Staff of a Bishop, which is quite dissimilar, being made in the form of a crook.

1845. Parker, *Glossary*. Crozier, the pastoral staff of a bishop or mitred abbot . . . The crosier of an archbishop is surmounted by a cross, but it was only at a comparatively late time, about the twelfth century, that the archbishop laid aside the pastoral staff to assume the cross as an appropriate portion of his personal insignia. Crosiers were usually buried with bishops and abbots as ensigns of their office.

1846. *Illustrations of Monumental Brasses* by the Cambridge Camden Society, p. 32. His Archiepiscopal rank would have entitled him to a crosier instead of a pastoral staff.

1848. Webb, *Continental Ecclesiology*, 37.

> A fine crozier . . . with a crucifixion in the middle, and the Evangelistic symbols at the four points.

1850. Elliot, in *Notes and Queries*, October, p. 314.

The crozier pertains to the archbishops, and the pastoral staff to the bishops.

1850. Walcott, M., in *Notes and Queries*, October, p. 313, (contradicting himself below, see section 5, s. a.). The crozier . . . is the ornamental staff used by archbishops and legates.

1850. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, 404.

What is properly the crosier, the staff surmounted by a cross, is borne by archbishops.

1854. See section 3, s. a. 1563.

1856. Pinnock, *Laws*, etc. 950.

The Crosier is the Pastoral Staff of an Archbishop, surmounted by a Cross.

1858. Purchas, *Directorium Anglicanum*, 18.

The Crozier, or the archiepiscopal cross, is a cross borne on a staff.

1858. Bedford, *Blazon of Episcopacy*, 1.

Arms of See (Canterbury) Az., a crosier in pale O, etc.

1861. Haines, *Monumental Brasses*, Intr. lxxii.

The crozier and the pall were peculiar to archbishops . . . the former was a staff ending in a cross or crucifix, instead of a crook.

1862. Browne, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, 124.

In his illustrative sketches of the tomb-stones, upon Nos. 32 and 35 he (Torre) has given some comical figures, which he calls Archbishops . . . In his sketches also, he has given his figures with crooks, and tells us they are intended for Archbishops; if so, he certainly ought to have sketched them with the Archiepiscopal ensign the crosier, as he has done, when representing other well known Archbishops' tombs.

In *Glossary*, p. 179: Crosier, 124, a staff, surmounted by a cross, the ensign of an Archbishop.

1864. Boutell, *Heraldry*, 49, 100.

An Archbishop's Crozier, the head of which is cruciform. Crozier, the Cross-headed Pastoral-Staff of an Archbishop.

1865. Raine, *Hexham*, II. lxxi.

Wearing the pall and holding a crosier or cross staff.

1865. Lee, *Directorium Anglicanum*, 2nd ed. 21.

The crozier, or Archiepiscopal Cross, is a cross borne on a staff, the lower end pointed as in the Pastoral Staff.

1866. F. C H., in *Notes and Queries*, December, p. 435.

I am quite aware that, in strict language, the word crosier applies to the cross-staff carried before an archbishop.

1866. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, 595 (corrected 1884).

Crozier, the Cross borne by or before Archbishops only.

1867. Boutell, *English Heraldry*, 115.

Crozier, the cross-staff of an archbishop.

1868. Pugin, *Glossary*, revised by Bernard Smith, as in 1844.

1868. Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*, 141. Of the Pallium and Crozier.

1868. Chambers, *Cyclopædia* s. v. Crosier, a staff surmounted by a cross.

1868 and 1889. Haydn, *Dictionary of Dates*, s. v. Crosier, a staff surmounted by a cross borne before an archbishop.

1872. Shipley, *Glossary*, 144. Crosier, the pastoral staff of an archbishop, terminating in a cross. (But see above, under 1872, in section 5.)

1872. Brande and Cox, *Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art*, s. v. Crosier, the staff of an archbishop, surmounted by a cross, whence its name.

1873. Aveling, *Heraldry*, 133.

Crozier, the cross-headed staff of an archbishop.

1874. Townsend, *Manual of Dates*, s. v. Crozier, the pastoral staff of an archbishop is distinguished by a cross, and must not be confounded with the staff of a bishop, which terminates in a shepherd's crook.

1874. Lee, *Manuale Clericorum*, 19.

The Crozier. or Archiepiscopal Cross is a Cross borne on a staff.

1876. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 110.

The Crosier borne before an Archbishop.

1876. Enquirer, in *Church Times*, April 13, p. 184.

I have always understood the crosier was the archbishop's substitute for the crook.

1876. H. E. T. R., in *Church Times*, April 28, p. 216.

The crosier was fixed to the metropolitan's chair.

1877. Boutell, in *Encycl. Britannica*, s. v. Crosier or Crozier is the title given to the official staff of an archbishop, which has a cross-head.

1877. Lee, *Glossary*. Crozier. The term for a cross mounted on a staff, borne before archbishops and patriarchs.

1880. Armfield, in *Dict. Chr. Antiq.*, p. 1567.

In modern times a bishop is represented with a crook, an archbishop with a cross or crosier.

1882. Ogilvie-Annandale, *Imperial Dictionary*. Crosier, an archbishop's staff bearing a cross at the top.

1882. Bloxam, *Companion to Principles of Gothic Architecture*, 20.

The crozier—differing from the pastoral staff of a bishop in being surmounted by a cross instead of a crook—is held in the left hand.

1882. Latham, *English Dictionary*. Crosier Staff of an archbishop, which terminates in a cross.

1883. Vectis, in *Church Times*, Feb. 9, p. 93, etc.

At all events, a crozier proper, and not a bishop's crook, is the fitting symbol for his Grace of Canterbury.

1883. Hammond, in *Church Times*, February 16, p. 115.

A letter from me suggesting that a crozier should be presented to the archbishop.

1883. *Builder*, July 18, p. 82.

A crozier (which is a cross upon a staff, and not a crook at all).

1886. Webster-Mahn, *Dictionary* (also, bishop's crook, see section 5). Crosier, the official staff of an archbishop, terminating at the top in a cross, also the pastoral staff of a bishop, which terminates in an ornamented curve or crook.

1888. Lee, in *Archaeologia*, li. 352, 364, 381.

For the crozier—that is a cross surmounting a staff—is certainly not a pastoral staff or crook, nor is the pastoral staff or crook a crozier (p. 352). The archiepiscopal, patriarchal, or pontifical cross or crozier, carried immediately and respectively before an archbishop, a patriarch, or the sacred pontiff (p. 364). That the pastoral staff or crook, being perfectly distinct from the crozier or cross upon a staff, should, both by word of mouth and in writing, be duly and carefully distinguished from it (p. 381).

1890. Macklin, *Monumental Brasses*, 39.

The Crosier was substituted for the pastoral staff (i.e. in the case of archbishops). The difference lay in the head, which instead of a crook became a cross, and sometimes a crucifix.

1890. Goodrich, in *Weekly Churchman*, December 20th, 305.

The Archbishop then handed the crosier to his cross-bearer, who bare it before him.

n. d. Fairholt, *Dictionary of Terms*, s. v. Crozier, a staff surmounted by a cross, borne before an archbishop.

7. *The original form of the error.*

There would seem to be no ancient authority whatever for this use of the term. It began by applying the term crosier to an archbishop's cross as well as to a bishop's crook. See above, section 6, 1819, 1826, 1840, 1886. So that the term has first been extended to the wrong thing, and then, by many, limited to it.

8. *The term "pastoral staff."*

The term "pastoral staff," occasionally and rightly used before 1834, *e. g.* in the Prayer-book of 1549, the earliest instance I have found in English, has come into almost universal use since 1834, when Mr. M. H. Bloxam taught that an archbishop's cross ought to be called a crosier.[a] As the use of the term "pastoral staff" has not been questioned, I have not been collecting quotations for it. I have, however, noted the following.

1549. *Booke of the Common Prayer; Certayne Notes,* fo. clviiv.
The Bushop . . . . shall have . . . . hys pastorall staffe in hys hande.

1593. *Rites of Durham,* 41.
A crosier or pastorall staffe.

1626. Hegg, *Legend of St. Cuthbert* (1777), 21.
Whom the Saint in a sleepe soe beate with his Pastorall Staffe, that the next Morning not able to rise, etc.

[a] I say nothing of Cocker and Rees, for I have not been able to find a single quotation in which their use of the term is followed earlier than 1826. As to Browne, see note on page 21. Nor can we infer anything to the point from rhetorical passages such as that quoted by Johnson from Bacon's Essays; "Anselmus and Thomas Becket, who, with their crosiers, did almost try it with the king's sword," or this from Freeman, N. C. ii. 217; "Lanfranc . . . the ruler whose crozier completed the conquest which the ducal sword only began." In passages like these, "crozier" stands for ecclesiastical power simply. *Cf.* Section 5, 1647, 1808. The quotation from Blore may be taken for what it is worth. He elsewhere uses the word of the pastoral staff of a bishop. See section 5, 1826. There is a quotation from the funeral certificate of Archbishop Frewen at the College of Arms, in *Hierurgia Anglicana*, p. 85, which greatly puzzled me for some time, stating that Robert Challoner, blue-mantle, "carried the crosier and pastoral staff" (1664). Thinking there must be some mistake, I at once wrote to the college to ask if it was correctly copied. The only reply I received was to effect that if I wished I could have a correct copy, the fee for which would be three guineas. And there the matter rested for a while. Our Assistant-Secretary Mr. St. John Hope has, however had an obliging note from Mr. G. W. Marshall, Rouge Croix, explaining that the words "crosier and pastoral staff," appear to mean one article and not two, and that under the shield of arms the "article" is drawn, "a crosier with a cross where the crook joins the stick." So that in this case description and "article" are alike due to the vagaries of some eccentric herald of the seventeenth century.

1762. Jacob, *Law Dictionary*, s. v. *Crocia.* The Crosier or Pastorall Staff.

1771. Bentham, *Ely*, 53 n.

The Pastorall Staff of Aldhelm, Bp. of Shireburn.

1839. Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, ii. 319.

The pastoral staff, called *baculus pastoralis*, *cambutta*, etc.

1843. Hook, *Church Dictionary*, under Crosier. A crosier is the pastoral staff of an Archbishop, and is to be distinguished from the pastoral staff of a Bishop.

1847. *Ecclesiologist*, vii. 192.

When a Bishop performs any episcopal office he wears a cope, mitre and pastoral staff.

1852. Raine, *Auckland*, 44.

The right hand in a state of elevation, holding a pastoral staff.

1858. Purchas, *Dir. Angl.*, 18.

1874. Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, Introduction, p. xc.

Mor Bachall. The pastoral staff which St. Columba confided to Scanlann, Prince of Ossory.

1876. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, 107.

The Pastoral Staff was also called Crocia or Crochia, (Crutch, Crook).

1876. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. 671.

But meanwhile the Bishop of Bayeux had cast a longing eye on the treasures of St. Cuthbert, and he carried off a pastoral staff of rare workmanship and material, for it was wrought of sapphire.

1882. Bloxam. See above in Section 6, 1834, and *op. cit. passim.*

1889. *Index to Archaeologia.*

1890. Lightfoot, Bishop, Speech at presentation.

I found that my venerable friend the Bishop of Bath and Wells was preceded by a pastoral staff.

1890. J. T. F. Description of the "Crosier or Pastoral Staff" of the Bishop of Durham.

9. *The archbishop's cross, not "crosier."*

The proper term for an archbishop's cross is "cross" (1460-1890).

1460. Capgrave, *Chronicle*, Rolls ed. (1858), 134.

In the third vision cum prelatis, with here crosses and croses (croyses, MS. C.C.C.).

1483. *Golden Legend*; see above, in Section 3.

1485. Leland, *Collectanea,* iii. 192, quoted in *Prompt. Parv.* 104, note, as above, in Section 3, c. 1485.

1516. *Golden Legend,* as above, in Section 3, f. lxvi.

1528. Roy, *Rede me,* etc. (Arber) 56.

And they beare two Crosses right longe.

1563? Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* s. a. 1164.

Robert bishop of Hereford offered himselfe to bear his (Becket's) crosse rather then he shoulde soe doe.

1569. Grafton, *Chronicle,* 73.

Who (the Archbishop) . . . caused his crosse to be borne before him.

1576. Lambarde, *Peramb. of Kent* (1596), 81.

Thurstine of York, having his crosse borne up before him. (See above, Section v. 1576.)

1586. Holinshed, *Description of Ireland,* 32. See above, Section 3, 1586.

1708. Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* (1845) iii. 113.

The old controversy between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, about carrying the cross erected . . . the archiepiscopal cross was delivered before the pall, p. 450.

1808. Fowler, W., Engraving of murder of Thomas à Becket.

Behind the altar stands Edward Grimfere, with the Episcopal (*sic*) cross in his hand.

1809. Milner, in *Archaeologia,* xvii. 38.

The pastoral staff of an archbishop is not a hooked crosier, but a processional cross.

1839. Browne, *York Minster,* cover.[a]

A Pastoral Staff or Crosier, as used by both Archbishops and Bishops.

1846. Hart, *Eccl. Records.*

To prevent the Archbishop of York from having his cross borne before him.

1849. Rock, *Church of our Fathers,* ii. 223.

With respect to the Archiepiscopal Cross, we have strong evidence, etc.

1850. J. I. D., in *Notes and Queries,* December, p. 523.

The staff with the cross appears on the monument of Archbishop Warham.

1850. N., in *Notes and Queries,* November, p. 412.

The crosses borne before Wolsey are called crosses and not croziers.

1876. H. T. E. R., in *Church Times,* April 28, p. 216.

I think . . . the cross was used by, as well as carried before, archbishops.

[a] In the cover of the part issued in 1838, Browne describes a two-barred cross as a "crosier;" but in 1839 he calls the same "a Pope's processional cross." In 1862 he has adopted the common errors. See Section 6, 1862.

1881. Micklethwaite, J. T., in *Archaeologia*, xlvii. 375.
An archbishop in alb and cope reading. His cross rests against his left shoulder.[a]

1882. Jessopp, *Husenbeth's Emblems*, 261.
Crosiers, two, and archbishop's cross, all held in his left hand. *S. Dubritius, B.C.*

1883. J. T. F., in *Church Times*, February 23, p. 125, etc.
I should think that Archbishop Benson ought certainly to have a crosier and a cross as well.

1883. C. R. T., in *Church Times*, March 2, p. 140.
The Archbishop of Canterbury depicted with the crook or pastoral staff, and not the archiepiscopal cross.

1883. W. H. St. John Hope, in *Church Times*, March 2, p. 140.
And that (the seal) of Stephen Langton (1207-1228) also, with effigy holding a pastoral staff, and not a cross.

1883. Fowler, James, in *Church Times*, March 9, p. 160.
St. William is represented . . . with his right hand raised in benediction, and holding in his left a cross.

1883. Lunn, J. R., in *Church Times*, March 22, p. 205.
Wm. de Grenefield, Archbishop of York . . . holds a cross.

1883. Bellet, *Pellicia*, 132.
Of the processional Cross, another ornament of Archbishops.

1884. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, revised edition, 718.
The term (crozier) is often, but incorrectly, applied to the . . . cross borne by or before Archbishops only.

1888. J. T. F., in *Church Times*, October 5, p. 846.
Six (archbishops) with both crosier and cross.

1889. J. T. F., in *Church Times*, November 8, p. 1024.
An archbishop's cross has been called a "cross" to my knowledge from 1460 to the present time.

1890. H. L. J., in *Church Times*. February 21.
A prelate, if he be an archbishop, should have the cross, if a bishop, the crozier borne before him.

There are two quite obsolete synonyms for a bishop's crook, viz. "Clappe" (N E.D. s.v. Clap *sb.* II. 12) and "Cleystaff" or "Cleykstaff" (*ib.* s.v.), but there are no quotations for them, only references to early lexical works, so that they cannot have been in general use.

[a] *ib.* Note.—It is a common error to suppose the cross of an archbishop to be the equivalent of the crook or crozier of an ordinary bishop.

The older dictionaries copy from one to the other or refer to a supposed reason for the term "Crosier," viz. "that it has a cross on the top of it." We find this in Skinner, 1671; Blount, 1674 and 1717; Phillips, 1678; Childe, 1691; Fenning, 1741; Jacob, 1762; Johnson, 1755; Parker, 1838; Richardson, 1844; *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, 1845; and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1854, while at the same time it is explained to mean a bishop's pastoral staff. As the monosyllabic name for this sometimes took the form of "crosse" (see above, Sect. 1) some confusion might easily arise in the minds of writers who had never seen a pastoral staff nor given any consideration to its form. Even in Latin inventories we find *crux* used for the crook of a bishop's or abbot's staff. Thus in one of 1506, printed in Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, we find, "j baculus pastoralis argenti et in parte deauratus cum armis dñi Johis de Grandissono ac diversis imaginibz supra *in cruce* (*i.e.*, in the crook) amulatis ac duabus ymaginibz de Coronacione beate Marie *infra eandem crucem* (crook)." Also, "j *crux pastoralis* . . . . cum ymagine *in media sedente* (*i.e.* inside the crook)." Phillips says (*World of Words*, 1678, s.v.), "*Crosier*, a bishop's staff, from the old word *Croce*, a shepherd's crook; or, for that it bears the figure of a cross." The former part of his explanation is doubtless right, but I think the form *Crosier* arose in the way pointed out above, and that it was applied to the bearer of the staff before it was used of the staff itself. Again, he is right in saying that it "bears the figure of a cross," that is, however, "cross" in the sense of *crook*, about which he probably knew nothing.

It is hardly necessary to do more than just refer to the misconception which has prevailed to a great extent in England, particularly of late years, namely, that an archbishop's cross ought to be used *instead* of a crook, and carried by the archbishop himself. This view has been defended with great pertinacity in some of the Church papers, but those who are conversant with the ritual of the Western Church are well aware that an archbishop uses his crosier exactly as a bishop does, and has his cross borne before him. Strange to say, Bishop Milner, the Roman Catholic divine and antiquary, fell into this mistake. Writing in 1808, when almost all ritual was in abeyance in England, he says, "Few antiquaries are supposed to be ignorant that the Pastoral Staff of an Archbishop is not a hooked crosier, but a processional cross," *Archaeologia*, xvii. 38.[a] See again the

[a] Dr. Husenbeth corrects the error in his Life of Bishop Milner, p. 165.

quotations from the Roman Catholic antiquary, John Browne of York, above, Section 5. 1862.

In conclusion I must express my thanks to Dr. Murray for most kindly allowing me to make use of the materials collected for the *New English Dictionary*, and to our Assistant Secretary Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Mr. Edward Peacock, and other friends, who have given me references and quotations. It may perhaps seem to some that the number of these is greatly in excess of what is needed, but it is hoped that the accumulation of evidence here presented will have some effect in settling the questions to which it relates.

XXIII.—*Excavations on the site of the Roman city at Silchester, Hants.* *By* George E. Fox, F.S.A., *and* W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.

Read December 11 and December 18, 1890.

On the 27th February last we had the honour of laying before the Society a communication on the desirability of the complete and systematic excavation of the site of Silchester.[a]

The scheme therein set forth, which had already been sanctioned by the Duke of Wellington, the owner, and by Mr. Cooper, the tenant, met with the cordial support and approval of the Fellows present, and it was unanimously referred to the Council to consider the steps necessary for carrying it out.

The deliberations of the Council were eminently practical, for they not only at once appointed an executive committee to carry out the scheme, but, by the liberal grant of 25*l.* from the funds of the Society, and another 25*l.* from the newly-created Research Fund, they initiated the means by which the scheme could be carried into effect.

A strong and influential general committee was next formed, and, as other subscriptions began to come in, it was decided to commence operations. The executive committee accordingly met at Silchester to inspect the site, and finally resolved that the work should be begun, as suggested in our memorandum, by completing the excavation of the large *insula* north of the *forum*, where the late Rev. J. G. Joyce, F.S.A., had already uncovered the remains of a large house.

This *insula* is surrounded by streets whose width and exact place are clearly marked in the growing crops, so much so that when a portion of these was cut

[a] See *Proceedings*, 2nd S. xiii 85.

for us to the presumed width of the ancient streets on the north and east sides of the *insula*, to mark the limits of the ground set apart for excavation, the edge of the cutting was found to coincide with the external face of the wall line of the houses. Thus the plan of the streets, as laid down on the 25-inch Ordnance Survey map, may be taken as correct.

On the south side this *insula* is traversed by a modern road, which passes completely across the site of the city from east to west.

When we commenced to lay bare the limits of the *insula*, it was found that a continuous wall marked the line of the streets, although the houses of this *insula*, as will be shown, stood detached from each other.

Within these bounding lines are two large houses, one at the north-west corner, one at the north-east. Signs of another were found on the south, and although the part of the *insula* south of the modern road has not yet been fully examined, enough has been done to show that buildings existed along that side.

Between and south of the houses named extends a considerable area of open ground. This was examined throughout by trenches carried diagonally at intervals of 16 or 17 feet. Between the houses these revealed scarcely anything, no remains of foundations, and but little pottery. The case, however, was different in the ground south of house No. 1. Here there were confused but very scanty indications of buildings lining the street down to the edge of the modern road, and many objects of various kinds were turned up. Two rubbish pits were also disclosed.

The open ground to the south of house No. 2 had many rubbish pits in it, and from them were derived many interesting objects: these will be described presently. House No. 1, at the north-west corner of the *insula*, was excavated in 1864 by the Rev. J. G. Joyce,[a] who was of opinion that it had been twice altered and partially rebuilt, basing that opinion chiefly on the coins found. After a careful examination of the site, aided by the excellent plans and sections made by Sir Henry Dryden, we are inclined to consider that the house is of only two periods.

The two columns found by Mr. Joyce and described by him are here figured and drawn to scale for the first time. (Plate XXVII., figs 1 and 2.)

After the ground to the south of house No. 1 had been thoroughly searched, a strip 40 feet wide along the north side of the *insula* was next taken in hand. The trenches for some distance east of house No. 1 showed no foundations, and

[a] See description and plan in *Archaeologia*, xlvi. 329, *et seq.*

FIG. 3.

(Full size).

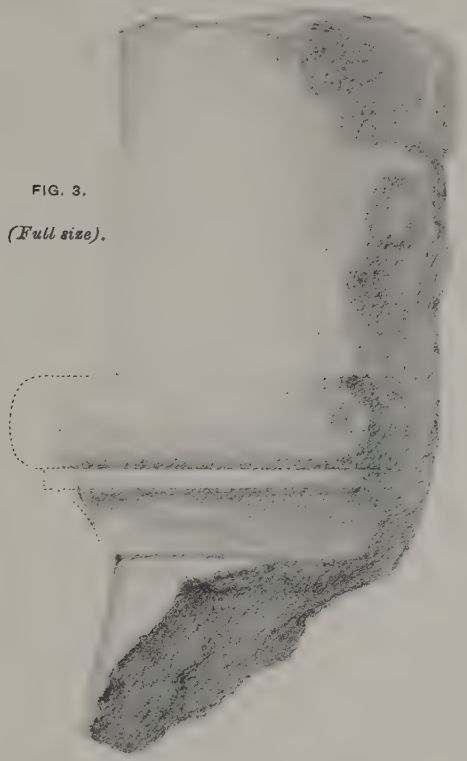


FIG. 1.

$\frac{1}{6}$

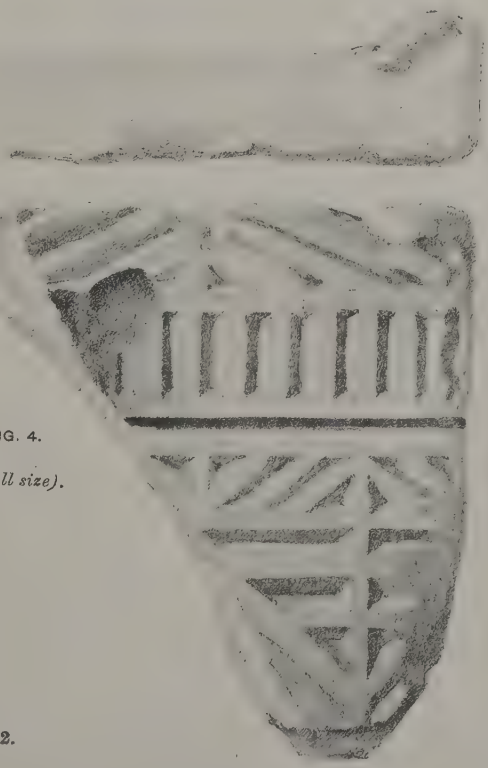
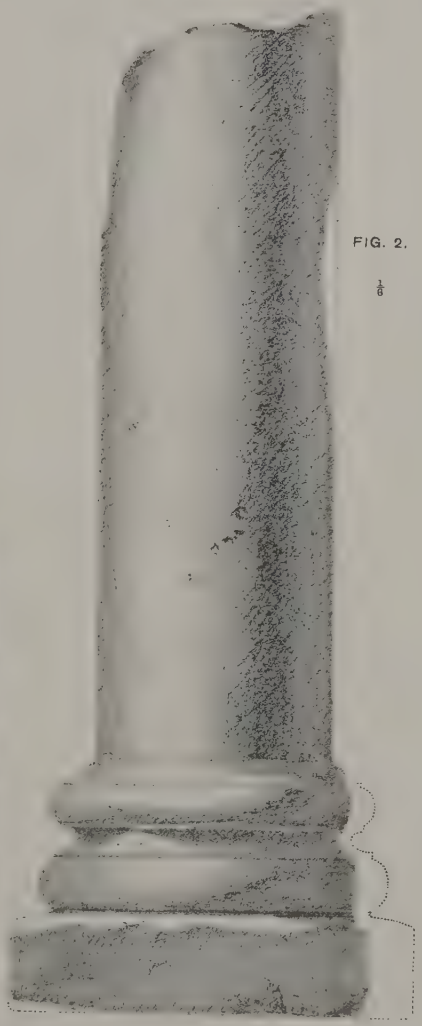


FIG. 4.

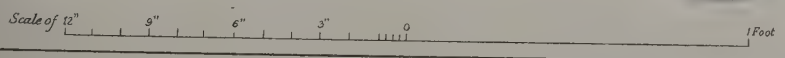
(Full size).

FIG. 2.

$\frac{1}{6}$



Scale to Figs. 1 and 2.



George E. Fox. del. 1890

SILCHESTER. — ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS FROM INSULA I.

produced but few objects. At a distance, however, of 120 feet from the north-east angle, traces of buildings were come upon. These traces were but vague and fragmentary, and no continuous lines of foundations revealed themselves, but here and there occurred the wreck of what had been cemented floors. Three rubbish pits were found amongst them, from one of which (pit C) many pieces of painted wall plaster were unearthed, and a small fragment of a column $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

At this point the excavations were suspended for a time, the work of harvest intervening. They were however resumed as soon as the crops were off the ground, and continued in a southerly direction. They now revealed the lines of a large and interesting house (No. 2), the foundations to the north of it already explored being apparently the remains of its outbuildings on that side.

It will be seen by a reference to the plan (Plate XXVIII.) that this house resembled very much in its general laying out those already discovered, with certain additions and alterations. As in the others, a courtyard with corridors forms a centre round which the ranges of rooms are placed, these again having an external corridor or series of gallery-like rooms.

This arrangement seems the typical one in all the larger houses yet discovered in Silchester.

The alterations in the house before us consist in the insertion of two rooms warmed by hypocausts in the lines of the west and north outer corridors, and in the division of the courtyard by a south corridor or pentice.

Owing to the lesser depth of soil over this house than over No. 1, repeated ploughing had demolished the walls, for the most part, down to the level of the floors, and by the same agency the finer mosaic floors had been almost entirely destroyed. There was clear evidence also that the building materials, of too great a value in such a stoneless country to be left on the site, had been carried away, either to be used again in early times for building purposes, or to be broken up in later days to mend the roads in the neighbourhood. In great measure the plan of the house was recovered from the traces of its floors, where the *tesseræ* lay too deep for the ploughshare to reach.

From the nearness to the surface of what remained of the walls, the flint rubble of which they were composed had become disintegrated by the rains and frosts of centuries, more especially as in many instances the mortar which bound the flints together was by no means of the excellence usually attributed to Roman work.

The walls seem to have been all composed of this flint rubble with brick quoins, and in the best preserved portion discovered, that of the nearly circular

chamber of the western side, the foundations extended to a depth of 2 feet 3 inches from the Roman ground level. The wall proper commenced with a course of tiles, the width of the foundations being 2 feet 6 or 7 inches, whilst the wall they supported was 2 feet 4 inches. The average thickness of the walls throughout the house was 2 feet.

Owing to the demolition of the walls in so many places, it was not possible to trace the doorways; one only, with any certainty, could be marked, that affording means of communication between the south corridor and the inner courtyard at its south-west angle.

It could not be ascertained whether the walls of the house had been plastered externally, but the wall of this courtyard had been thus covered, as some portions of plastering were discovered here and there just above the original ground level. This plastering did not appear to have been painted. Looking at the nature of the material of which the walls were composed, it is very probable that all the houses had such a coating externally, and it is quite possible that in some instances it had a certain amount of painted ornamentation.

The flooring of the various chambers and passages was very generally of tessellated work, though a portion of the west corridor towards its south end, and a small fragment in the space marked 19, showed pavements of *opus signinum;* or that variety of it at least which is most used for floors, and contains various-sized fragments of brick mixed with the lime which binds them.

The construction of the tessellated pavements followed a scarcely varying rule, and had hardly the solidity usually found in such work. On the earth was laid a bed of coarse gravelly mortar, 4 to 5 inches thick, and upon this a layer of fine *opus signinum*, of the kind made of lime cement coloured with pounded brick, the *tesseræ* of the floors being inserted in this second layer. The thin fluid cement usually run into the joints of the *tesseræ* before the final polishing had quite disappeared, and its place was filled by black vegetable mould.

In the plan (Plate XXVIII.) the portions coloured pink show traces of being covered either by tessellated floors, or by those of *opus signinum;* whilst the grey tint extends over the spaces where the flooring has disappeared, or of which the character is unknown.

The east corridor appears to have been paved with *tesseræ* of a drab-coloured stone, averaging 1 inch square.

The pavement of the north corridor is more elaborate in design. It consists of a groundwork of the drab-coloured stone *tesseræ*, as in the east corridor, with a broad border of red tile *tesseræ* of the same size. In this groundwork of drab

STREET

OPEN GROUND

TRACES OF BUILDINGS

PIT D

PIT C

PENTICE

YARD

PIT E

STREET

MAGNETIC
OCTOBER 1890

15

17

14

16

18

19

20

5

N CORRIDOR

13

PIT R

COURT OR GARDEN

OPEN GROUND

12
STOKEHOLE

11

4

W. CORRIDOR

S. CORRIDOR

E. CORRIDOR

9

STOKEHOLE

B

10

3

21

7

6

2

22

PIT P

23

1

OPEN GROUND

PIT T

PIT N

PIT M

24

PIT I

Scale of 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 70 Feet

Traces of floors of mosaic or opus signinum.

Floors of which no traces were found.

W. H. St. John Hope, mens. et del.

W. Griggs & Son, Imp. Lith.

SILCHESTER.—PLAN OF HOUSE No. 2. INSULA 1.

stone a broad band of red forms a panel extending the length of the corridor. A thin central line of red *tesseræ*, with an octagon at the west end and a hexagon at the east formed of black and red lines, completes the decorative arrangement. The figures have small centres in the shape of a cross made of four black *tesseræ* with one central white one. The west end of this pavement is shown in Plate XXIX., and may be taken as a typical example of the commoner forms of mosaic pavements found at Silchester.

The passage-way 19, to the external corridor 17, has a flooring of the drab *tesseræ* with a bordering of red. Rooms 14 and 18, with the passage between, 16, are paved throughout with the red brick *tesseræ*, and the external corridor, 17, was evidently paved with the same kind of flooring.

In the west corridor, at a distance of about 7 feet from its north-west angle, set in a ground of the 1-inch red *tesseræ*, occurred a fragment of mosaic work of finer character. This had been laid down, as a Persian or Indian rug is at the present day, before the entrance to the more considerable chambers of the house. It was formed of black and white *tesseræ*, the latter ranging from 1 inch to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in size, and had the figure of an elaborate fret inclosing small panels of braid-work, in which yellow and red *tesseræ* were also introduced. How far it extended down the corridor in a southward direction it is impossible to say; but it may have been nearly 20 feet long. Although very much ruined it was possible to make out the pattern, and it owed its partial preservation to the fact that a portion had sunk in a basin-shaped hollow, caused by the subsidence of a rubbish pit beneath (R on plan, Plate XXVIII.), filled up before this line of corridor was constructed. In fact, the east wall of the corridor passed over the side of the pit.

Besides a fragment of coarse drab and red pavement, perhaps the floor of a passage, in the division marked 4, a small piece of a border of delicate character was found in room 2 against its south wall. Here another rubbish pit (P on plan) had caused a sinking of the *tesseræ*, and thus preserved a portion of the mosaic. Judging by the fragment remaining, this is part of a small band of chequered work with an embattled edging; the border of a pavement of a superior kind. The colours of the *tesseræ* in this band are: black, purple, red, yellow, and white, and the sizes of the *tesseræ* $\frac{1}{2}$ inch and under, but in the broad strip of white next the wall they are a full inch in size.

By the kindness of Dr. Woodward, Keeper of the Geological Department of the British Museum, we are enabled to identify with some degree of certainty the materials of which the various coloured *tesseræ* are composed. The white

SILCHES

PART OF MOSAIC FLOOR, WEST END OF NORTH CORRIDOR, INSULA 1, HOUSE NO. 2.

Scale of 12 9' 6' 3' 0 1 2 3 Feet

George E. Fox. del. 1890

— MOSAIC FLOOR.

villa of Marienfels, near Wiesbaden. The same arrangement may also be noted in house No. 1 of this *insula*.

The pillared hypocaust 11, with its furnace room 12, traverses the long external corridor of this side of the house.

Another, but composite, hypocaust has been intruded into the external corridor on the north side. The marks of its intrusion are very evident, for in constructing it part of the tessellated flooring of the passage has been left in place, thus showing that the corridor is of earlier construction than the hypocaust. Some fragments of masonry against the north wall of 14 show the steps up to the room above this hypocaust.

Burnt flooring may be a sign of the existence of hypocausts constructed to warm rooms in the space marked 5, but all this division of the house is too ruined to be made out.

In every part of the excavations of this house painted wall plaster was met with. From a careful examination of the fragments turned up it appears that, for the most part, simple panelled work formed by lines in different colours on variously coloured grounds formed the principal ornamentation of the walls; reds and yellows, derived from the ochres, being the prevailing pigments employed. At the same time the decoration of the principal rooms was not confined to mere lines of one colour on another coloured ground, as the painted fragments show, especially in rooms 1, 2, 11, and 15. Here traces of painted ornamental forms were found, including golden-coloured draperies and imitations of yellow and grey marbles, no doubt suggested by the marble wall-linings of important buildings.

One interesting architectural fragment was turned up in the hypocaust 11 (Plate XXVII., fig. 3). This was a piece of the neck and astragal of a Doric capital with a portion of the shaft beneath it, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and evidently belonged to one of those dwarf baluster columns which are occasionally met with on Roman sites, the prototypes of the baluster shafts of the primitive Romanesque. As before mentioned, a small fragment of a column, giving a diameter of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, was found in the rubbish pit C in the dependencies of this house.

Not far from 11 was also picked up a portion of one of those ornamented wall-flue tiles, with reeded ornamentation stamped upon it, which must have formed part of the wall decoration of one of the winter rooms. (Plate XXVII., fig. 4.)

Of the superstructure of the house but little could be learned. Of the glazing of its windows only four fragments were found, and these were all dug up in the

small square room 21. The trenches throughout the *insula* produced a certain quantity of window glass, but not large in amount.

It is impossible to suppose that so important a house as this had not many windows, and that they were not glazed. The principal rooms must have been amply lighted. The mosaic floors and the rich wall-colouring required proper lighting for their display. It is probable that the windows were small and undoubtedly high in the walls, but made up for their smallness by their number.

The entrance to the house from the street may be assumed to have been opposite room 21, which room would have served for the porter. A recess in the wall here contained either a closet or a seat, probably the latter.

The use of the spaces south of room 21 cannot be determined; but the long strip between 22 and 23 may indicate the position of a staircase, if the house had a first floor, which is very doubtful. These end rooms are, perhaps, additions to the original plan.

The great square foundation south-west of this group of chambers has much the appearance of a large tank for the storage of water from the extensive roofs; but the fact that it showed no traces of being lined with the usual cement or paved in any way militate against this idea. A deep rubbish pit, too, in its north-west angle, the earth of which was much stained and blackened, would also be an objection to this assignment.

The south corridor of the house was apparently added to the original design to afford more direct access from the street-entrance to the principal rooms. It was probably open on its southern side with a pentice roof only. Something of the same arrangement may be seen at the north-east angle, where a yard with entrances from the street gave access to the dependencies. There the stone footings for the support of the posts remain.

Traces of the destruction, or partial destruction, of the house by fire were to be seen on the mosaic pavements, notably along the north corridor, and upon the fragment of black and white tessellated work at the north end of the west corridor.

The extremely ruined state of the north and great part of the west side make it impossible to guess the uses of the different rooms. One of the finest of these must have been the partly circular one terminating the west side. It seems likely that the wall crossing it lay beneath the surface, and served only as a support to columns, so that rooms 1 and 2 formed one large apartment with a fine mosaic floor in the square division. It is not singular to find rooms terminating in apses, but the form of room 1 appears to be very rare in Britain.

We now turn to the subject of the trenches and rubbish pits, and the objects found in them. As has been already said, the whole of the ground north of the modern highway and clear of the two large houses was systematically examined by trenches carried diagonally across the area at intervals about 17 feet apart.

Wherever foundations or traces of masonry occurred the trenches were extended in order to ascertain their nature. By these means were disclosed the rubbish pits noted on the plan, but it is possible that over so large an area a certain number may have escaped observation, and that other wells than one found towards the south-east corner of the *insula* may also have been missed.

Various objects were turned up in the trenches, but the pits were the principal source from which the better preserved relics were derived. These pits were generally about 4 feet in diameter at the bottom, but spreading irregularly towards the top, and their depth from the Roman ground level did not exceed 6 feet on the average. They were simply holes dug in the ground. Their contents included fragments of bones of domestic animals, and shards of all the varieties of pottery found on the site, especially of the commoner sorts. Occasionally objects in bronze or glass or iron occurred, but these were more frequently met with in the trenches.

Owing to the fragmentary condition of the bones, but little information could be derived from them. Dr. Woodward has, however, identified bones of the horse, ox (*bos longifrons*), sheep or goat, of the pig, which was very abundant, and the dog; and among the wild animals, the red deer, roebuck, and perhaps fallow deer. Oyster-shells were discoverable all over the site.

Besides the three pits already noticed at D, C, and E, two others, which must have been of early date, were found in house No. 2.

These had been covered by tessellated floors, and walls ran close beside them, or even partly over them. One pit, R, occurred at the north end of the west corridor. In it were found two *fibulæ* of bronze, and various small objects of the same metal; fragments of glass vessels; shards of reddish brown ware, and of pseudo-Arretine, both plain and figured; some pieces of a very fine black ware; and several skulls of dogs.

The other pit, P, lay beneath the patch of good mosaic in room 2. It was about 9 feet deep from the floor of the room and from 2 feet 10 inches to 3 feet 10 inches in diameter. The foundations of the wall which ran on its southern side had given somewhat from the subsidence of the earth with which the pit was filled. Near the bottom lay two pots, one of not uncommon type, the other

coarse and hand-made. The clay of which the latter was formed contained many grains of white pounded flint, and was of a dull buff colour, with a smoked and blackened surface. A good many fragments of painted wall plaster lay nearer the surface, and a copper coin of Nero was also turned up.

But the pit N produced the most remarkable collection of antiquities yet discovered in this *insula*. This was a mass of iron objects, mixed with a few others of different material, forming such a find as is known to have occurred only once before in Britain. When opened, the pit appeared to have been roughly walled with large flints laid in alternate layers with yellow gravel. This lining of flints and gravel was over 2 feet thick. At a depth of 5 feet from the present surface of the ground lay what appeared to be a sword-blade broken in two, and two iron bars, whose modern look led to doubts as to their Roman origin.

On the following day however, when the work of emptying the pit was resumed, it became evident that these formed only a small instalment of an extraordinary mass of iron objects, all in the same wonderful state of preservation. There was now no doubt of their Roman character, for amongst the uppermost lay a perfect bronze Roman scalebeam.

In all there were nearly sixty objects, including axes, hammers, gouges, chisels, two plough coulters, an anvil, a pair of blacksmith's tongs, two files, a rasp, a so-called hippo-sandal, a standing lamp, a gridiron or portable cooking-stove, a carpenter's plane, and sundry objects of doubtful use. The only find similar to this was made in January 1854, at Great Chesterford in Essex, by the late Lord Braybrooke, who discovered in a pit there no less than ninety-six articles of the same period, many identical in character with those found at Silchester.[a]

Immediately beneath this mass lay, uninjured, in a sort of cist of pieces of chalk, a vessel of rough grey ware, which originally had a small handle. It contained nothing but a little earth and water, and the purpose of its careful deposit is not apparent. Under it, broken in fragments, was a large jug of coarse buff-coloured ware, much blackened on one side.

Before passing to other matters it may be as well to notice the rarity of some of the contents of this find. The museums of Europe contain but few examples of the plane in use in Roman times. Two specimens are preserved in the National Museum at Naples, and a few other examples may be found in the museums of different towns on or near the Rhine.

[a] *Archaeological Journal*, xiii. 1.

Again, the British Museum cannot show any scalebeam so absolutely perfect as the bronze one from this pit. Like some of the smaller specimens in the Museum, it is graduated along the upper edge, for use perhaps as a measure of length.

Both the gridiron and the lamp are also of very rare occurrence.

It has already been noticed that only one well has been discovered. It was 21 feet 5 inches deep from the field surface, and had been lined with oak boards throughout, which remained nearly perfect for a height of about 10 feet from the bottom. The boarding formed a square 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, dovetailed together at the corners, and braced with narrow diagonal pieces across the top corners of each layer. The boards varied in width from 9 to 18 inches and were nearly 3 inches thick. The whole framing was supported on an oak curb $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. The entire framing was backed by a thick pugging of clay, which was twice as thick on two of its sides as on the other two.

In emptying this well three fragments of the stone cover were found, showing that it had a circular opening $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. There were also in it a vase of dark grey ware, three small fragments of glass vessels, and a small piece of the leather of a sandal or shoe. At the bottom of all lay the remains of the wooden bucket, which had been 1 foot in depth, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the bottom, and somewhat wider at the top. It had an iron handle, the greater part of which remains, but of the hoops hardly a trace was discoverable, although the marks of them were plainly visible on the wood.

Near the fragments of the bucket lay a number of pieces of birch bark, and a small shallow bowl of soft white metal, possibly pewter, having a hole drilled through the bottom. Its use is uncertain.

Besides the many fragments of the bones of animals found in cutting the trenches, the skeletons of two infants were discovered. One of these was found in a pit at a depth of 3 or 4 feet beneath the present surface, and appeared to be that of a child of a year old. The bones of the second were unearthed a little to the west of the detached square building south of house No. 2, and had been placed in a small urn of black ware which was deposited at a depth of 2 feet from the present surface. In both cases the skeletons were imperfect, all the smaller bones having perished.

Similar instances of infant burial in the close vicinity of houses are noted by the late Lord Braybrooke in his exploration of the sites of Roman buildings at Chesterford and Ickleton in Essex, and particularly at Barton in the same county.[a]

[a] *Archaeological Journal*, vi. 21, 22.

The only other human remains brought to light consisted of a fragment of a human skull dug up in tracing the line of buildings on the south side of the *insula*.

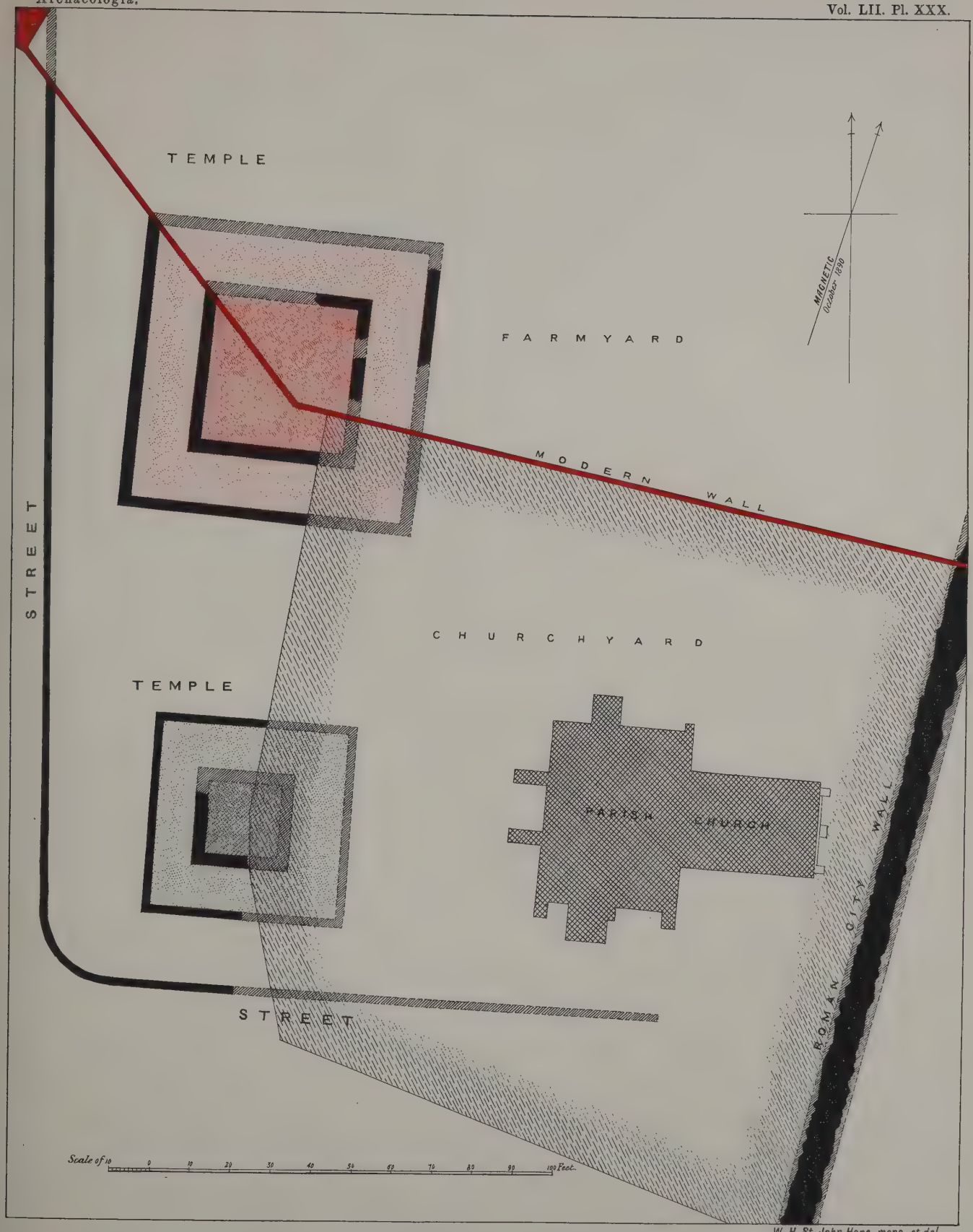
The coins, the many small relics in bronze, the fragments of glass vessels, the articles in bone and Kimmeridge shale, and the pottery in all its varieties, together with the iron objects, afford ample material for a separate paper on a future occasion.

We have already mentioned the suspension of operations in the *insula* until the removal of the crops. This interval was employed in a thorough examination of the north, south, and west gates, and of some interesting features of the city wall. The *basilica* was also very thoroughly re-examined and additional facts respecting it brought to light. As we hope next year to deal with the *forum* in the same manner, and to excavate the remainder of the area in which these buildings stand, the description of the *basilica* and *forum* will very properly form the subject of a separate communication.

Shortly after the resumption of the excavations at the beginning of September, a trench was cut outside the south-west corner of the graveyard of the parish church of Silchester (which stands within the city walls close to the site of the east gate) for the purpose of finding the line of one of the main streets running east and west. Almost the first blow of the pick struck upon a wall, which when cleared proved to be 2 feet thick, and running east and west. On the east it was traced nearly as far as the churchyard, under which it continues, and, of course, cannot be followed." From the churchyard boundary the wall was traced westwards for about 40 feet, when it began to curve round as if to form an apse. When, however, half a semicircle had been cleared, instead of continuing the curve the wall again became straight, but at nearly right angles to its first course, and it was now evident that the curve was simply the rounding of a corner. Two men were accordingly set to trace the wall northwards, but, after following it uninterruptedly for over 200 feet, further progress was stopped by farm buildings under which the wall passed.

Although little more than the lowest courses remained the wall had evidently been well-built of flint with continuous bonding courses of tiles. Where it passes under the churchyard it is higher than elsewhere. Throughout the length uncovered there appeared no signs of any openings or doorways, nor were any cross walls or remains of buildings found. There was no doubt, therefore, that the wall was that of an enclosure bounded by streets on the west and south.

To ascertain what the wall enclosed trenches were cut across the narrow space



W. H. St. John Hope, mens. et del.

SILCHESTER.—TEMPLES NEAR EAST GATE.

between it and the churchyard. These brought to light two rectangular buildings, one in the south, the other in the north part of the area, separated by a distance of almost 50 feet. (See Plate XXX.).

The southern building was 50 feet along its west side; but its north and south walls could not be followed for more than 28 feet as they then passed under the churchyard.

The northern building was larger than the other. Its west wall was followed northwards for about 70 feet, when further progress was stopped by farm buildings. Its south wall was also traced for about 45 feet until it reached the churchyard, under which it passes.

The walls of the southern building remain to a height of about 3 feet; they are 2 feet in thickness and built of flint, but the north-west angle is constructed of tiles. In many parts, notably on the north side, there remained a good deal of the original external plastering. This consists of (1) a coating of white plaster $\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick laid on the flintwork; over this is (2) a second coating of white plaster $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, and painted a bright red. Within the building, and evidently enclosed by it, was found another. Its walls were 3 feet thick, and apparently concentric with the outer walls, but only one angle, the south-west, could be uncovered, two others being under the graveyard, and the fourth beneath large elm trees. The space between the inner and outer walls was about 10 feet wide, filled in with a thick layer of clay and sand, but the inner inclosure contained merely loose building material.

Concerning the northern building fortunately more could be learned than the other. Its outer walls were 3 feet thick, and admirably constructed with a strong foundation of flint and concrete, on which were plainly visible the mortar-beds of the supervening bonding courses of tile. Their height above the original ground level was about 5 feet, but where the south wall passed under the churchyard, owing to the greater depth of soil, it stood much higher. This part, however, in contrast to the excellent work of the lower courses, consisted of poor rubbly material like certain rebuilt portions of the *basilica*. It seemed, therefore, that reconstruction had taken place here also, especially as the tile-courses which certainly formed part of the earlier work are absent in the later. The lower part of this south wall retained considerable portions of its external plastering, painted a bright red, as in the other example.

Like its southern neighbour, this northern building enclosed another, with walls of the same thickness and good construction, and similar traces of the tile-beds.

The space between the inner and outer walls was nearly 13 feet wide and filled in with sandy clay and loam, that in the south-west part being of a peculiar grey colour. Upon this had been laid, at a height of 7½ feet above the original ground level, a pavement of common *opus signinum* 2 inches thick, made of coarsely-pounded brick embedded in hard white cement. Below this was a thin layer of the hard pink cement.

The inner building had been filled in with clay, and paved at the same level as the other with *opus signinum* of peculiar character. This was about 5 inches thick and consisted (1) of a hard concrete of lime with lumps of brick, upon which was (2) a finer layer 2 inches thick, formed of fragments of brick mixed with pieces of hard stone, the most conspicuous being a streaked limestone of a dark colour, seemingly from the Purbeck beds. The upper surface had been ground down level and then smoothed and polished.

On laying down on the plan the walls of this northern building which were first uncovered, it was evident that only a small part of it lay under the churchyard, and that it might be possible to trace it further in an open space on the north between some of the farm buildings. A visit to the farmyard not only showed the practicability of this, but in the sides of a disused sawpit there was already exposed a section of the wall of the inner building which had been cut through in making the pit. It was also so near the surface that the finding of the north-east angle was an easy matter, and a cross trench soon revealed the line of the outer wall.

From these additional data it is possible to recover the character and plan of the building.

It consisted (1) of a platform 73 feet square and 7½ feet high, on which stood, centrally placed, a chamber or *cella* about 42 feet square without and 36 feet square within.

From analogy the southern structure has been similarly completed on plan as a platform 50 feet square, with a *cella* 24 feet square outside and 18 feet square within.

The walls of the *cellæ* of both buildings are carried down to the same depth as the retaining walls of the platforms, and the space between them was filled, as before mentioned, with clayey sand to sustain the pavements of the platforms.

No doorways or other openings were found in any of the walls of these two buildings that could be uncovered.

On the north side of the southern building, a little above the ground level, there seemed to be a sort of layer of red plaster, but in too rotten a state to

justify the suggestion of its being a floor or pavement. Here, too, were found many one-inch *tesseræ*, both red and drab, but principally the latter. Several pieces of worked Purbeck marble were turned up; some from their thinness were evidently wall-linings, but one appears to have formed part of a paving-slab. These marble fragments were found near both buildings. Among the smaller objects discovered were several pins of bone and bronze, an iron stylus, a piece of pseudo-Arretine ware stamped with a rosette, part of a small bone comb, a coin of Valens, another an imitation of Tetricus, and two small lamps of terra-cotta.

As to what the buildings were, it is difficult to say with certainty. Most probably they were temples, as buildings have been found in Gaul of similar or nearly similar plan undoubtedly devoted to the service of the gods.

The thinness of the retaining wall of the platform of the southern building precludes the idea that it supported columns, but the similar wall of the northern one is sufficiently broad to have carried columns forming a peristyle all round the *cella*, which in this instance had apparently no vestibule. Of steps ascending to the *cella* of either temple there were no traces. They would have indicated the position of the doors, which were possibly on the eastern side, though according to Vitruvius the entrances should have been on the west. The roofs of the buildings were unquestionably of wood, the walls being too thin to have supported vaulting of any kind.

That the buildings were of some importance is shown by the brilliant colouring of the sides of the platforms, and still more so by the use of marble wall-linings and pavements. Amongst the surrounding rubbish we also found fragments of what appeared to be the mouldings of plaster panels covered with a fine white stucco, which may have formed part of the decoration of the walls. The curious groovings on some of the pieces were not artificially produced, but are solely due to the action of fine rootlets of the trees growing above them.

Though these buildings, thus curiously grouped together, have both been discovered at the same time, it does not follow that they are of the same date. The smaller may possibly have been of earlier construction, superseded at a later time by the more elaborate and richer structure to the north of it. It may be interesting to compare these constructions with similar ones in France, for it is to ancient Gaul we must look to find such remains of the Roman time as will throw light on those of the same period in Britain. For instance, the ruins of a temple at Izernore (département de l'Ain) exhibit a *cella*, rather oblong than square, surrounded by a peristyle, the columns of which stood on a lofty base or *podium*. The *cella*

had no vestibule, and access was obtained to it by a flight of steps on the east, on which side was the door. A temple of the Doric order at Saintes appears to have been arranged in much the same way.[a]

Again, a temple discovered at Champlieu (département de l'Oise) had a *cella* nearly square, 21 m. by 20 m. adorned with attached half-columns. It was raised on a *podium* 1 m. 80 cent. above the level of the little court in which it stood, and its entrance was on the east. This temple was probably dedicated to Apollo.[b]

But the discoveries of the Père de la Croix, in 1880, on the heights adjacent to the city of Poitiers have more in common with those made at Silchester this year than those just cited. At a spot in cultivated land, above the station of the railway from Paris to Bordeaux, on the borders of the Faubourg de la Roche, was discovered a fosse inclosing a space of an irregularly oval form. Within this fosse, and nearly in the centre of the space marked out by it, lay foundations which were found to be those of two buildings, each about 12 m. 50 cent. square, with smaller squares within them. In the opinion of their discoverer, certainly one, if not both buildings were small temples, an opinion supported by their likeness in plan to the undoubted examples cited, and by a subsequent discovery. These two buildings were 39 mètres apart, but were joined together by constructions showing the traces of a kind of portico. The entrance to both was on the east, and the southern one was evidently the older, the portico and the northern building being clearly additions of a later time. Other substructions were revealed within the ring made by the fosse, and at the same time a well, 38 mètres deep, was found in a walled inclosure. On the well being emptied of the soil which choked it, among many other objects brought to light was a bronze vase of good workmanship, bearing (according to the Père de la Croix) a votive inscription to the god Mercurius Adsmerius, one of the divinities of the Gauls identified with Mercury.[c] It may be noted as curious, that three out of the four temples here cited have their entrances on the eastern instead of the western side.

Reference to the plan will show that the two buildings at Silchester, the axes of which are nearly, but not quite, in the same straight line, do not stand parallel with the west wall of the enclosure, which runs almost true north and south. The southern temple is, however, almost exactly parallel with the south wall of

[a] For both examples see *Rudiment d'Archéologie, ère gallo-romaine*, of M. de Caumont, and for the temple at Saintes, *Antiquités de la ville de Saintes*, by M. le Baron Chaudruc de Crazannes.

[b] See *Ruines de Champlieu*, by M. Viollet-le-Duc, *Revue Archéologique*, tom. 1. N.S. 1860.

[c] See *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, tom. X. deuxième série, 1887.

the enclosure, which is not quite at right angles with the west wall, and the setting out must, therefore, have been from this south wall, and not from the other.

It is worthy of notice, that the ancient parish church of Silchester, the oldest parts of which are apparently of late twelfth century work, does not stand symmetrically with any of the four sides of its surrounding graveyard, but its axis is exactly parallel with that of the southern temple. This may be merely a coincidence, but it is also possible that the Christian temple may be founded on some earlier building of the same date as that to the west of it. Unfortunately, nothing further can be done to investigate the matter.

The eastern side of the churchyard is bounded by the city wall, the core of which, in fact, here forms the greater part of the fence.

Before passing to the description of the gates it will be as well to say a few words about *opus signinum* floors, which it will be remembered were found in the large house previously described, as well as in one of the temples. Pieces of such floors have also been met with in the *basilica*.

Opus signinum, or the variety of it used for pavements, has scarcely attracted the attention it deserves. Floors of this material, composed of small pieces of brick, together with tiny fragments of volcanic ash, the whole bound by a lime cement, are of as common, if not commoner, occurrence in Pompeii than those compcsed of tessellated work. Nor are they confined to the meaner rooms of the houses there; very frequently the composition named forms a ground in which are bedded lines of white marble *tesseræ* arranged in elaborate geometrical patterns. The more usual method, however, when it was determined to enrich such a floor was to embed in it, in quite irregular fashion, any small fragments of the much prized varieties of marbles or rare alabasters. Pieces of pavements of the rarer *opus sectile* are thus used up again, the broken fragments of the flat tile-like hexagons, circles, and squares, of which they were composed, being embedded in the mass of the floor.

It is interesting to see that this same method has been employed in the pavement of the *cella* of the northernmost temple at Silchester. The rare marbles and alabasters of the Pompeian floors were of course not to be had, but the only marble apparently known, or at least procurable at the time, has been used, and fragments from the Purbeck beds are found incorporated in the floor. The pavement of the peristyle is of the commoner kind of work finished with a coating of lime cement, and contains no marble.[a]

[a] The pavement of the *cella* of the Doric temple at Saintes, in France, had a floor precisely similar to that of the peristyle of the larger temple at Silchester.

Pavements of *opus signinum* have scarcely as yet been noticed in Britain. If mentioned at all, they have been simply described as "cement floors," attention only being directed to tessellated work; but they deserve to be carefully noted wherever found, as they were by no means despised by the Roman builders, and formed a class of pavement as distinct as that of the more precious *opus tessellatum*, or still more prized *opus sectile*.

Pending the time when operations could be resumed after harvest in the *insula*, as no part of the area within the walls was free from growing crops, attention was directed to a proper examination of the city gates.

Three of these, on the north, south, and east, and another of lesser importance on the north-east leading to the amphitheatre, were partly investigated by Mr. Joyce. but the north and south gates were the only two that had not been entirely covered up again. These were now taken in hand and thoroughly worked out.

The site of the west gate had been approximately known, but the gate itself had not been previously explored. This has now been completely excavated, so far as the modern highway which passes over part of it permitted, with most interesting results.

The east gate and north-east postern have not yet been re-examined.

It will be convenient to commence with a description of the north gate.

This is situated nearly in the middle of a short section of the city wall, about 125 feet long, and now from 7 to 12 feet high, which bounds the area on the extreme north. (Plate XXXI. fig. 1). The gate is not flush with the wall, but is set back 24 feet, and flanked on each side by an inward sweep of the curtain wall, overlapping the gate proper by about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet before abruptly ceasing. There is thus formed in front of the gate a restricted area, narrowing rapidly from about 36 feet to 22 feet, and then more gradually to 19 feet immediately before the gate. By this means an enemy was placed at a great disadvantage when attacking the gate, the flanking walls enabling a small defending force to repel the attack without unnecessarily exposing themselves. The flanking walls, which alone retain their external facing, are well built of alternate bands of flints and large blocks of ironstone. They have also chamfered plinths of 6 inches projection of the same ironstone.

It will be noticed that while the eastern flank is parallel with the axis of the gate, the western side forms an angle with it. This may be due to some change of design while the wall was being built, as we found indications of this western flank having originally begun to turn in some feet before where it now does, as if

to form a wider gate. The inner face too follows the curve inwards of the outer line; while the eastern flank, though rounded on the outside sweep, has a decided right angle within.

The bastions formed by the return of the flanking walls, with the mound there backing them, would afford ample space for the largest military engines to defend the approaches of the gates, while the large platform over the gate itself would enable the defenders to pass from one side to the other.

An excellent representation of the manner in which the gates of cities and walled camps were defended by *ballistæ* may be seen in Plate 45 of Bartoli's work on the Trajan Column.

That *ballistæ* were used in Britain is certain, for in the large camp of *Bremenium* (High Rochester), to the north of the Roman Wall, two inscriptions were found in 1852 and 1855 respectively, recording the erection there of a *ballistarium*, that is, a battery of *ballistæ*. One of these inscriptions was discovered outside the west gate, close to which is a broad platform extending along the camp wall, no doubt the *ballistarium* in question.

To return to the north gate of Silchester.

The gate itself, which was a single one, consisted of two nearly parallel walls, about 18 feet long and 4 feet thick, built within the flanks formed by the inward turn of the curtain wall. They were from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 feet apart, and carried an inner and an outer arch, each about 11 feet wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. The doors, which, as usual, were double, were placed immediately behind the outer arch. The pivots on which they turned did not apparently work in stone sockets, but in the ends of a wooden sill, 10 inches square and 16 feet long, embedded in the threshold, seemingly at the time when the gate was built. Attention was first called to this rare and interesting arrangement by our clerk of the works, Mr. Richard Mann, who carefully cleared out the well-preserved holes in which the ends of the timber had been laid.

The only other place where such a feature has, we believe, been noticed in Britain is the Roman station of *Garianonum* at Burgh-by-Yarmouth, where the east gate, when excavated in 1855 by the late Mr. Henry Harrod, F.S.A., was found to have had a wooden threshold 15 inches square.[a]

The reason for using timber seems to have been the same, both at Silchester and Burgh, viz. the absence of stone in the district.

Whether any, and what, steps were taken to increase the durability of the wood in such a position we do not know.

[a] *Norfolk Archæology*, v. 152.

In what manner the upper sockets of the door pivots were fixed, or how the passage of the gate was covered, whether by a wooden roof or a barrel vault, unfortunately cannot be said, as the whole of the superstructure is destroyed, and little more than the base of the gate is left.

Although the soil was entirely removed on both sides and within the gate, no traces of guard chambers, or, in fact, any buildings whatever, were met with. No architectural or other remains appear to have been found here by Mr. Joyce, save the fragments of two drums of columns, one 2 feet 9½ inches, the other 3 feet in diameter, both much mutilated.

Our own investigations within and without the gate have brought to light no additional fragments. We had, however, no opportunity of excavating in the ditch, where such remains might possibly be found, nor have we yet ascertained how the ditch before the gate was crossed.

On each side of the north gate, and at equal distances from it, may be seen two of the curious buttress-like projections on the inner face of the wall, which may be found at intervals along its whole course. (See plan, Plate XXXI.) In both cases, and in a third example not far from the east side of the south gate, these have been partly uncovered. They are broad pilasters, 12 feet across, formed by carrying up the full thickness of the lower part of the wall. This is set back between them 2 feet throughout its circuit, the lower part serving as a deep plinth. The average distance apart of the pilasters is about 200 feet, but by the north gate the interval is only 100 feet. The entire thickness of the wall, less its external footing, is 9 feet 9 inches.

The question as to the object of the projections requires further study, and will more conveniently be deferred until there has been time and opportunity to make a thorough examination of the city wall throughout its entire course.

Concerning the south gate, which has already been described by Mr. Joyce in vol. xlvi. of *Archaeologia*, little need be said.

It closely resembled the north gate in plan and dimensions, but is set back from the front of the curtain wall 28 feet instead of 24 feet, as the north gate is. (Plate XXXI., fig. 2.) The flanking walls, therefore, though of the same length as those at the north gate, here overlap by only 39 inches, and it is by no means clear how there could be easy and uninterrupted passage from one side to the other across the gate. Mr. Joyce was not able to satisfy himself whether or no there were guard chambers to this gate, but we have fully ascertained that, like the north gate, it had none. There is, however, a rude foundation parallel with the west wall of the gateway, which may have supported a flight of steps having

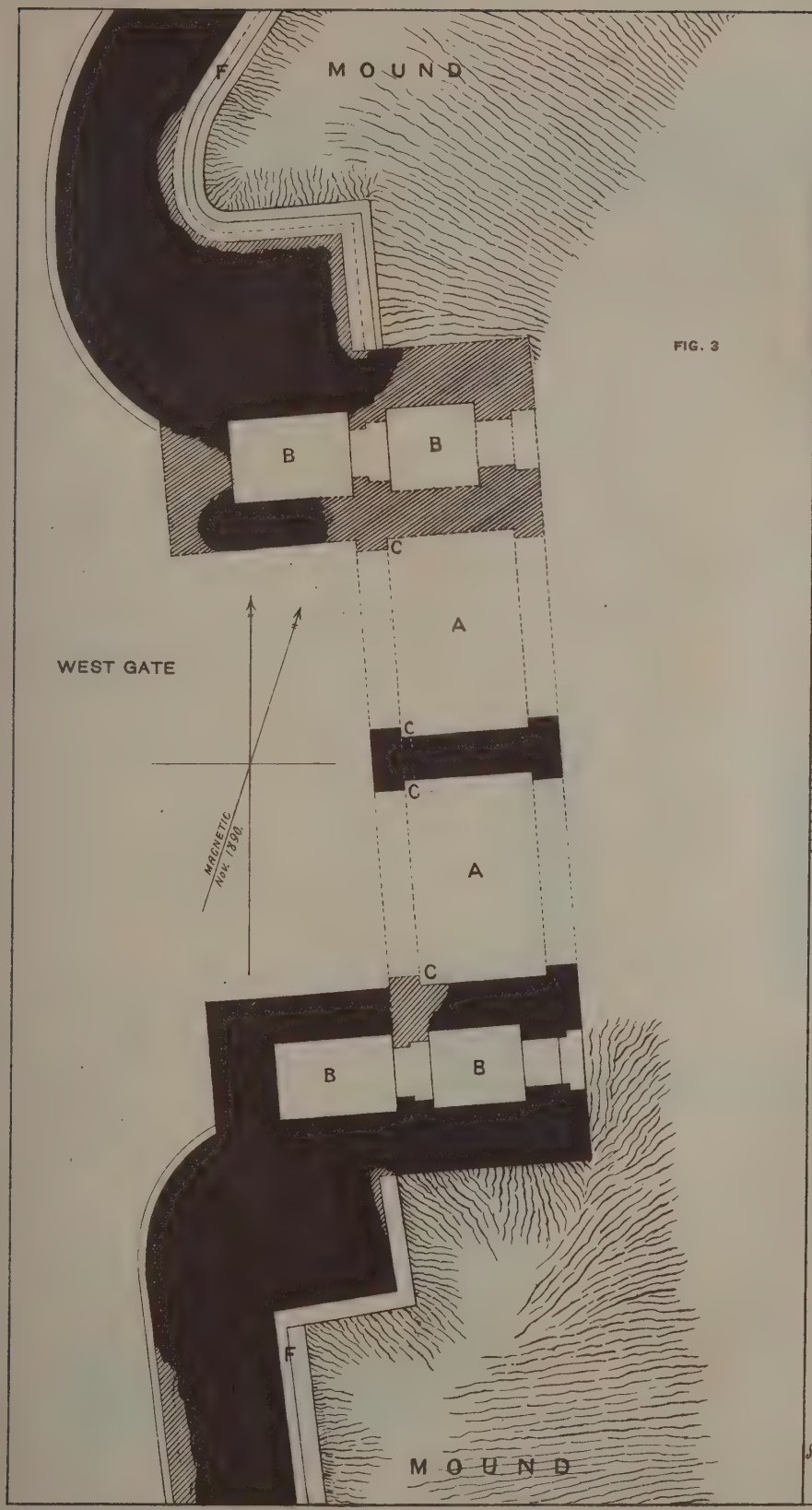


FIG. 3

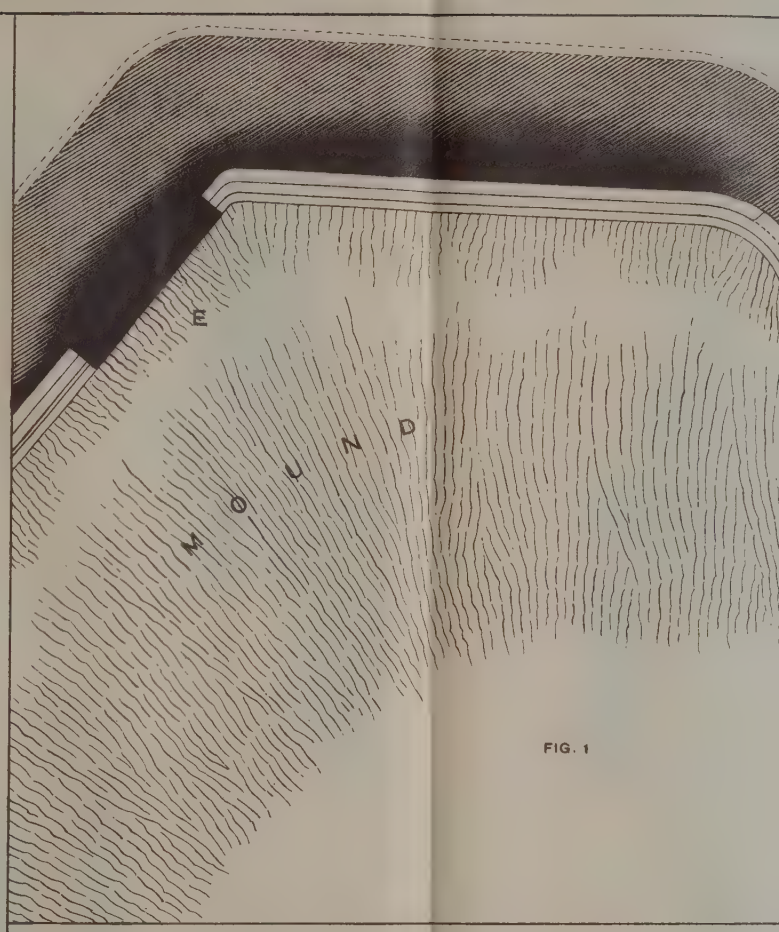


FIG. 1

A A *Covered Passages (originally).*

B B *Guard Chambers.*

C C *Holes for ends of wooden thresholds.*

D *Rough foundation, perhaps for steps to platform South Gate.*

E E *Projections from inner face of wall.*

F F *Internal set-off to wall, 2 feet in projection.*

Scale of 10 0 10 20 30

SILCHESTER.—PLANS OF NORT

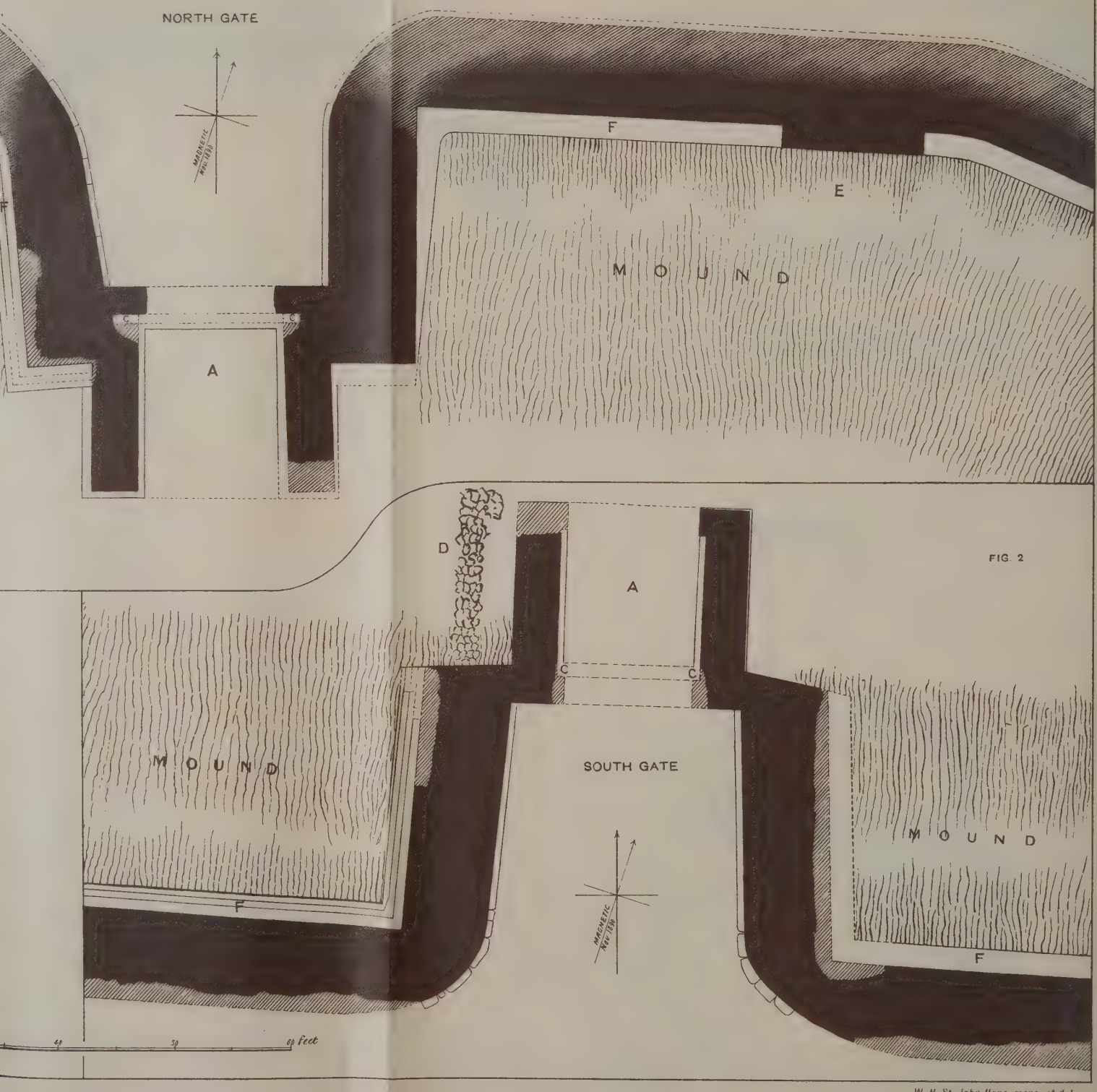


FIG. 2

W. H. St. John Hope, mens. et del.

I, SOUTH AND WEST GATES.

a landing at the top; this would enable the rampart walk to be carried over the gate. Only the west side could be examined, and it is therefore uncertain whether the same feature occurs on the other side. Some such arrangement must have been necessary on both sides to afford a means of communication.

The whole character of this gate seems to be inferior to that on the north; the flanking walls being built with smaller material, and the gateway has the defect already noticed. The quantity of ironstone used in the construction was also very much less.

Although the traces of it are not so plain, it is clear that the south gate also had a wooden threshold.

In both the north and south gates the roadway appears to have been formed of a layer of flints 12 inches thick, and the flanking walls seemed to rest on the same bedding. The upper surface of the road was gravelled, resembling in that respect the streets of the city.

The north gate has been described as being arched, although no evidence of the fact now remains. That the south gate was so there is interesting proof, for amongst the rubbish removed was turned up a perfect tile, obviously made, from its shape and construction, to serve as a *voussoir* of an arch. It is 17 inches long and 6 inches wide, but its thickness tapers from $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the top to $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch at the bottom. (Plate XXXII. fig. 4). It has also clearly been used in an arch, for the top and back edges and the two sides shew traces of mortar, while the front and bottom are quite clean.

From its width this must be looked upon as a half-tile only, and if the whole tiles were 12 inches across, the whole and half tiles were probably arranged as in the accompanying diagram to form the thickness of the arches of this gate.

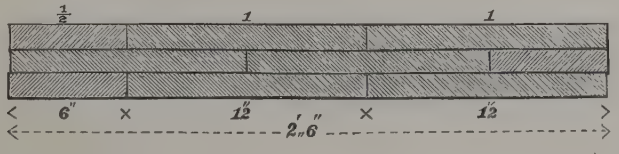


Diagram shewing probable arrangement of tiles forming the arches of the south gate.

When this gate was excavated by Mr. Joyce, he found lying about it six large fragments of cut stone.

The first of these is a square stone (now broken in two) 2 feet 6 inches in length by 2 feet 4 inches in breadth, and varying in thickness from 10 to 15 inches.

A second large flat stone is 3 feet 9 inches long by 2 feet 8 inches wide, and about 12 inches thick. It is picked all over one side, and has a deep groove $\frac{3}{4}$ inch deep, cut across it at 11 inches from one end. The other side is curiously worn into hollows like the rocky bed of a stream.

The third stone is a drum of a column 2 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and 1 foot 5 inches in height. This must have come from some temple or other public building in the city, for the position of the lewis-hole on top shows that it forms part of a double column, which could not have stood at the gate.

The fourth and fifth stones are very fragmentary portions of large Doric capitals, one belonging to a column 2 feet 6 inches in diameter at the top. Both capitals have different mouldings.

The sixth stone is a half-capital of the Doric order, fortunately tolerably perfect, which has evidently stood against the wall in an internal angle of some building, as the mouldings of the abacus on one side run into those of the round part in a curious manner. (See Plate XXXII., figs. 1, 2, and 3.) On the opposite side, with certain variations, the whole of the mouldings of the capital seem to have been combined to form a kind of cornice or string course. The entire arrangement is peculiar. The diameter of the capital under the astragal is 2 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

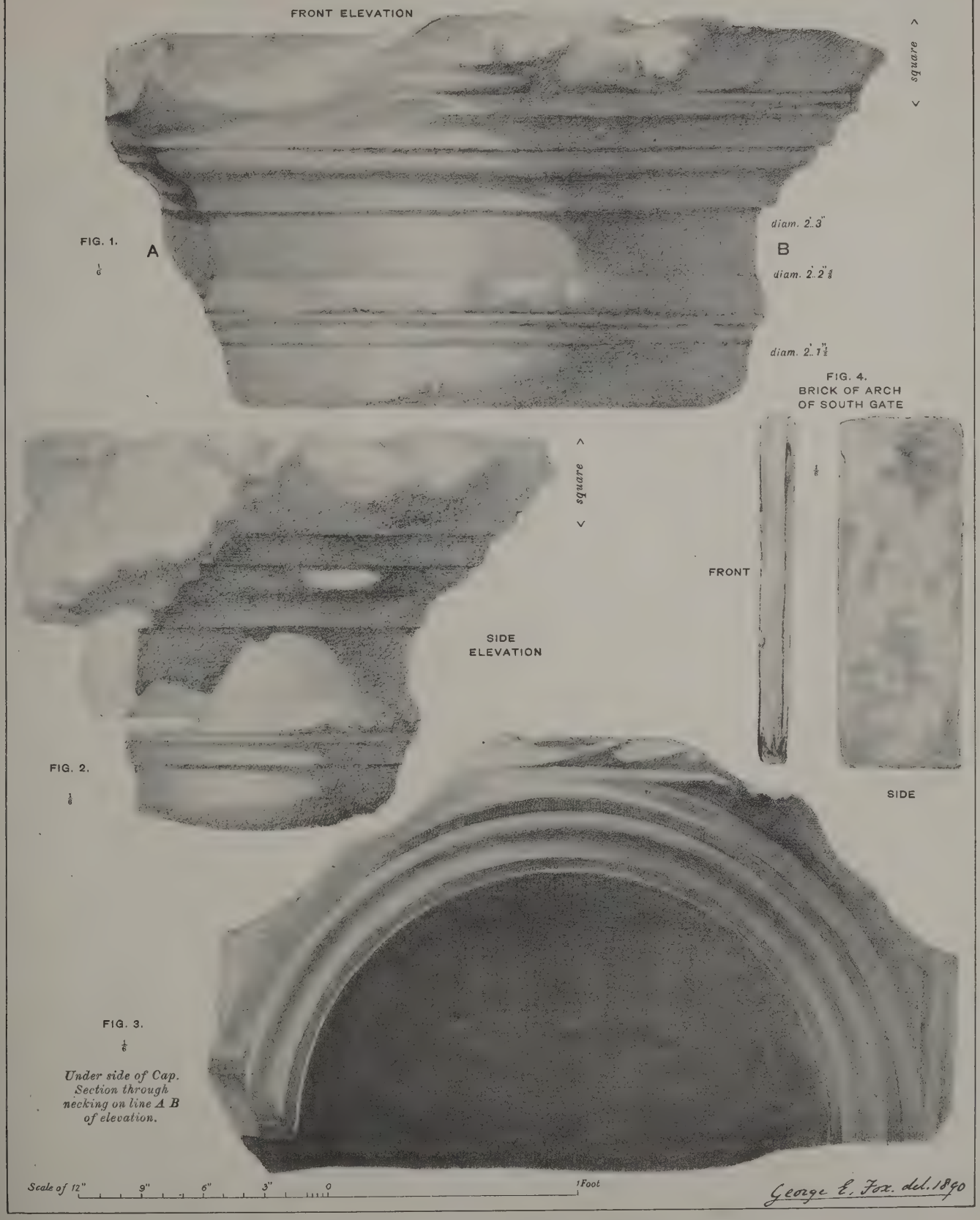
We cannot satisfy ourselves that this very fine capital formed any portion of the gate, although it might have done so as far as dimensions are concerned. There did not, however, appear to be any trace of a foundation or base which could have carried the half-column that it surmounted.

Before leaving the south gate reference should be made to a section cut behind the west flanking-wall through the whole height and breadth of the mound in order to ascertain its nature. Beyond a few fragments of Roman pottery, which could easily have fallen in during the building of the wall, nothing was found to throw light on the age of the mound. To really ascertain this other and far larger sections must be cut elsewhere.

The west gate differs very much from those on the north and south, both as regards size, plan, and arrangement. (Plate XXXI., fig. 3.)

To begin with, this gate is double instead of single, and the inward turn of the city wall on each side extends only 18 feet from the face of the curtain, or as far as the line of the front of the gate, and does not form any sufficient flanking defence.

When perfect the gate consisted of two parallel passages, each 12 feet long



SILCHESTER. — FRAGMENT OF ATTACHED CAPITAL FOUND AT SOUTH GATE, AND BRICK OF ARCH.

and 13 feet wide, spanned both in front and in rear by arches 12 feet in width and 2 feet in depth. The two passages were separated by a wall 3 feet thick.

The outer sides of the gate were formed, not of single walls, as in the north and south gates, but of a pair of guard-houses, each 12 feet wide and 24 feet long. On the inner or city side these ranged with the gate, but towards the field they projected like two flanking towers, for which purpose, indeed, they were probably used. The area between these two towers is 29 feet wide and 12 feet deep.

Owing to the considerable thickness of the walls, 4 feet on three sides and 3 feet on the side next the gate, the guard-rooms themselves are very small. The first or outer chamber was only 5 feet wide and 6 feet long, and was entered by a doorway in its east end 3 feet wide. At the other end a similar doorway led to an inner room also 5 feet wide, but $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. These inner rooms were probably used as lock-ups for prisoners, while the outer chambers were for the accommodation of the sentries. The arrangements were the same on both sides of the gate, but on the north side nearly everything has been destroyed to form the modern highway which passes through and in part conceals this half of the gate. On the south side we were so fortunate as to uncover considerable remains not only of the guardhouse but of the central wall also. These were built of flint-rubble with an external facing of narrow courses of ironstone alternating with bonding courses of tile, and internally of flint and tile in alternate double bands. The door jambs were entirely of tile, with rebates for timber framing, and the principal quoins were built of stone blocks with tile footings. Nothing was found to show that the passages or guardhouses were vaulted, but the discovery of a piece of a *voussoir* tile (Plate XXXIII., fig. 3) is a clear indication that both entrances were arched back and front.

As the arches of this gate were not so thick as those of the south gate the tiles forming the *voussoirs* would probably be arranged as in the accompanying figure.

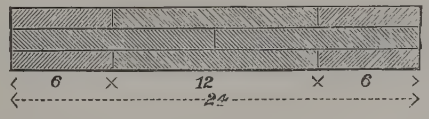


Diagram showing probable arrangement of tiles forming the arches of the west gate.

The arches sprang from boldly-moulded imposts. A large piece of one, of ironstone, rebated on the inside for the door, lay just without the gate. (Plate XXXIII. figs. 1 and 2.)

As in the north and south gates the doors here had wooden thresholds. The places were the outer ends of these rested have been broken away in both passages. The division wall, however, not only has a hole through it for the timbers, but appears also to show how these could be removed and replaced. The hole is covered on both sides of the division wall by a large flat stone, which has dropped somewhat owing to the removal of the stones under it that rested on the ends of the timbers. These stones were probably easily removeable in order to get at the ends of the beams, which could then be slid along and so enable the other ends to be raised and the beam withdrawn. Nothing has been found in the gates of Silchester to show what was equivalent to the stepped stone sills against which the doors shut in the gateways of the camps on the Roman Wall.

The roadway here is of the same construction as at the north and south gates.

The internal walls of the gate, and the north face of the southern guardroom tower, showed faint traces of having been plastered with pink cement. A considerable quantity of this was found lying in the roadway, and strangely enough here also lay a number of circular tiles used for building *pilæ* of hypocausts. These have also been found scattered amongst the rubbish of the gate. There were of course no hypocausts in the gate, and as these tiles were quite clean on both sides, it is difficult to see what they were used for. The guardrooms were plastered internally with a rough coat of plaster, but after a few weeks exposure to the weather this crumbled down. It had been painted, as a fragment turned up having broad pink lines on a white ground. With the exceptions already noted nothing was found to indicate the character of the superstructure of the gate.

Within the southern half of the gate, lay close together two pieces of iron. The first of these (Plate XXXIII., fig. 4) is about one-half of an iron ring or band, $\frac{5}{16}$ inch thick, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, and originally $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches in internal diameter. It appears to have been an iron band shrunk on to the wooden pivot of one of the doors of the gate, and probably worked in a similar iron ring or shoe let into the wooden threshold. The second piece of iron is a band or strap, $\frac{5}{16}$ inch thick, and $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch deep, and probably formed a strengthening band to one of the doors just above the pivot. (Plate XXXIII. fig. 5.) It is bent round in the form of a long letter U, and from its shape enables us to ascertain that the exact thickness of the doors was 4 inches. Each arm of the band was $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and had three square nail holes in it.

The southern passage of the gate had been blocked with a rude wall composed of uncut masses of carstone and other material. Filling the centre lay

PART OF IMPOST OF CENTRAL PIER. WEST GATE.

FIG. 1.

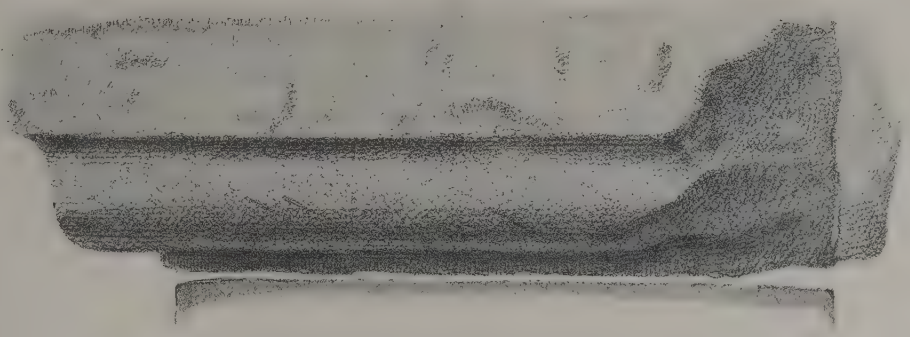
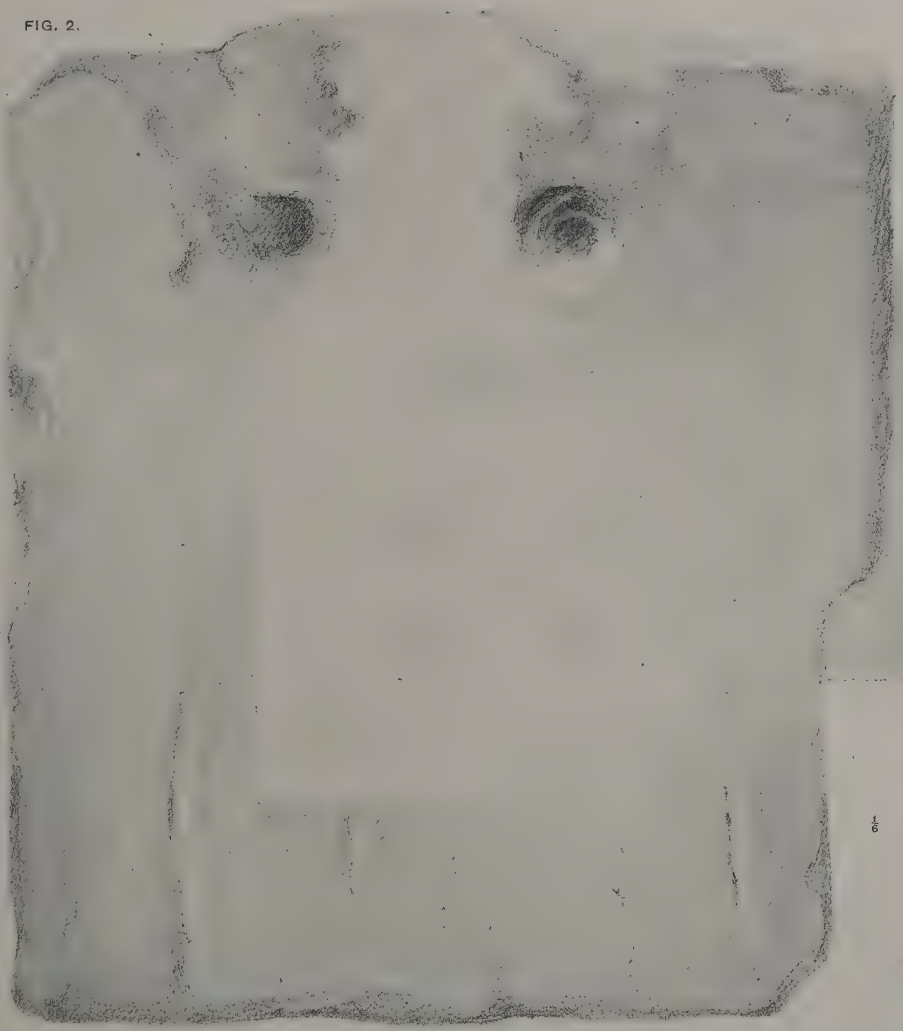


FIG. 3.

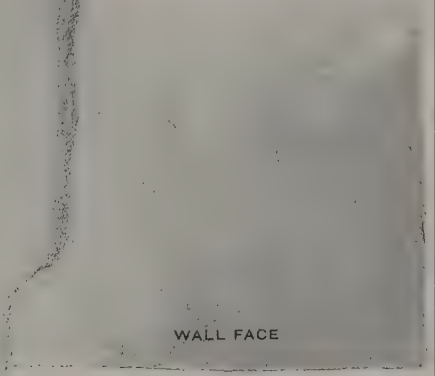
PART OF BRICK OF ARCH OF WEST GATE.

FIG. 2.



UPPER SURFACE OF IMPOST SHOWING CRAMP HOLES AND MORTAR BED.

Scale of 12" 9" 6" 3" 0 1 Foot



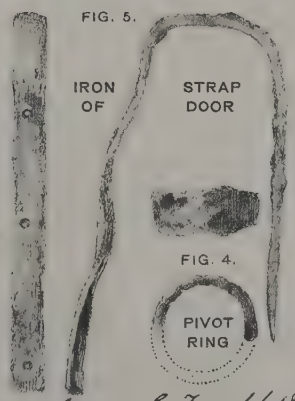


FIG. 5.

FIG. 4.

George E. Fox. del. 1890

SILCHESTER. — DETAILS OF WEST GATE.

two wrought stones, clearly brought from some building in the city. The lower was a coping stone, bedded upside down. The upper, which lay upon it, was a thin fragment of a drum of a double column, of the same dimensions and possibly from the same building as the portion found at the south gate; in its upper surface was a lewis-hole. At the same time was unearthed, close to the large piece of the impost moulding already noticed, a fine fragment of a Corinthian capital of considerable size (Plate XXXIV.); it of course did not belong to the gate, as there is no position that it could have occupied.

This blocking of one division of the gate with a rude wall built of fragments has its parallel in what took place in the stations on the great northern barrier. As the power of defence grew less, it was impossible adequately to protect the entrances, and therefore the means of access were restricted in the same way there as seen here. But something more may be learned from this rude blocking at Silchester, namely, that at whatever period it occurred, some of the larger buildings were already in ruins, and afforded a quarry for the inhabitants to draw material from. That period was probably a late one, from the extremely rude character of the masonry.

Among the miscellaneous objects found in and about the gate, were a small stone wrought with delicate mouldings; a bar of iron, possibly part of a lock; a complete padlock and key; a small vessel of black pottery with incised scroll-work, from the inner southern guardchamber; the fragments of a human skull; a bone peg, perhaps for netting; and tiles with various accidentally impressed markings, including one with the imprint of a baby's foot, so clearly stamped upon the clay that even the texture of the skin may be discerned. Only three coins were found; two of them are illegible, and the third is a bronze coin of Constantine.

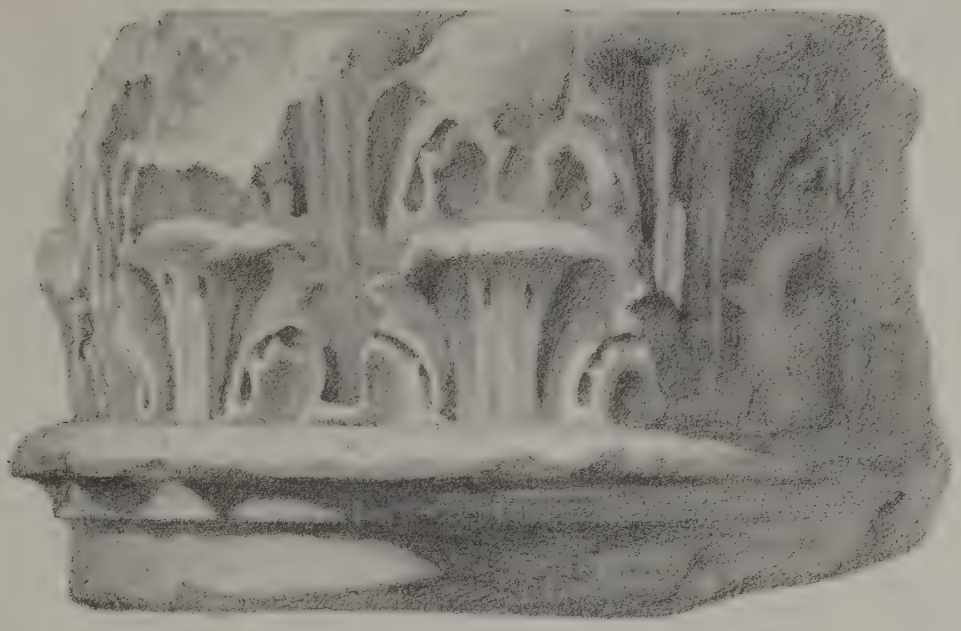
The complete examination of these gates at Silchester is of much greater importance than at first sight appears; for, although little more than their plans and arrangements can be made out, they are the only gates of a Romano-British city that have been thoroughly investigated. They are fortunately free from the disadvantages attending such inhabited sites as Lincoln, Colchester, etc., where buildings and streets are a hindrance to excavation, and we have, therefore, been able to ascertain their exact plans, and their proper relation to the city walls in which they are placed. It is evident from these that the destroyed superstructures of the gates were of the simplest possible character; and, therefore, in seeking for comparisons, it is necessary to look for similar plans. For these we must turn to the stations on the Roman Wall, at any rate as far as the west

gate of Silchester is concerned; for the north and south gates we have as yet been unable to find exactly parallel examples.

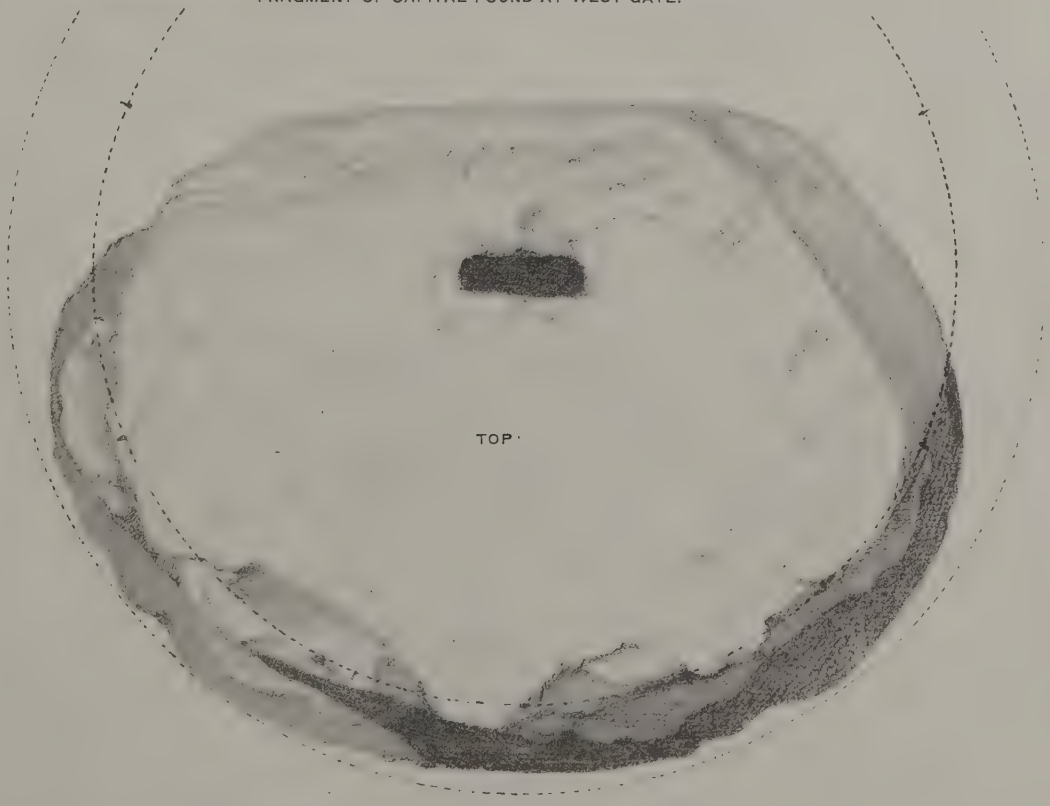
The principal gates of the stations of *Cilurnum* [Chesters] and *Amboglanna* [Birdoswald], two of the largest on the Wall, show an arrangement strikingly similar to the Silchester west gate, the chief differences being the projecting double guard chambers of the southern example, and the way in which the gate is recessed from the curtain wall, by which means the entrance was rendered more defensible.[a]

The similarity of the gates which has been noticed raises the question of their relative dates. This is a question beset with difficulties, owing to imperfect knowledge of a sufficient number of examples. The date of the camps on the Roman Wall is still a matter of dispute; but, if the latest period assigned to their erection, that of the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117—138), be taken, it will still be a comparatively early one in the Roman occupation. Whether the west gate of *Calleva* is of an approximate age cannot at present be determined. For some of the stations on the Roman Wall, it must also be remembered, a date has been claimed as early as Agricola.

[a] The likeness of these gates may be seen by a comparison of the Silchester example with the plan and restored elevation of a gate at Amboglanna, illustrating a paper by Mr. Glasford Potter in *Archaeologia Æliana*, iv. 74.



FRAGMENT OF CAPITAL FOUND AT WEST GATE.



SILCHESTER. — FRAGMENT OF CORINTHIAN CAPITAL.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

1. *Bronze Scabbard of Late-Celtic work found at Hunsbury Camp, near Northampton.*

February 21st, 1889. The Rev. R. S. Baker, Local Secretary for Northamptonshire, read a paper describing the complete excavation, when digging for ironstone, of the large camp near Northampton known as Hunsbury Hill or Danes Camp. A full account, with illustrations, of the most important antiquities found has been published by Sir Henry Dryden in the *Proceedings* of the Northampton Architectural Society.[a] One of the objects discovered, a fine bronze scabbard of Late-Celtic work, deserves especial notice, and the following remarks upon it have been communicated by C. H. Read, Esq., F.S.A.:

"This beautiful specimen (see illustration and Plate XXXV.) is formed of a thin bronze plate on one face, the other face being open and provided only with transverse ornamental plates; the edge is of the usual character, that is, a rounded recurved plate, the two edges of which clasp the plates forming the face and back of the sheath. The end of the sheath is of thicker metal, of the usual heart-shaped form, which characterises other sheaths of the same period. Towards the lower part, 8 inches from the point, is a pair of ornamental bosses formed of curves and circles, resembling birds' heads. At the back of this part is an engraved plate, with scrolls and circles, and two lower bands, also engraved, which do not correspond with anything on the front. The upper end of the front of the sheath has an elegant pattern of scrolls and circles of the usual Late Celtic type, very like the engraved ornaments on the bronze mirror from St. Keverne, in Cornwall.[b]

[a] *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, xviii. 53-61.

[b] *Archaeological Journal*, xxx. 267.

Front and Back View of Late-Celtic sword found at Hunsbury Camp, near Northampton. (¼-linear.)

As a type, it is quite characteristic of Late-Celtic work, and in no part has it any resemblance to, or connection with, the productions of Saxon times, as has been suggested.

The general form at once calls to mind the numerous swords in their sheaths that have been found in the Swiss Lakes, especially at La Tène (see Keller, *Swiss Lakes Dwellings*, translated by J. E. Lee). But, as a rule, the Swiss specimens are made entirely of iron, both blade and sheath, whereas in the Hunsbury example the sword only was of iron. Numerous references to similar weapons will be found in Mr. Franks' paper on a sword found at Catterdale, Yorkshire, in *Archaeologia*, xlv 251; and others are figured in Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. iii. p. iii. pl. 3; and in *Das Römisch Germanische Central-Museum* of the same author, pl. xxxiii.

A chape very like the one now in question was found at Water Eaton, Oxon., and is preserved in the British Museum."

---

2. *Mace-head of the Borough of Ilchester.*

February 26th, 1891. W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., M.A., Assistant-Secretary, exhibited a thirteenth-century mace-head belonging to the borough of Ilchester, county of Somerset, on which he read the following note:

"By the kind courtesy of the members of the Ilchester Town Trust I am able to exhibit to the Society one of the most remarkable mace-heads I have yet seen in England. (Plate XXXVI.)

This mace-head is now affixed to the top of a long wooden pole, after the fashion of a beadle's staff, the whole being 7 feet 4 inches in height. The staff, which is painted black, has the uppermost 18 inches of its length divided by red bands into two panels. The upper is painted with the royal arms, as borne from 1816 to 1837, within the Garter and crowned. The lower has the device of the borough, a silver crescent surmounted by a gold star, on a blue field, encircled by a band inscribed: + BURGUS + DE + IVELCESTER. Below this is a cherub's head and wings, and a monogram formed of the letters J.B. At the lower end of the staff is a brass ferrule $3\frac{13}{16}$ inches deep.

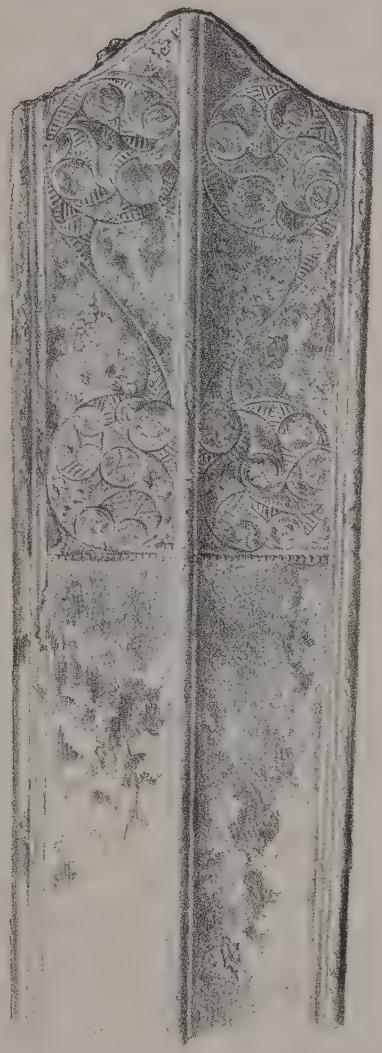
The mace-head is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and of latten, cast all in one piece. It has been covered with oil-gilding, which somewhat obscures the detail, but is otherwise in very good condition.

The lowest section of it is a plain band $\frac{9}{16}$ inch deep, forming part of the socket for the staff. Above this is a second band, $\frac{15}{16}$ inch deep, bearing in raised letters the inscription in two lines:

+ IЄ SV DЄ DRVЄRIЄ
+ NЄ MЄ DVNЄT MIЄ

Front of Chape

Ornament on the front of the Scabbard.



Back of Chape

(Full size.)

C.F. Kell, Lith.

DETAILS OF LATE-CELTIC SWORD FOUND AT HUNSBURY CAMP, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

This is surmounted by a band ¼ inch wide, ornamented with a zigzag pattern, from which rise four slender twisted shafts, with square bases and foliated capitals with square abaci, carrying an arcade of four moulded and trefoiled arches. Under each arch, on a floriated bracket rising from a short shaft, is a tall and well-modelled figure.

The first figure is clearly that of an angel. He is clad in a long robe, and has a cloth or garment cast loosely round his body and over his raised left hand, on which some object now broken was held by the right hand. The angel while walking to the sinister is looking back at the second figure behind him.

This second figure is crowned and wears a long robe with hanging sleeves. The hair, however, instead of being short as in the other three figures, is long and hangs down at the back like a woman's; but the figure, as clearly shown by the short beard, is that of a king and not a queen.

The third figure is a king in a long robe with long pendent sleeves. He is represented as walking to the sinister, but with his head and body turned as if speaking to the person behind him. The right hand is uplifted with the index finger held up. The left hand, which was also raised, is broken off.

The fourth figure is also that of a king walking to the sinister. He has a short beard, and wears a long robe, but round his body is wrapped a loose garment. This also covered the left hand, which supported some object held by the right hand, now broken off.

The figures are each 3¼ inches high, and although the niches are an inch higher, the corbels or brackets on which the figures stand cause them to properly fill their housings. The spandrels between the four arches originally each contained a conical six-sided spike. Two of these, much blunted, remain, together with the stump of a third; but the fourth is completely broken away. Resting on the points of the arches is a cabled ring, forming the base of the conical top of the mace; this is divided into ten rounded loops or petals and terminates in an acorn-shapel finial

That this remarkable object was meant for a mace of dignity seems to be proved by its being made of latten and not of iron; the spikes which denote its true character being merely ornamental. There can also be little doubt that it dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century. The puzzle is as to the meaning of the figures of the angel and kings, and their connexion with the inscription.

The figure of the angel suggests that we must look to Holy Writ for the meaning, and the only one I can suggest is that the Three Kings of Cologne are represented, though the treatment is somewhat unusual. The left hand of each figure may, however, well have held a gift.

It will be noticed, too, that a star over a crescent is the device of the town.

The inscription, + IЄ SV DЄ DRVЄRIЄ + NЄ MЄ DVNЄT MIЄ occurs on a ring belonging to the President in the slightly variant form + IO SVI : DЄ : DRVЄRIЄ NЄ MЄ DVNЄ · MIЄ. It is found in a more extended form on a small circular gold brooch in the collection of Mr. Franks:

IЄ SV DЄ DRVЄRIЄ
NЄ MЄ DVNЄZ MIЄ
IO | SVIЄI | ЄN | LVI | DЄ
ΠMI · OVЄI | MO | ЄV (for *voici mon cœur*)

Both these examples are clearly *gages d'amour*, and it is not easy to see the applicability of such a posy to a mace, even of dignity. It may, however, mean

I am a mark of amity
Do not forget me (or give me away).

This is at any rate a more plausible version than that given by Collinson in his *History of Somerset.*[a] He read the letters correctly, but divided them to read

Jesu | de | dru | erie
Neme | dun | et | mie

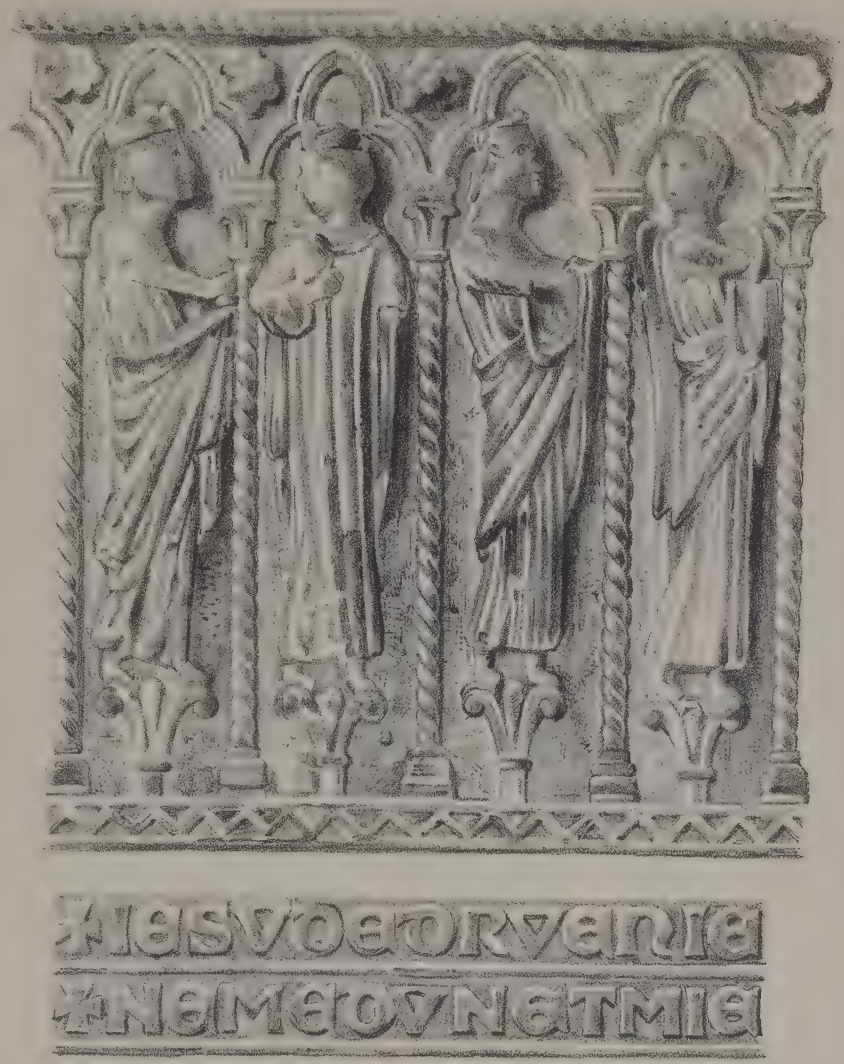
which he renders in English

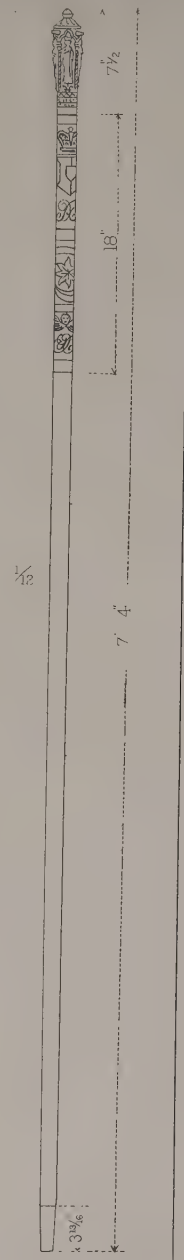
I Jesus was of God
notwithstanding the
gift was ill received.

The borough of Ilchester seems to have been a borough by prescription as early as the reign of John, and until 1835 the corporation consisted of a bailiff, twelve burgesses, a constable, and sub-bailiff."

[a] Vol. iii. p. 299.

Details round head – Full size.





C F Kell Lith

MACE-HEAD OF THE BOROUGH OF ILCHESTER, CO. SOMERSET.

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CORRECTIONS.

Page 234, note *e*. *For* "2 A. xvii" *read* "2 A. xxii."

Pages 457–601. Errata in the interlinear text.

Col.	I.	*For* "42" *read* "24."	
„	IX, l. 1.	„	"overthow" *read* "overthrow.
„	XVIII, l. 25.	„	" " *read* ".'
„	XIX, l. 2.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXIV, l. 13.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXV, l. 8.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXV, l. 17.	„	"*neχt*" read "*χet*."
,	XXVI, l. 12.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXVI, l. 24.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXVII, l. 11.	„	"carry off I the ear" *read* "carry off I the two ears."
„	XXVII, l. 19.	„	"eater of limbs (?)" *read* "eater of the green."
„	XXVII, l. 23.	„	"*ḥer-f*" read "*ḥrȧ-f*."
„	XXVIII, l. 2.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXVIII, l. 26.	„	"*ȧuk*," read "*ȧnuk*."
„	XXX, l. 6.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXX, l. 17.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXXI, l. 23.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXXII, l. 10.	„	"in" *read* "for.
„	XXXII, l. 17.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXXIII, l. 10.	„	" " *read* "."
„	XXXIII, l. 17.	„	" " *read* "."
Page 709, l. 15.		„	"eccelsio-" *read* "ecclesio-."
„ 715, l. 20.		„	"Transposer" *read* "Transproser."
l. 32.		„	"1530" *read* "1539."
„ 723, l. 3.		„	"1530" *read* "1539."

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